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PAGE OF A MS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE MEDICAL FACULTY AT MONTPELLIER,
Thirteenth Century

(After E de Coussemaker, "L'Art Harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles.")

THE
HISTORY OF MUSIC

BY
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VOL. I.

With Numerous Illustrations

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PREFACE.

THE work that is here submitted to the public will no doubt be permitted to claim, being the first of its nature, that indulgent judgment usually extended to initial attempts on hitherto untrodden paths. Notwithstanding all the excellent work published within the last few years, on account of the desire of the ever-increasing number of the serious friends of music for further knowledge of musical history, there was a want felt of a work that would with pictorial aid meet that demand. The aid of illustrations of important musical documents, &c., has therefore been called in to render the comprehension of past periods and the ever-changing position of musical art more clear. To effect such a purpose has been the aim of the present work. Neither trouble nor time has been spared in treating this most extensive subject in such a manner that possible omissions through unsuccessful research into important periods might be avoided.

Great energy was required to pursue this path, more especially when, after the appearance of the first number, six years ago, severe trouble, such as might have effectually paralysed all activity, delayed for a time the regular publication. It will not be denied that the work of the general historian is of much greater responsibility than that of the specialist, who has merely to treat of one composer, school, or period, although no one can be more ready than the author to acknowledge the invaluable nature of the results achieved by such specialists as Winterfeld, Dehn, De Coussemaker, Van der Straeten, Otto Jahn, Bellermann, Thayer, Von Köchel, Nottebohm, and C. Pohl.

There were parts in this work in which all the astuteness of the specialist was required to corroborate the evidence of the historian. For

example, for the first time an uninterrupted continuity has been proved from the twelfth to the fourteenth century of the Old French Tone-School, the masters of which were the first European contrapuntists. These must be accepted as the oldest models of the polyphonic style in the place of those Netherlanders hitherto accredited as such. And thus, while such a profound investigator as Dehn only dared date the origin of double counterpoint from the sixteenth century, it will now be seen that the old French masters employed it as early as the twelfth century, and in a state of such advancement as to be matter for surprise. A special investigation has also been made into the authorship of the well-known hymn "Eine Feste Burg" (Martin Luther's hymn), and an inquiry into the position in which the Italian masters and the Bohemian Dismas Zelenka stood in influencing the great Sebastian Bach. They will no doubt be admitted to be that great master's influencing precursors.

An attempt has been made to prove on historical as well as on æsthetical grounds, that just as the *Renaissance* was the evolution of the *Antique*, so the *New Romantic* is the culmination of the Renaissance of the *Romantic School*. The success of popularising for the first time the invaluable investigations of De Coussemaker, and of defending the merits of the Netherland School, the importance of which during the period of 1350 to 1450 has been unjustly and severely attacked, is naturally regarded with satisfaction. Much work of a similar nature has been made popular by other historians, notably by no less a one than A. W. Ambros, whose supercilious critics, in ignoring his great merits, took exception to such anomalies in orthography as are to be found in every tongue.

Important as the work of specialists undeniably is, it nevertheless requires the careful comprehension and wide survey of the historian in order to link together their deductions, and so to form a complete and consecutive whole. This has been achieved in the plastic arts and in literature by such as Schnaase, Lübke, Kugler, Gervinus, Vilmar, Hillebrand, and Carrière, whose works have gained as much repute as those of the eminent specialists

Woltmann, Grimm, Tausing, Jordan, Lewes, Carlyle, Palleske, Delius, Karl Witte, &c., to whom we owe biographies of Holbein, Michael Angelo, Albrecht Dürer, Titian, Goethe and Schiller, and commentaries on Shakespeare and Dante. Their labours have met with their merited reward, but it is regretted that such has, generally speaking, been withheld from the musical historian.

An attack was made thirty years ago on the assertion that Händel was not only a *sacred* composer, but was especially the founder of the epic element in music. It is, therefore, very satisfactory to observe the extent to which the truth of that assertion is now generally admitted; this can also be said of the admission of the proof that the "invention" of the opera at Florence was due to a Tuscan School.

That adverse criticisms might be made on the literary style of this work was not thought at all improbable, but it will be remembered that such have been passed on the style of eminent writers like Winterfeld, Ambros, Hanslick, and Gevaert. Efforts have been made throughout to maintain an even line of argument, and, in fact, rather to praise than to condemn; but it must be mentioned that this impartiality has received nowhere so little acknowledgment as from the followers of the New Romantic School.

The *comparative method* has been adopted, since it inquires into the laws of organic and formal development, which in art reign completely, and these have been applied strictly to all arguments advanced.

This work is intended to meet the wants of that innumerable class of the public desirous of obtaining a general knowledge. If the second part be found too exhaustive, it will be in consequence of its having been written more especially for professors; but it is to be hoped that it may prove of interest to others also.

It is a pleasant duty to tender thanks to those heads of libraries and institutions who have in manifold ways aided necessary investigations by supplying autographs, photographs, documents, &c. To certain professional friends, the Society of the Friends of Music, the Ambros Collection

at Vienna, the Bibliotheca Musica Regia of Dresden, the Royal Dresden Library, the Mozarteum at Salzburg, the Royal Library and Hohenzollern Museum of Berlin, and the Royal Libraries of Munich and Stutgardt, much acknowledgment is due, as well as to Count Victor von Wimpffen and Hermann Scholtz, for the aid of their invaluable collections. Many important notices have also been furnished by Professor Moritz Fürstenau (of Dresden), Professor Dr. Bellermaun (of Berlin), Dr. Jan (of Strasburg), Dr. Wüllner (of Cologne), Ferdinand Hiller, C. Pohl, Professor Dr. E. Hanslick, Dr. Edward Wlassack (of Vienna), Dr. Johannes Brahms, Max Bruch, Niels Gade, and others, to all of whom are tendered sincere thanks for their original contributions.

No pains have been spared in making this history as complete as possible by the valuable aid of illustrations of the chief musical instruments used from the earliest antiquity, as well as of prints of historical buildings, monuments, engravings, portraits, &c. It has been very gratifying to observe the success with which the work has been met. It has been translated into English by the composer Ferdinand Praeger, and edited by the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart., M.A. and Mus. Doc. and Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, and has been published simultaneously in London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne. It has also been translated into Dutch by J. C. Boers, of the Hague.

It is only hoped that it may aid in fostering an ever-increasing interest in the most emotional and cherished of all the Arts—Music.

EMIL NAUMANN.

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Book I.

HISTORY OF MUSIC.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN
THE CLASSICAL AND PRE-
CLASSICAL ERAS.



MUSIC did not attain to the position of an independent art either in the classical or pre-classical epoch: it did not become a self-existing and creative power with the cultured people of Asia and Africa, or with those of the south-eastern and southern parts of Europe. Among the Greeks and Romans, and also with the Chinese, Hindoos,



Egyptians and Israelites, music was closely associated with poetry, the drama, and the dance, although it occupied a position inferior to those arts.

The greater or less esteem in which music was held by these nations had an important bearing on their progress or retardation in general civilisation. The more or less remarkable development of the other arts, especially poetry, exercised also an influence as powerful as those of religion, race, natural tendencies, climate, and geographical position. This is exemplified in the great contrasts presented to us by the different ancient civilised peoples of Asia and Europe, in their national existence, their philosophy, and also in their conception of the musical art. Not without reason does Herodotus lay stress on these seemingly irreconcilable contrasts that characterised the general mental life of Asia and Europe; and he even attributes to them all the sanguinary wars that raged, from the Trojan War, surrounded with its halo of myth, down to those which were waged against Persia.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Greeks adopted Egyptian, Lydian, and Phœnician traditions in their theory of music as well as in their melody and rhythm, and that these traditions had a great influence on their selection and construction of musical instruments. But their innate sense of beauty and proportion saved them, on the one hand, from the manifold barbarisms which disfigured the music of the other nations, while, on the other hand, their talent for grasping heterogeneous matter, and reproducing it in a refined and intellectual form, enabled them to mould into a nobler and more complete unity the separately transmitted fragments of the musical culture of other lands.

In common with most nations of the pre-classical age, the Greeks were in the habit of making music the subject of speculative philosophy; but whilst the Orientals lost themselves in mythology, or revelled sometimes in strange and voluptuous, sometimes in childish yet ingenious flights of fancy, the Greek mind, seeking in all things for an organic whole, systematised the sensations, ideas, and combinations produced by musical sounds, by subjecting them to a progressive philosophical and mathematical investigation, at once consecutive and exact.

The Greeks, as well as the civilised tribes of Asia, evinced a great partiality for speculating on the nature of music, an enjoyment entirely distinct from the pleasures they experienced through its sensuous charm;

but they assigned to it an ethical position, a dignity and importance, both in relation to education and the state, as well as a softening influence on the passions that was not dreamt of by the Oriental nations.

The Greek tribes of Peloponnesus and Hellas, as well as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, the Greeks inhabiting the isles of the Ægean Sea, and especially those of Cyprus, had a primitive "Lament" which seems to have come originally from Phœnicia. It was a funeral chant on the death of the youthful Adonis, who represented symbolically the beautiful but short-lived spring. The Egyptians changed its signification into a lament of Isis for Osiris. The Greeks called it *Linos*, and the Egyptians *Maneros*; but wherever we find it on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean it always has the character of a plaintive wail of anguish at the evanescence of all things mortal.

We see by this in what inseparable proximity music has, from the first, stood to the contemplation of nature, and to the earliest thoughts and feelings of the human race. For this song, perhaps the oldest of which we have any knowledge, is a dirge for the fast-fleeting spring of youth and beauty—a lament over the frailty of all earthly things! Thus soon was the key-note sounded of that sorrowful strain which inspired the greatest poet of modern Germany, when he sang—

"'But why am I transient, O Zeus?' Beauty asked.
'To fade I made Beauty,' stern Jupiter said;
And youth, flowers, dewdrops, all heard his sad words,
And weeping they turned them away from his throne."

From the earliest times of which we have any record, music has lent its voice to grief as well as to joy; and if no art was more capable of giving expression to the earliest accents of sorrow, none was more suited to afford consolation and hope to the broken-hearted. Thus music by its magic healed the wounds which it had itself inflicted; but whether its lyre was attuned to joy or to sorrow, it consecrated both by elevating them above terrestrial darkness into the purer atmosphere of sublime art; and in this respect the earliest and latest musical utterances display the most striking affinity. For the folk-songs of the most ancient nations, those which were sung beside the cradle of humanity, equally with those of our own time, are, like the immortal creations of the tone-poets of the last four centuries, one and all, mirrors of most purely unaffected and

heartfelt sentiment. Indeed, this natural utterance came much more unwittingly in the early and middle ages than in the present, but a large part of this ingenuousness descended to the great masters of the classical epoch. Hence it arises that it is precisely in the periods either of an imperfect development of the art or of its super-refinement that we meet with musical monstrosities and degeneracy, with over-elaboration, sentimentality, exaggerated expression, coquetry, voluptuousness, falsehood, diffuseness, and an artificial striving after effect.

However, the greater part of this primordial ingenuousness, which betokened the sweet innocence of bewitching childhood, was destined to disappear again until the day should come when the first faltering accents of music should be transformed into a genuine tone-language.

When this moment arrived, and the contemplation of music assumed a more intellectual character, then, in her endeavours to attain the ideal, she was launched on a boundless sea of trouble and obscurity. How could it be otherwise? For every awakening from dreams of innocence and childhood is just like the expulsion from Paradise enacted anew; the plucking of the fruit from the tree of musical knowledge could only be atoned for by the sweat of the brow. To reach the coveted goal, the first pioneers in the field of music had to grope their way through tortuous and thorny paths; and to follow them therefore in their search after light and truth furnishes us with an interesting historical retrospect. If, in the different stages of its course, which are marked by the long epochs of its warfare with besetting difficulties, music, the perfectly natural art, often returns very near to its starting-point of simplicity and unaffected expression, it takes nevertheless a place as high above its origin as the features of a Madonna by Raphael surpass those of a handsome peasant-girl. This is the relation in which the music of the ancients—many of whose immortal folk-songs are still extant—stands to the compositions of such composers as Bach, Gluck, Mozart, or Beethoven. Even the happiest attempts of the ancients—outpourings of their deepest sensations and feelings—are but the germs and foreshadowings of a higher subsequent development. The perfectly-matured art unfolds her wondrous wings, and, transcending expectation, soars above the most daring flights of fancy in the pursuit of her noble ideal.



THE MUSIC OF THE ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS.



IF we wish to gain a clear idea of the position in the history of music of the people who inhabited the eastern and southern parts of Asia, those of the south-west countries, generally classed together under the name of the Orient, the inhabitants of the Upper and Lower Valleys of the Nile—in fact, of all the civilised nations of the eastern half of the old world—we must divide them into four groups.

From this point of view we shall arrange together for purposes of examination the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos; classing together in the same way the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Western Asiatics.

In the same way, the followers of Islam, although comprising many nations and distinct races, should, with reference to their musical achievements, be grouped under one head. This applies still more especially to the Israelites, who, arrogating to themselves the title of the “chosen people,” certainly merit that appellation in the musical art of the pre-classical age.

The Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos may be treated of in one and the same chapter; first, because they are neighbours geographically, and secondly, because they are alike in that their music had no influence over the tonal art of the people of Europe. The still closer relation which existed amongst themselves will be left, however, for further investigation.

The second group of nations—viz., the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Israelites—are closely connected by their geographical position, and in

addition to this have a common descent and language; they are either Semites, or have Semitic elements in their civilisation. But this important link is wanting in the former group, since the Chinese, being descendants of the Mongols, and the Hindoos of the Aryans, differ widely both in descent and disposition.

We have devoted an entire separate chapter to so comparatively small a people as the Hebrews, whilst compressing into the same space the history of the Chinese and Hindoos—who, without the Japanese, comprise more than half the inhabitants of the whole world—because, as already explained, the wonderfully high endowments of the former have obtained for them the first place amongst Orientals. It should further be mentioned that there existed a peculiar and intimate connection between the music and religious poetry of the Israelites; and lastly, that Palestine became the garden of the Lord, from whose soil was to spring forth and bloom the flower of Christianity—in other words, that religion by means of which music was to be elevated into a self-existing art.

It may appear incongruous to include in this section the Mohammedans with the nations of the pre-classical age. It is, however, an ascertained fact, that typical Arabian music, and even many Arabian instruments, belong to a period anterior to the Mohammedan era; and, moreover, were we not to refer to them here, some difficulty and confusion might be experienced in returning to them when tracing the history of the music of the Western nations. For a similar reason Kugler, Lübke, and other eminent writers interpolated Mohammedan art between classical art and that of Western Christianity; or between the oldest Christian plastic art of Byzantium and Rome, and that of the Middle Ages, because ancient traditions exerted so great an influence on Byzantine architecture, sculpture, and painting, and on early Christian art, that at the time of Rome's decadence they could not be said to have as yet attained to that individuality of style which characterises the art of the later Middle Ages.

The musical historian has to deal with a somewhat different state of circumstances. Although Christian music was trammelled by ancient tradition for several centuries, yet it was not so heavily weighted as were the arts of painting and sculpture of that time. Christianity and music had, from the commencement, so great an attraction for each other, that they literally coalesced by spontaneous approximation. For this reason we

have not wished to separate the early history of Christian music from its development, and therefore have preferred to speak of that of the Islamites here. Thus the history of the tonal art shows that already, in its earliest beginnings, it was the most Christian of all the arts. This is proved by the fact that almost all music of Paganism can, from an historic point of view, be divided into separate groups, according to the impress of nationality borne by their tonal art. With the Christians, however, no such division was ever possible, as all Christian nations, from the moment that music came in contact with Christianity, have collectively contributed to the development of music in the same direction without reference to nationality.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND HINDOOS.

IN this chapter are included three nations, the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos, for though differing widely in race and temperament, they were, nevertheless, allied by the proximity of their geographical position, as well as by a certain mental resemblance. The spreading of Buddhism from India to China and Japan, the division into castes, and the tenacity with which the three nations clung to ancient customs during thousands of years, without change or progress, are all of importance in tracing their musical history. To these causes, together with an enervating climate and imperfect political institutions, may be ascribed the origin and growth of Fatalism in Japan, and Quietism in India and China.

Apart from the similarity of their mental life just indicated, these nations present to us, in other respects, the most striking contrasts. This is not perhaps due so much to dissimilarity of race and the vast territories over which these races extended, within which one might find every variety of character, as to the difference of disposition which led these nations to regard the world from divergent standpoints.

Whilst the Hindoos possess a lively imagination, the Chinese exhibit in its stead a circumscribed but practical worldliness. The former's conception of the world is poetical and ecstatic; the latter's, insipid and prosaic, with a puerile and pedantic trait running throughout. Whereas Chinese art is

superficial, that of the Hindoo, on the contrary, attempts to be profound, to fathom the connection between mind and matter, uniting therewith a predilection for the transcendental, the fantastic, and the mysterious.

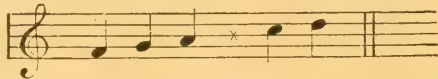
Nothing can more forcibly demonstrate to us how intimately the growth of music is associated with the development of special characteristics and civilisation among nations, than the almost opposite method adopted by the Hindoos and Chinese, both in their treatment of musical theory, and in the manufacture of musical instruments.

An investigation of the peculiar characteristics of the above-named nations, as reflected in their musical conceptions and in their systems, will astonish those who have not fathomed the profound connection that exists between civilisation and art.

In turning our attention first of all to the Chinese, we find that the origin of music with them, as with all other nations, is in close affinity with that of their religion. The Chinese builds his world upon the harmonious action of the heavens and earth; regards the animation of all nature, the movement of the stars and the change of seasons, as a grand "world-music," in which everything keeps steadfastly in its appointed course, teaching mankind thereby a wholesome lesson. One of the founders of their religion, Fo-Hi, is believed to have been the inventor of the *K'in*, a stringed instrument still in use in China. The close relationship that originally existed between the constitution of the state and music is also clearly shown in Chinese history.

All their music has from time immemorial been under state supervision, in order to guard against the stealthy introduction of any tone contrary to ordinance. Here we already meet with the pernicious influence of a bureaucratic pedantic state, as well as that of the prosaic character of the Chinese, upon their music. Both features are exemplified in the names of the notes of their oldest musical scale, which consisted only of five tones, from F to D, omitting the B.

No. 1.



The lowest note of this scale, F, was called "emperor;" the G, "prime minister;" A, "loyal subjects;" C, "affairs of state;" and the D, "mirror

of the world." A people in whose tales and novels the climax culminates in the success or failure of the hero's state-examination could not but possess very feeble notions of the tonal art. The emperors did not disdain to bring themselves into close communication with musical institutions. In the year 364 A.D., Ngai-Ti published a decree against weak, effeminate music; and Kang-Hi, 1680 A.D., invented with success some new melodies, and founded an Academy of Music.

We will now endeavour to describe Chinese music by noticing some of its prominent features. Among the Chinese the art of music has ever remained an object either of diversion or of speculation. It has never revealed to them the language of the heart and intellect. Nevertheless they draw a distinction between sound and noise. The period at which their five-toned scale was enlarged to seven tones has been described by Chinese theorists as the commencement of the decadence of their musical system. They ascribe to their mythical bird "Fung-Hoang," and his mate, the invention of tones and half-tones; the six whole tones to the male, and the half-tones to the female. Such a creed coincides with all their notions of man and woman. The whole tones represented to them things perfect and independent—as heaven, sun, and man; the half-tones, things imperfect and dependent—as earth, moon, and woman. The enlargement of the scale from five to seven tones was owing to the insertion of the two half-tones E and B, which were called "leaders" and "mediators." These appellations proceed from a very fine musical instinct, as indeed E and B are "leaders" to F and C, and they possess also, for the modern cultivated ear, the quality of resolving themselves into the half-tone above, acting at the same time as mediators, and filling up the void between D and F—A and C.



After the completion of the octave the intermediate half-tones were added, viz., sharps to F, G, A, C, and D; dividing the Chinese scale, like our modern chromatic scale, into twelve semitones within the octave. From

this time the scale received the name of *Lue*—i.e., Law ; but they clung to F as the root of all tones.

It is characteristic of the Chinese, who generally regard things from an opposite point of view to other nations, that in music they call *low* what we call *high*, and *vice versa*—e.g., the E of scale No. 2 would be to them the lowest, and the F at the beginning of the scale the highest tone.

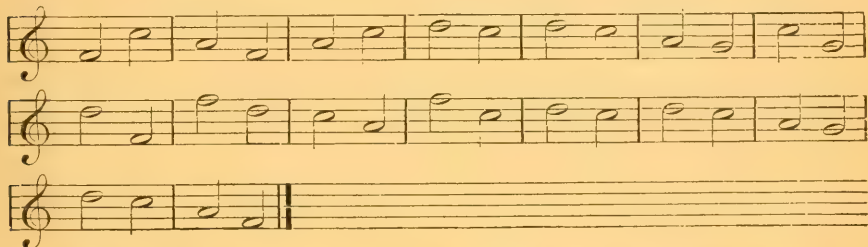
In their theory of harmony there is a foreshadowing of the relation of the tonic to its fourth and fifth, but they did not perceive the full importance of these intervals as upper and lower dominants of the tonic, although in their circles of fourths and fifths they always returned to F, their starting-point. Their theories are based upon an infinite variety of rules, and exhibit a timorous mental hair-splitting which has completely fettered all artistic imagination. Here, too, the pedantic mind of the Chinese makes itself manifest, for, though possessing a strong power of discrimination, yet it lacks all imagination. It masters up to a certain point all knowledge that can be acquired by industry and observation. Beyond this, however, even in an art like music, its barren, theorising character makes itself felt. To suit its exigencies, tone too must do didactic duty, operating not upon the emotions but upon the intellect. The most interesting part of Chinese theory is its ingenious combination of tone with nature, men, and things, to which we have already referred.

The Chinese are the only people who, thousands of years ago, possessed a system of octaves, a circle of fifths, and a normal tone. With this knowledge, however, their eighty-four scales, each of which has a special philosophical signification, appear all the more incomprehensible to us. Hence the conclusion gains cogency, that notwithstanding the early development of their theory, they never used tone to express feelings.

The oldest known Chinese book on music dates from the eleventh century before Christ. Five hundred years before our Christian era, a friend of Confucius, the great moral teacher of the Chinese, wrote a musical commentary, the great teacher himself writing a song-book, which Rückert, a celebrated German poet, translated in 1833 A.D. All these songs were intended to be set to music, and are for the most part of a didactic character. Amiot, the French Jesuit and missionary in Pekin, mentions in his work on Chinese music, published in Paris, 1776 A.D., no less than sixty-nine theoretical works. From a great number of these it appears that the Chinese care less

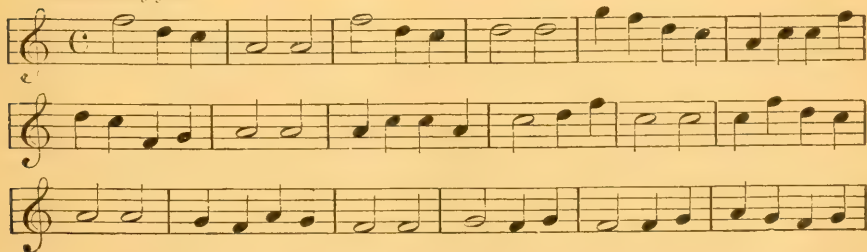
for combinations than for single sounds. This reminds one of their habit of splitting up their own language into monosyllables. Everywhere they exhibit a child-like tendency to unite single sounds, without the slightest desire for a higher ideal combination. Their melodies have thus the character of an aimless wandering amongst sounds. They lack form, outline, and intrinsic merit. The best of them, relatively speaking, are to be found amongst the oldest sacred music and the songs of the people—the sailors and mountaineers; the worst, in their theatre* (sing-song) music, both vocal and instrumental, the melodies having no form whatever. The sacred hymns, and the songs of the people, have been transmitted unaltered, from time immemorial.

No. 3.

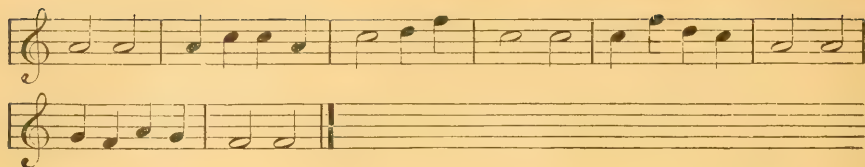


This tune is sung in praise of the dead, and does not exceed the five tones of the old Chinese scale. It will be noticed that F, the Chinese patriarch of all tones, forms the beginning, the middle, and the end of the melody. It was made known by Amiot. Very peculiar is another melody, noted by Barrow, and with but slight variation by Amiot, which C. M. von Weber has made use of in his overture to *Turandot*. The designed omission of the half-tones E and B testifies to its great antiquity.

No. 4.

Moderately fast

* The German "Sing-Sang" is no doubt derived from this.



This melody does not lack rhythm, but has something dull and childish in it, an effect caused by the continual repetition of the two minims. For the rest, it is not wanting in a certain ingenuousness and national idiosyncrasy. Barrow also mentions a sailors' duet between the coxswain and oarsmen, which they sing when rowing.

No. 5.

1.
THE COXSWAIN.

2.
THE OARSMEN.

Hei - ho hei-hau! Hei-ho hei-hau!

Hei - ho hei-hau! Hei-ho

Hei - ho hei-hau! Hei-ho hei-hau!

hei-hau! Hei-ho hei-hau!

The accompaniment of their songs consists sometimes of a pedal bass—for higher tones in the fifth, and for lower tones in the fourth—a most primitive method, reminding one of the bag-pipes, and of the earliest attempts of untutored nations. Nevertheless, the Chinese believe their music to be the best in the world. European music they consider to be barbaric and horrible. They possess a certain rude notion of rhythm; but most of the melodies with which we are acquainted show that they prefer the even to the uneven measure. Their sense for uncouth rhythm may perhaps

partly explain their predilection for instruments of percussion, a preference for which is always indicative of a low musical organisation, whilst a love for stringed instruments evinces a higher order of mind

They have numerous instruments of percussion, large and small kettle-drums—indeed, drums of every kind—instruments made of stones or metal bells, suspended in wooden frames and beaten with a mallet; cymbals; suspended rows of tuned copper plates; various kinds of tinkling instruments; wooden clappers; and wooden tubs beaten either from the inside or outside. The most interesting of these instruments is the *King*, invented by the Emperor Tschun and the Chinese Orpheus Quei, which is said to have existed as far back as 2,300 B.C.

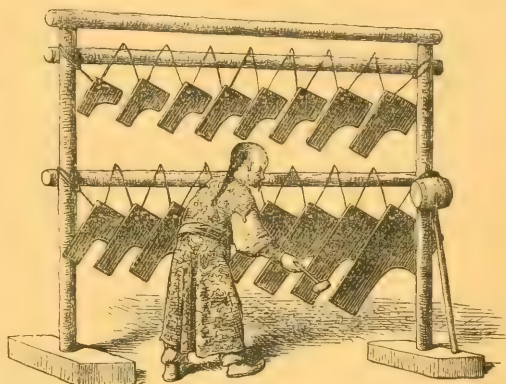


Fig. 6.—Chinese Performer on the King.

It consists of sixteen different-sized stones, suspended in two rows, and tuned according to the twelve tones of the *Lue* octave, and their four additional tones. It is struck with a wooden mallet. The most sonorous of these stones come from the province of Leang-tscheu; they are called *Yu*. A richly-ornamented instrument made out of these stones, called *Nio-King*, may only be played by the Emperor. The above illustration represents a King of the more ordinary construction, others being made after this pattern. To the family of the King belongs the *Pien-tschung*, an instrument consisting of many bells, arranged and tuned in a similar manner to the stones of the King; also the *Yuen-lo*, consisting of a frame in which are suspended ten tuned copper plates.

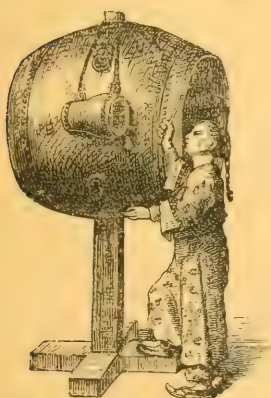


Fig. 7.—Hiuen-Kou, the Giant Drum of the Chinese.

They have, also, a giant drum, called the *Hiuen-Kou*, said to have been invented 1,122 B.C.,

during the dynasty of Tcheou, for use at the Imperial Palace. The size of this colossal drum is at once seen on comparing the height of the performer in our illustration with that of the instrument. It is

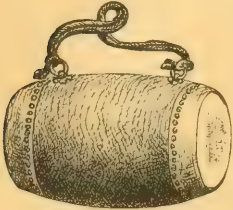


Fig. 8.—Ya-Kou, the Small Chinese Drum.

placed on a specially-prepared stand: it oscillates, and has two smaller drums, one on each side. The Chinese ear finds a special charm in the contrast of the deep-booming thunder of the large drum and the mere rattling of the two small drums, a charm for which our European ears are possibly being prepared, should the increase of instruments of percussion in the modern orchestra continue at the same rate as heretofore.

Amongst the drums we find the *Ya-Kou* most generally used. It has the form of a small tub, is attached to the body by a cord, and does not give a very loud tone.

We must also mention the *Tchoung-Tou*, a fan-like looking instrument, made of pieces of wood tied together, which served in ancient times

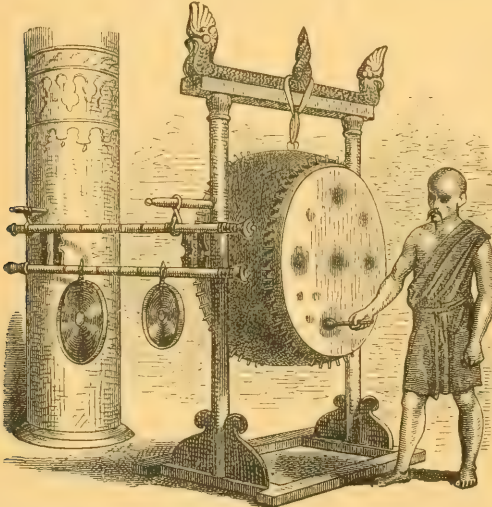


Fig. 9.—Gong, or Tamtam, from the Palace of the Chinese Emperors.

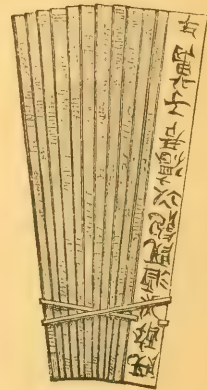


Fig 10.
The Tchoung-Tou.

for beating time. It was held in the right hand, and the time was marked by gently striking it against the palm of the left hand.

The Chinese wind instruments are fewer in number than those of percussion. The oldest of these, the *Hüen*, is in the shape of an egg. It is made of earthenware, open on one side, with five ventages, which give the five tones of the oldest Chinese scale. Speaking relatively, the most elaborate of Chinese wind instruments is the *Cheng*. It is the most pleasing of their instruments, and serves as a standard to tune other instruments. It has for its basis a hollowed-out pumpkin, which serves the purpose of a wind receptacle, in which are twelve to twenty-four bamboo reeds, placed closely together in a circle. The performer blows into the curved cylinder, opening and closing the ventages with his fingers. Among their instruments of the flute type, mention should be made of the *Yo*, which is played from the top like the clarinet; and the *Tsche*, played like the modern flute. They also possess the pan-pipes called *Siao*.

Their martial instruments include various trumpets with funnel or knob-shaped bells. Their orchestra is but sparsely recruited with stringed instruments of their own invention, for the mandolines and guitars which they use are more probably of Persian or Hindoo than of Chinese origin.

The only Chinese stringed instruments are the *Kiu* and *Ché*—the former, a very primitive guitar, of a pear-shape, usually strung with four strings, and having inside it some metallic bells which make a clanging accompaniment to the sound of its strings; while the *Ché*, literally translated “the wonderful,” is a table-psaltery, nine feet in length, containing twenty-five strings. Both are evidently of great antiquity, and are said to have been invented by Fo-Hi, but musically the *Ché* is the more important. In Fig. 12 we have placed beside the performer on the *Ché* the player of the small drum, called the *Po-fou*, because these instruments are never separated, but appear always together as accompaniments for vocal music. This observation applies especially to the accompaniment of ancient songs and hymns. The *Ché* strengthens the melody and supports the voice of the singer, the *Po-fou* regulating the rhythm and gesticulation. We



Fig. 11.—The Cheng, or Tscheng, of the Chinese.

have represented both performers as blind, for Amiot tells us that all ancient tradition described musicians as blind. The intellectual Chinese Prince Tsay-yu finds a reason for this remarkable tradition in the following fact :— “The ancient musicians,” he relates, “closed their eyes whilst performing, so that no external object should engage their attention, and it is from this habit that the people gave them the name of the blind.”

This tradition has a deeper meaning than that attached to it by the Chinese, inasmuch that any enthusiastic listener to music appears entranced and absorbed in inward contemplation, all his mental faculties being lost



Fig. 12.—Blind Performers on the Ché and Po-fou.

in the depths of his own heart and mind. But however little such a poetical metaphor can be applied to the real musical performance of a people whose practice in the tonal art has remained in a semi-barbaric state, it is nevertheless true that their musical traditions and theories abound in highly ingenious ideas. It must be acknowledged that this theory of the Chinese is the true interpretation of the nature of music, but it is a theory which is far in advance of their practice.

The following illustration (Fig. 13) is an exact copy of an entire Chinese orchestra, strictly historical and national. It represents the musicians arranged for the performance of a requiem in honour of their ancestors in the Tay-miao. In the background, towards the south, in front of the portraits of the ancestors, stands the table of perfumes; on it is placed lighted candles, flowers, and scent. To the right, towards the

west, are the bell and time-beaters, pan-pipe and Cheng players; to the left, towards the east, are the players on the kettle-drum, rattle-drum (Tao-kou), and the flute-players. Most important for a more detailed investigation of Chinese music are the works (as yet only partly published) of Gladisch, a German savant who died a few years ago. It seems almost beyond doubt that he has succeeded in pointing out the undeniable and intimate connection that exists between the oldest Chinese theory and the musico-philosophic conceptions of the great Greek teacher Pythagoras—

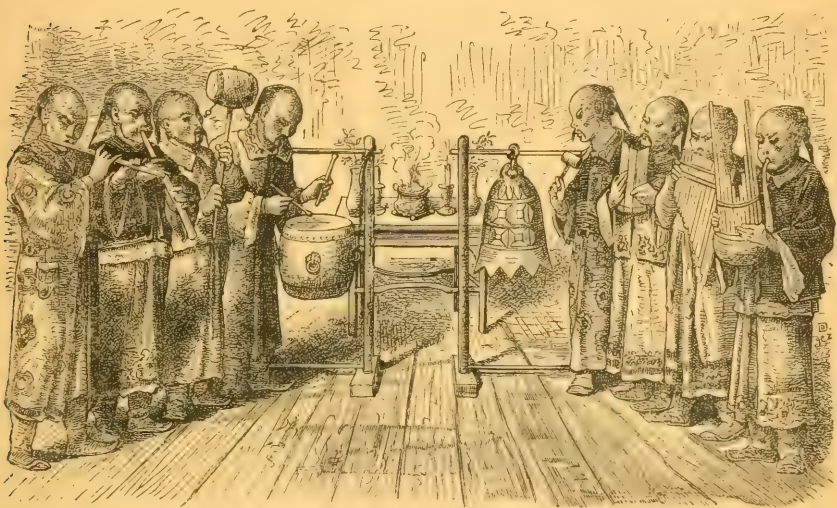


Fig. 13.—Chinese Orchestra in the Tay-miao.

a connection proved by the perfect similarity of their systems of vibrations and intervals. If, indeed, Gladisch's own discoveries in this direction induced him to complain of our want of appreciation of Chinese music, he was in this respect not unlike Amiot, Barrow, and others, whom the surprisingly profound combinations of the Chinese system deluded into a belief that their practice was as perfect as their theory.

The Japanese are the nearest neighbours of the Chinese, and they are also related by blood to them. They are descended from the Chinese and the Ainos, a nation still inhabiting the most northern part of Japan, the Kurile Isles, and the southern part of Kamschatka. The Japanese, waging war against the element that surrounded them, and forced to subdue the original

inhabitants, the Aines, have become a more energetic and active people than the Chinese, their forefathers. In music, however, they have in nowise surpassed the Chinese standard, but have, on the contrary, rather remained below it. They revere music, and connect it with their idol-worship, but, judged from an artistic point, it is inferior to Chinese music. We also find the music of the Japanese in strange association with their diplomacy. It is said that formerly an ambassador in addressing a foreign court to which he was accredited did not speak, but sang his mission. "Diplomatic notes," therefore, acquired in Japan a double signification, and there first earned an undoubted right to their present appellation; we may not, however, venture to assume that a chanted ultimatum sounded altogether like a congratulation. The descent of Japanese music from Chinese shows itself in their instruments. They have the *Kin* and the *Tscheng* (Fig. 11) in common. Peculiar to the Japanese is the *Oboe*, a strong shrill-sounding instrument made of sea-shell, to which is affixed a tube for a mouth-piece. This instrument is used in the place of a trumpet. They possess many stringed instruments, some of them like our European mandolins and lutes; one of the latter, *Samise*, is a cube-shaped resonant frame, and is struck with a plectrum. Like the Chinese, their barbarism in music shows itself in the number of drums, clappers, and bells. They have a drum in the shape of an hour-glass, which is struck at both ends; also cylindrical drums, and many bell instruments shaken by the hand, which are like our children's rattles.

Siebold, in his work on Japan, gives us an illustration of a whole Japanese orchestra. It consists of three men and four women, who perform on a horizontal flute, a large hour-glass-shaped drum, two bell-rattle instruments, two wooden clappers, and two small drums. This picture, taken from life, exhibits no less than six barbaric instruments of percussion ranged against a single flute, that has alone to support the melody. The co-operation of women is not only admitted in the performance of their secular but also in that of their sacred music. The social position of the musician is not specially respected, his status being no higher than that immediately above the lowest class.

Passing from the Chinese and Japanese to the Hindoos, we feel ourselves in a new mental sphere, with an entirely different conception of life, the character and mode of which has but very little in common with

the nations of whom we have spoken. The Hindoos, like the Chinese, connect the origin of their music with their religion; but whilst the Chinese do not trace its source further back than to the mythical bird Fung-Hoang, the Chinese hero the semi-mythical Fo-hi, and the pillar of their state-religion—Confucius; the Hindoos, on the contrary, derive their music direct from their gods. This can scarcely surprise us if we cast a glance at the country which they inhabit.

Under a fierce, glaring sun, in a climate which generates the wonderful animal and vegetable kingdoms of the tropics, lies an immense peninsula, sheltered by gigantic mountains, stretching southwards far out into the ocean, taper-like, and forming an almost isolated world of its own. The mighty rivers rising in the snow-capped Himalayas temper by their rushing waters the consuming heat of the near equator, and disseminate around a refreshing coolness, and an existence full of youthful activity. Hence the Hindoos venerate rivers like the Ganges, just as they do those mountains from whose valleys they take their source, and hold them sacred. Yet the power of the equator is so great that the people of Southern India cannot work like those of the north, but easily succumb to the influence of the enervating climate, which invites to rest, contemplation, day-dreaming, and a luxurious play of imagination. Besides, as such tendencies had already in ancient times exhibited themselves in the disposition of the Hindoo, before he emigrated from Thibet to the south, it was only natural that the character of the newly-adopted country should still further increase them.

Without taking into account the totally different characteristics of these nations, it at once becomes manifest that music among such a people, and under such a sky, would occupy a totally different position from that of the Chinese and Japanese—inhabitants of a more northern clime. If the development of music amongst the dull, prosaic, and grotesque Chinese was beset with difficulties, it found, on the other hand, among the Hindoos, in the country of the lotus-flower and gazelle, and under the narcotic influence of tropical foliage, a thoroughly congenial soil, and one in every respect favourable for striking root. By the Hindoo, therefore, music is regarded as an immediate gift from the gods. The consort of Brahma, the benevolent and kind Sarasvati, gave the *Vina*, the most charming of all instruments, to mankind. Sarasvati was the generally-

accepted guardian of music, but the one whose special office it was to preside over the art was Nareda. The following illustration (Fig. 14), which has reference to a part of the poem "Magha," is taken from a work by Sir William Jones. "Nareda once sat at his Vina, wrapped in deep contemplation, when suddenly the gently-moving zephyrs drew forth from the strings sounds that enchanted his ear, and which, proceeding in regular rhythm, varied continually, becoming at each change still more and more beautiful." In the Rigveda, one of the four primordial books of the Brahmins, written in Sanskrit, and known under the name of the "Vedas," there are hymns intended for music. The existence of these books is supposed to



Fig. 14.—Nareda, the God of Hindoo Music.

date from the year 1500 B.C. The Brahmins gave to the musically-gifted Hindoos a number of sacred songs, closely connected with their worship, the composition of which they traced to the most remote antiquity, and frequently ascribed to gods. Such melodies, "Ragas," were supposed to be capable of miraculous effects. Some forced men, animals, and even inanimate nature, to move according to the will of the singer; others could not be executed by any mortal man without the risk of being consumed by flames. The singer Naik-Gobaul, who tried to sing a forbidden "Raga," was, notwithstanding that he stood up to his neck in the river Jumna, consumed by fire. To another melody was attributed the power of calling down rain; a female singer saved Bengal by this "Raga" from drought and famine. A third melody obscured the sun, and enveloped the sovereign's palace in terror-striking darkness.

The Hindoos, believing in the supernatural effects of music as well as that the sound was agreeable to the gods, surrounded their heaven-god, Indra, with hosts of performing genii called "Gandharven," and with female dancers and performers called "Apsarasen."

The story of the Gandharven and Apsarasen in Hindoo mythology is

told in the following manner. Brahma, according to tradition, broke by the power of his thoughts the shell of the Brahma egg, in which he had been confined for three thousand billion and four hundred years, into two halves. Out of these, heaven and earth were fashioned. He then created man, who called forth from chaos ten "heavenly sages." The sages again peopled heaven and earth with good and bad spirits, and created the Gandharven and Apsarasen. The special mission of the "lotus-eyed" Apsarasen was to test by alluring song and luxurious enchantment the sincerity of the pious hermit, who had retired into seclusion to lead a godly life. If, however, these heavenly dancers exceeded their mission, and caused a holy man to break his vow, they were visited with the anger of the gods. Such was the case with the beautiful Apsarase Rambha, who was punished by being turned into stone. Lastly, the Apsarasen, conjointly with the Gandharven, were also appointed to enliven the feasts of the gods with song and dance.

The oldest of the Hindoo scales corresponds exactly with that of the five-toned Chinese scale—another proof of the close relationship which, in primordial times, must have existed between the two nations. It is not improbable that this scale was made up of the tones F, G, A, C, D, which, like the Chinese scale, lacked the B, the first scale "Vélavali" (also Velavi) consisting of the above-named progression. In India, as in China, this scale was in course of time increased to seven tones, the Hindoo scale corresponding to our scale of A major, the abbreviations of their signs being

Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.

These seven tones were repeated three times, and thus by taking the octave system as a foundation, a scale of twenty-one tones was obtained.

But the Hindoos, especially in their theory, did not stop short here. According to their system, distinction was made between large and small whole-tones as well as half-tones; and again, every large whole-tone was divided into four quarters, every small whole-tone into three-thirds, and every half-tone into two quarter-tones, so that the octave, called "Struti," contained twenty-two of these divisions. It becomes at once apparent that these "Strutis" could not be employed either by vocalist or instrumentalist, because, if we wished to divide our scale into quarter-tones, it would give us twenty-four sounds, whilst the Hindoos, having but twenty-

two equal divisions, constructed a scale which, if not mathematically, is musically quite an impossibility.

The extreme vagueness of the Hindoo theory is seen in the immense number of their keys, and their divergent systems. This anomalous state of things proceeds more especially from their having almost entirely ignored the mathematical and physical part of musical theory.

In the time of their god Krishna they asserted the existence of 16,000 keys. Monstrous as this may seem, when judged from a practical standpoint, the explanation by which they justify this enormous number is not altogether devoid of the charm of poetical imagery. The story runs, that at the time when the beautiful young god Krishna lived on earth as a shepherd, all the Madurie shepherdesses and nymphs, called "Gopis," of whom there existed 16,000, endeavoured to gain the love of the divine youth. In this contest every one of the Gopis invented a new key, hoping by its novel and peculiar construction, and consequent original melody, to move the young god's heart more powerfully than her sister's. Sir William Jones, in 1789, introduced into England from India a number of small and prettily-painted pictures, called "Ragmalas," representing with child-like simplicity the meeting of Krishna and the Gopis,



Fig. 15.—A Gopi attracting Gazelles by her Vina playing.

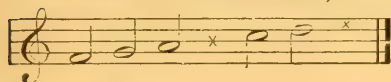
likewise these lovely nymphs rehearsing their songs on the Vina, in private, in order hereafter to charm their god. The illustration (Fig. 15), taken from the work of Sir William Jones, represents a Gopi, who, by her performance on the Vina, has attracted a number of gazelles, that frolic and gambol around her.

At a later period these 16,000 keys were reduced to 960, then to thirty-six, and lastly to twenty-three. But in most of the Indian provinces the thirty-six keys mentioned in the holy books Soma and Narayan have

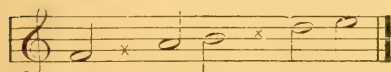
been retained. The origin of these thirty-six keys is attributed in Hindoo theogony to Maheda-Krishna, who brought forth from his five heads five keys, named "Raga," to which his consort Parbuti added the sixth. In addition to these, Brahma himself created thirty subsidiary keys called "Raginit." We give here from the book Soma a few of these thirty-six keys, the more clearly to illustrate the extraordinary omissions in their scales.

No. 16.

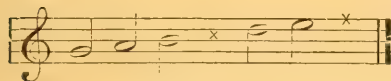
VÉLAVALI. (Corresponding to the oldest Chinese Scale.)



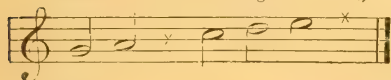
MELLÁRI.



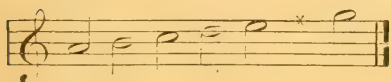
GAUDI.



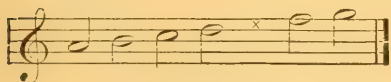
CARNATI. (Corresponding to the old Scottish Highland scale.)



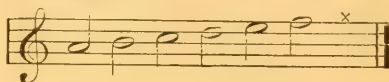
GÓNSTÁIZI.



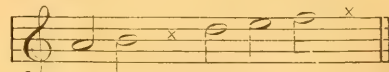
LELITÁ.



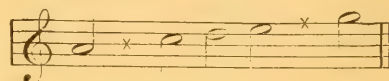
CÁMBODI.



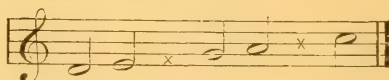
SAINDHAVI.



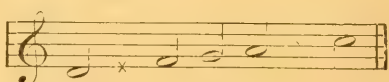
MÁLAVÁSRI.



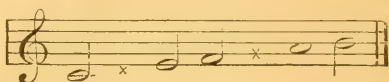
MEDHYAMADI.



HINDOLA.



BÔHPÁLI.



But even the thirty-six keys—of the scales of which we have given some examples—did not meet with general acceptance, for although they appear under the same name in the Soma and Narayan, yet they are differently noted, and it is only in the last-named book that the important key "Sriraga" corresponds to our modern scale of A major, which it is well known was the chief key of Hindoo musical practice. Amongst the thirty-six keys of the book Soma we meet with eight incomplete scales, seven of these being without the B. In the book Narayan, on the contrary, there are eleven of these incomplete scales, which, according to our modern notions,

are imperfect. But also in these last the B appears to have been studiously avoided, as it is wanting in no less than eight of them ; this peculiar construction undoubtedly being that of the oldest Hindoo scale.

In this omission of the B we trace a highly-interesting connection between the scales of the Hindoos and those of the ancient Greeks—a connection similar to that previously pointed out as existing between those of the Hindoos and the Chinese—the Greek scale of Terpander, according to the notation of Nicomachus, also having no B. Another division, differing from that found in the books Soma and Narayan, is that of Killinatha, who reckons 90 scales ; Terat, on the other hand, fixes them at 132. Often when referring to a key, a special melody only is understood. Consequently in the Hindoo theory of music we meet with almost the same extravagance, the same want of decided outline, and likewise a corresponding tendency to multiply and exaggerate everything, as is displayed in their sculpture, with its huge unnatural figures, and its many-headed gods, possessing an unlimited supply of arms and legs.

In the Sanskrit literature a great number of theoretical works on music have such fanciful names as “the mirror of scales,” “the mirror of melodies,” “the sea of emotions,” “the delights of society,” “the science of scales,” &c. The sacred book Narayan even speaks of a theory of music in verse, a fact which might well be relied on as showing the fanciful Hindoo’s predilection for clothing in flowery language the most abstract notions. The Narayan treats first of song, then of stringed instruments, and lastly of the ballet. The union of these arts is called “Sangita.” It should be mentioned that the six principal keys of the thirty-six referred to in the Soma and Narayan bear the names of Indian provinces, and each of the separate tones the name of a nymph.

The ever-varying metre which characterises Hindoo poetry, arising chiefly from the excitable and ecstatic nature of the race, has left its indelible impress on the rhythm of their music. In some instances, every beat of the bar was required to be performed strictly in time—in fact, just as at the present day ; whereas, in others the duration of such divisions was left to the individual taste of the singer. In the songs known to us the rhythm is very difficult to understand, and can only be approximately rendered by our modern system of notation. The English writer Bird says, in reference to such songs, “that many of these Raginis were

so entirely without rhythmical symmetry, that it would be almost impossible to reproduce them in the same form as they were executed by the Hindoo singers; they seem like the outpourings of exalted beings, who wed to words such sounds as their emotion or fancy suggests." Even in musical rhythm the symbolising spirit of the Hindoo exhibits its effeminate predilection for ornamentation, the picture of a lotus-flower indicating the conclusion of each musical period.

Scientific research has not yet been able to ascertain whether the present music of the Hindoos bears anything more than the remotest resemblance to that of the ancients. Their oldest songs are to be found in the "Vedas." The sacred songs contained in these holy books were saved from destruction by their being written in verse, committed to memory, and chanted—a custom common to the civilised nations of antiquity. All scientific efforts to trace these melodies have proved fruitless. We are indebted to the German savants, Theodor Benfey and Max Müller, for what little light has been thrown on the supposed connection between the rhythm of these hymns and the music to which they were sung. Fétis, following up their investigations, has, in his "*Histoire de la Musique*," made some further deductions which are very interesting. Sir William Jones discovered two ancient songs which are supposed to have been committed to writing about 1,400 B.C., but as every savant has hitherto deciphered them in a different manner, it is clear that the correct method of reading them has yet to be found out. The nearest approach to the old Hindoo music is most likely to be found in the religious hymns of the Hindoos of the present day. All sacred traditions—in which category these songs must be placed—are preserved and adhered to by Eastern races with a tenacity totally unknown to nations inhabiting the West.

The following examples of Hindoo melody still extant, though they have probably lost much of their original character, owing to foreign influences during thousands of years, still retain sufficient individuality to enable us to form at least a general notion of ancient Hindoo music.*

* The following are from Sir William Jones's work on "Hindoo Music." With the exception of the third example in the minor, I have selected as illustrations other melodies than those given by Ambros in his excellent "*History of Music*," partly with the object of completing the specimens given by him, and partly because these melodies appear to me to be no less characteristic than those already known. In harmonising them I have followed the system adopted by Sir William Jones, Ambros, Bird, and others. I have employed this

HINDOSTANI MELODY.

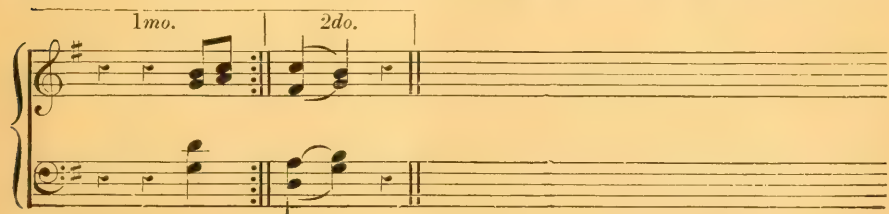
No. 17. (*Allegretto grazioso.*)

The musical score for No. 17, *Allegretto grazioso*, is presented in five systems. Each system consists of a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The notation includes various rhythmic values (eighth and sixteenth notes, rests), dynamic markings (*p*, *fp*), and accents. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the fifth system.

method with all the more confidence, in that the simple and natural progression of these melodies seemed to indicate so obviously the requisite harmonies, as to preclude the possibility of extensive variation.

A sense of refreshing and ingenuous gaiety pervades this melody, involuntarily reminding one of the child-like grace of the Gopi with the gazelles in the picture, page 22. Such music could only emanate from a mind at peace with the world and ignorant of its sorrows. The Hindoos are children of the sun, and enjoy an existence as unconscious as that of the midges who dance in the last rays of our daily orb. For the rest, this melody runs smoothly in periods, and should hold a far higher rank than the aimless ramblings of the Chinese. As regards the rhythm, however, we here meet the same monotony common to all the ancient civilised nations. Yet, the ever-recurring crotchet rest of the second bar

TUPPAH.

No. 18. *Moderately fast.*

produces a less wearisome effect than the repetition of the two minims of the Chinese melody, No. 4 on page 11.

To modern investigators it becomes more and more patent that Indian music must at some period have been in close connection with that of Persia and Arabia. The melody of No. 18 supports this view, as every connoisseur of Arabian music will at once recognise its similarity to a number of Mohammedan melodies that have been imported into Europe. It may therefore be taken for granted that this Indian Tuppah more nearly resembles the music of our own time, by centuries, than the Hindostani melody, No. 17.

REKTAH.

No. 19. *Lively.*

The musical score for No. 19, 'Lively', is written in 6/8 time. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The melody is primarily in the treble staff, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests marked 'w'. The bass staff provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The piece concludes with a key signature change to minor, indicated by the text 'FINE. (Minor.)' and a change in the key signature of the final staff.

1mo. 2do.

*Da Capo dal segno
al Fine.*

With regard to this last example, No. 19, we would refer the reader to a previous observation. It was shown that most of the Chinese melodies known to us are in common time. We may assume the contrary to have been the case with Indian melodies, as they betray a predilection for uneven measures, most of them being in $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, or $\frac{3}{8}$ time. It is not difficult to discern a connection between this unequal measure and the natural tendency of the people. The undulating, indecisive character of

uneven measures seems more in consonance with the soft sentimentality of the Hindoo, and coincides more closely with certain traits in his homely poetry and plastic art than even measures, which convey an impression more nearly akin to the frank, decisive, and realistic feeling of the Chinese. The latter, therefore, naturally prefer the major keys, whilst the former make more constant use of the minor. It is, however, sometimes very difficult to determine the key in which a Chinese melody is written, and more especially whether it is major or minor. The many years of bondage endured by the Indians changed considerably the character of their native music. Thus their *Rektahs* are of Persian, their



Fig. 20.—Iwan Schah, a Celebrated Hindoo Musician.

Tuppahs of Mongolian, and their *Teranas* of Arabian origin. Their instruments also testify to the influence of political changes and a foreign sway.

It can be safely asserted of but few of the Indian instruments that they are of native origin. Those which are indigenous belong to the earliest period of their civilisation; the greater number, however, have been copied, with but slight alteration, from those of the neighbouring nations.

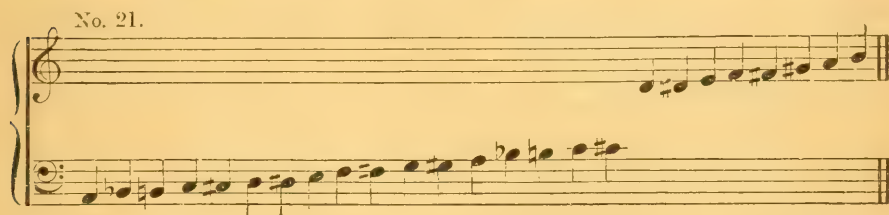
When speaking of *Nareda*, the god of Hindoo music, we pointed

out how close was the connection between the history of the oldest and most important instruments and that of their religion. The *Vina*, which might be appropriately termed the Hindoo lute, is at once the most perfect and the most national of all their instruments, and its antiquity is proved by the frequent mention made of it in a great number of ancient Hindoo poems.

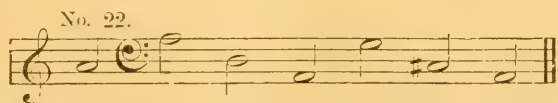
In the drama *Sakuntala*, so highly and justly praised by Goethe written by the Hindoo poet Kalidasa, 56 B.C., the King *Duschmanta*, on entering his garden, is wonderfully refreshed and invigorated by a triumphal song wherewith two singers greet him. He had hardly seated himself

by the side of his friend Madhawja, when the sound of a Vina is heard through the grove. "Hark!" said Madhawja to the Prince, "do you not hear the sound of song from yonder room? It is the harmony of a perfectly-tuned Vina. 'Tis there the Princess plays." "Hush!" rejoined the King, "let me listen!" And now behind the scene is heard the Princess Sakuntala accompanying herself on the Vina to a bewitchingly-tuneful song. "How full of emotion is this song!" exclaimed the King. "What can it be? Since I heard this song, I feel a strange longing as for a loved one far away!"

Hence we learn that the Vina was used by personages of the highest rank, and the perfection of its tuning was extolled 2,000 years ago. That it was also a favourite instrument with the immortals appears from two of our illustrations, where it is seen in the hands of the god of music, and of the nymph Madura, a Gopi. The Vina, as the illustration opposite shows, is neither a harp nor a guitar, although bearing some resemblance to the latter instrument, the finger-board being provided with frets. It consists of a cylindrical tube about three feet in length, and contains no less than nineteen movable bridges, placed at short intervals, which permit of a chromatic scale of two octaves (see No. 21). The seven strings of the Vina, made



of metal, are fixed to a similar number of pegs, and are tuned in the following manner.



The resonance of the Vina (see Fig. 20) is produced by the two hollow pumpkins attached to the back of the instrument. The performer here is the celebrated Hindoo musician of modern times, Iwan Schah. The Vina, as we see, is played in a sitting position, the instrument being pressed

obliquely to the body of the performer, so that his chest is interposed between the two pumpkins.

Another stringed instrument, the *Magoudi* (Fig. 23), bears a close affinity to the guitar, and its form is also somewhat like the *Tanbur* used by the Arabs. The Hindoo snake-charmers display a marked preference for this instrument in their exhibitions. The body of the *Magoudi* is richly ornamented, and resembles a pomegranate cut in half.

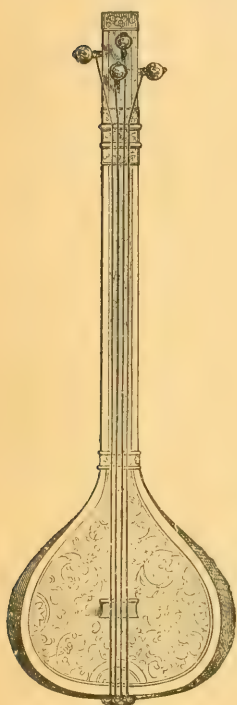


Fig. 23.—*Magoudi*, the Hindoo Guitar.

The Hindoos have two kinds of violin, of which one is called the *Seringhi* and the other the *Serinda*. The strings of the latter are made of silk, and it is played with a bow of most primitive construction (Fig. 24).

Several of their instruments of percussion remind one of those of the Chinese, viz., their big drums, kettle-drums, and bells. They also have no lack of flutes, double-flutes, and bagpipes. At their funerals they use the *Tare*, a kind of trombone, which has a dull mournful tone. In common with the Chinese they have the *King*, the *Gong* (or *Tamtam*), and the *Golden Horn* (Fig. 25), a metal instrument, most artistically ornamented.

It may be here observed that they possess a higher aptitude for music than the Chinese, as may be judged by the greater number and perfection of their stringed instruments, as well as by the more general employment of them.

The most important use made of their music is in connection with their religious rites; their songs (*Gana*) and instrumental music (*Badya*) being strictly regulated for use in the pagodas.

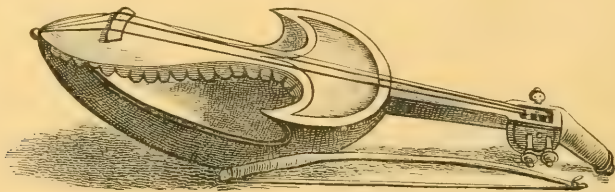


Fig. 24.—*Serinda*.

The Hindoo Bayaderes play no insignificant part in relation to religion, music, and the dance. They are divided into two classes, the first being dedicated to the service of the Temple of the Gods, and the second consisting of dancers who lead a wandering life. The Bayaderes of the first class are called "Devadasi" (the slaves of the gods), and live within the precincts of the temple. They are maidens who are free from bodily defects, and whose parents enter into a solemn contract renouncing all claim to them. The Devadasi are instructed in music, dancing, and mimicry. In the processions and festivities of the god whom they serve they chant choruses, in which his deeds and victories are glorified, and dance before his image as it is carried from place to place. They also plait wreaths and garlands to adorn the altars and pictures of their gods. When they wish to resign their sacred office they are permitted to choose a suitor from within or without the temple, but their selection is limited to the highest caste; and they are compelled to promise their daughters as Devadasis, and their sons as musicians.



Fig. 25.—The Golden Horn of the Chinese and Hindoos.

A very inferior position is occupied by the Bayaderes of the second class. They are only engaged to perform at private festivities, caravansaries, and public places of amusement, taking the place, in fact, of itinerant musicians. Their dances are not without historical interest, however, as they serve to perpetuate many ancient traditions. They consist mostly of mimicry, explanation being given by musicians who accompany the dancing with songs, and generally refer to accepted or rejected love, lovers' meetings, jealousy, revenge, and the like.

We also meet in India with musical dramas, the invention of which is attributed to the demigod Bharata. *Gilugowinda*, an idyllic musical

drama of very ancient origin, which tells of Krishna's quarrel and reconciliation with the beautiful Radha, consists of the songs of the two lovers, alternating with the chorus of the friends of Radha.

Here we must close our sketch of the musical condition of the civilised nations of South-eastern and Southern Asia, and proceed to investigate the development of music in the primitive lands of the Nile Valley and in Egypt, the connecting link between Asia and Africa, returning to the ancient nations of Western Asia.

CHAPTER II.

THE EGYPTIANS, ETHIOPIANS, AND WESTERN ASIATICS, *i.e.*, THE CHALDÆANS, TURKS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS.

ALL early musical investigators regarded the Egyptians as an unmusical people—an opinion which does not widely obtain in the closing century. Such a belief was especially fostered by a misunderstood passage in Diodorus Siculus. It was only after Dr. Burney found a hieroglyph in the shape of a lute on a fallen obelisk at Rome, and James Bruce discovered representations of harps in the tombs of the Kings of Thebes, that this illusion began to be dispelled. The false impression was still further weakened by the discovery of monuments which threw new light upon the musical condition of the mysterious land of the Nile. Egyptologists have, in numerous instances, identified the figures on these monuments as those of performers on wind and stringed instruments, and have likewise deciphered several inscriptions referring to music. In one of the islands of the Upper Nile, Brugsch found the following inscription, supposed to date from the fifteenth dynasty: "Erpa-He the Great, Prince of Kusch, and singer to his lord Amon," from which we may conclude that even princes did not disdain to officiate as leaders of the singers.

On the whole, it is matter for surprise that, considering the musical endowments of the Egyptians, it was possible to have been deceived so long. Amongst a people whose religion entered so deeply into all relations of life, and in a country where there existed so firm and general a belief in the immortality of the soul, the art of sound was sure to find its home. Where there is no religion, music can never obtain a secure footing, nor

meet with its due appreciation. But a nation like the Egyptians, so given to symbolising and philosophising on the nature of the soul, could not but be strongly influenced by the power and soothing effect of music. The people were cast in a grand and stately mould, and lived in a land pre-eminently conducive to habits of meditation and reflection. Nowhere besides, except in India, do we find a people who, possessing mental proclivities similar to those of the Egyptians, endeavoured to account for the phenomena of this mysterious world. To such homes of civilisation the art of music was necessarily indigenous.

There can be no doubt as to the character of Egyptian music, at least in its employment as an accessory to the performance of religious rites, it must have been both solemn and majestic. This would correspond with all the philosophical notions entertained by the Egyptians concerning the universe—reflections everywhere directed towards the great contradictions of human existence. The wonderful sublimity of the natural phenomena surrounding them could not but lead to this habit of thought. Egypt itself was an oasis in an enormous desert, and it was only by means of their fertilising river and a limited extent of seaboard that communication between themselves and other nations could be continuously maintained. In striking contrast to the luxuriantly fruitful soil of the well-watered valley of the Nile stood the bare and arid mountains bordering upon it, from whose summits the eye wanders over the miles of sandy desert, or is deceived by the strange mirage on the horizon. During the periodical inundations of the Nile the valley was transformed into one immense sea, in which cities and villages were visible only as islands, the country presenting a totally different aspect from that which it assumed at other times of the year. Whilst engaged in the contemplation of such vast dissimilarities, the minds of the inhabitants of this country became alive to the greatest of all contradictions in nature and in human existence; they awoke to a sense of that irreconcilable antithesis existing between life and death: this formed the basis of their cosmical philosophy.

But death, though it belongs to the unfathomable secrets of human existence, possesses, nevertheless, so great a fascination for us, that it ever incites to renewed speculation. A continuous meditation of the kind, such as we find occupying the intellects of the Egyptian priests and sages, could not but assert its ascendancy over the minds of the people to whom they

ministered, imbuing them, and their colossal buildings, with the character of the solemn, the wonderful, and the mysterious. We may, therefore, not unreasonably conclude that their music was brought under the same dominant influence, thus giving to it the impress of solemnity and mysticism.

Even at the time when the Egyptians were still believed to have been entirely unmusical, many of our great musicians, with a power of divination superior to that of erring science, instinctively discovered the tonal characteristics of this Eastern music, and used it to give local colour to their compositions. I need only refer, in support of this assertion, to Méhul's *Joseph in Egypt*, and Mozart's *Zauberflöte*. The idols, pyramids, sphinxes and obelisks, the representations of Pharaoh and his followers, or the priesthood in the exercise of their mystic rites, which formed the background of Egyptian temples, contributed in no small degree to the creation of that solemn, sanctified, and truly-exalted sentiment pervading the immortal compositions above mentioned. And whilst we are upon this subject, it is worth while to note the impression produced on the greatest tone-poet of the nineteenth century by a saying of ancient Egyptian lore. On Beethoven's writing-table there was a framed copy of an inscription from the Temple of Saïs, which ran thus:—"I am all that is, that was, and that will be; no mortal has lifted my veil."

How inherent the musical gift was among the Semitic races has been shown by the Hebrews from the earliest times to the present day. The Egyptians, indeed, though almost certainly Semites, are a different race from the Israelites—the latter of whom, as is known, lacked entirely the matured plastic art of the Egyptians, whilst the Egyptians, on the other hand, were poor in poetical creations. We may, therefore, presuppose that music in the Temple of Memphis differed from that performed in the Temple at Jerusalem, although no doubt also many a reminiscence of Egyptian music found its way into Palestine.

Bunsen describes Egypt as the "land of monuments," and the Egyptians as the "monumental people of history." But the very existence of such a plenitude of monuments makes the want of musical records and Egyptian melodies all the more painfully felt. The lack of these shows us at what a disadvantage music stands in comparison with the plastic arts. For tone-pictures are not made of indestructible material like the pyramids, which stand firmly fixed in the ground, capable of resisting

the ravages of thousands of years. Tones are, so to speak, the creations of the moment—ephemeral, evanescent. Even the attempt to fix them by notation offered no security for their preservation. A roll of papyrus fell an easy prey to the elements and a host of other enemies.

We have already referred to the close connection that must have existed between the music of the Egyptians and their religion. Traces of it are visible not only in what we know of the vocal and instrumental music employed in their temples, but also in a considerable portion of their mythical traditions. Thus the Egyptians attribute the origin of those sacred melodies to the goddess Isis. Plato



Fig. 26.—Performers of Funeral Music. (Copy of a Picture from a Tomb at Thebes.)

tells us that amongst these sacred songs some must have been of great antiquity, as he believed that good music and beautiful works of art had existed amongst them for ten thousand years without suffering any change. “In their possession,” adds the Greek philosopher, “are songs having the power to exalt and ennoble mankind, and these could only emanate from gods or god-like men.” The Egyptians themselves had similar notions concerning the origin of these primitive melodies. But not content with this, they pressed into the service of music even the natural elements which had been symbolised into gods. Thus there is to be seen in their temple at Dakkeh a picture representing the fire-god Ptah playing on a harp. Osiris also was looked upon as a patron deity of song. In many representations he is accompanied by the nine

female singers whom the Greeks subsequently transformed into the "nine muses," as they also transformed Osiris into "Phœbus Apollo."

There is an Egyptian tradition, very similar to one held by the Greeks, that the Egyptian god Thoth was the originator of the lyre, an instrument made out of the shell of a tortoise with strings affixed to it. Among forty-two "priestly books" attributed to Thoth, there are two "Books of the Singer." From pictures of Egyptian catacombs we learn that instrumental music formed the general accompaniment of their solemn funeral rites, and that vocal music was employed in exceptional instances only (Fig. 26). Whole families of singers were attached to the temple; the mysteries belonging to their religious rites were transmitted, like their castes, from father to son and from generation to generation. The Egyptians placed in the most ideal relation to the art of music their goddess Isis-Hathor, she whom Ebers calls "the holy goddess of love, the mighty heavenly mother, the beautiful—filling heaven and earth with deeds of benevolence." Subsequently she was transformed into a muse, under whose protection were placed the dance, song, sport, and licentiousness; the rope and tambourine in her hand signifying the captivating power and joy of love.

Manifold were the relations which music bore to the state and to general civilisation. In the houses of great families singers were specially retained, and from pictorial monuments we learn that both singers and dancers formed part of the household of Egyptian grandees, the illustrations showing female dancers accompanying themselves on the guitar, and blind singers accompanying themselves on harps.

The Egyptians placed their music in close affinity with astronomy, a position which we have already seen it occupy among the Chinese and Hindoos; but it was only among the Greeks that this combination attained to its greatest significance. This linking together of music with the science of the stars and the universe—a connection repeatedly asserting itself amongst so many of the ancient civilised nations—distinctively points to their view of music as the art capable above all others of giving complete expression to the infinite, the eternal, and the ineffable. Poetry, from its very nature, is confined to the expression of definite ideas; the plastic arts demand tangible forms and a circumscribed limit in space. Poetry, architecture, sculpture, and painting can therefore only indirectly express the infinite, and make it clear to us by symbolisation.

The pictorial representation of the interior of the House of the Pharaohs on the architrave of a door in the catacombs near El-Amarna is highly interesting, as it shows the important position which was then assigned to music. The number of male and female singers and instrumentalists performing, either singly or conjointly, is so great, that Ambros, speaking jestingly of them, says that "the Egyptian palaces were surrounded with whole conservatoires of music." On the walls of a catacomb dating from the time of the seventeenth dynasty, the departed master of the house and his consort are represented as listening to the performance of two female singers accompanied by two harps and one flute, while a little girl is beating time with the well-known Egyptian wooden clappers. This evidently is intended to represent one of those private orchestras which were usually attached to the houses of Egyptian nobles. Martial music had its place with the Egyptians as with all the nations of antiquity; but as with them it was almost entirely confined to the use of trumpets and drums, we are justified in concluding that it was used only for signalling purposes. And this restriction would seem to suggest that music was with them, comparatively speaking, a highly-developed art. For it is a characteristic of barbarous nations only to begin a battle with howling war-cries, accompanied by the clamour of all their instruments. Homer refers to this ("Iliad," iii. 1—9) when he speaks of the Greeks, as the more civilised people, advancing to the fray silently, while the Trojans enter with loud cries.

Like the Chinese and Hindoos, the Egyptians were rigorously divided into castes; and so circumscribed was their conservatism, that it checked for thousands of years the onward march of civilisation, and isolated them entirely from intercourse with other nations. It was owing to this last circumstance, Herodotus tells us, that no strange melody crept into the land. The only exception to this, as we have already pointed out, is the "Maneros," in the melody of which Herodotus recognised the Greek "Linos." The illustrious Greek traveller was not a little astonished to find these familiar sounds among a people who, with that exception, had nothing in common with his nation.*

* That Herodotus refers less to the poetical contents of the song than to the melody seems clear, for except that everywhere the poetry has the character of a lament, the words are different. Each tribe applied it to its special gods, traditions, and rites, the tune alone remaining intact

The most important of their national melodies were those that referred to death, the frailty of all things human, and the future state of the blessed—subjects which, as we have already seen, specially pre-occupied their minds. Their odes on death were of a twofold character, sometimes pathetic elegies on the loss of the departed, sometimes hymns glorifying their transfiguration. Specimens of both are given in the following verses. The first of these is the commencement of the “Maneros,” the lament of Isis on the death of the beloved Osiris. She sings :—

“Return, oh, return!
 God Panu, return!
 Those that were enemies
 Are no more here.
 O lovely helper, return
 That thou may'st see me, thy sister,
 Who loves thee:
 And com'st thou not near me?
 O beautiful youth, return, oh, return!
 When I see thee not
 My heart sorrows for thee,
 My eyes ever seek thee,
 I roam about for thee, to see thee in the form of the Nai,
 To see thee, to see thee, thou beautiful lov'd one.
 Let me, the Radiant, see thee
 God Panu, *All Glory*, see thee again.
 To thy belovèd come, blessed Onnofris,
 Come to thy sister, come to thy wife,
 God Urtuhet, oh, come!
 Come to thy consort!”

The second song, given below, is a hymn of the priest Tapherumnes. It is dedicated to the waning sun sinking beneath distant seas, whose waves are tipped with gold. This was looked on as symbolic of the pious singer at the close of a gentle life hastening to its beatification.

“Gracious be to me, thou God of the rising sun,
 Thou God of the evening sun; Lord of both worlds,
 Thou God, who alone in truth dost dwell,
 Thou, who hast created all,
 Revealing Thyself in the Eye of the sun.
 At eventide I praise Thee,
 Peacefully dying to begin new life;
 'Midst hymns of praise sinking into the sea
 Where jubilant Thy bark awaits Thee.”

If the melodies wedded to such verses were only approximately as emotional, then the music of the Egyptians must indeed have been capable of very great effects.

Let us direct our attention to the few points which present themselves for investigation in the musical systems of the Egyptians. The walls of the temples and catacombs of Egypt do not disclose to us any explanation of the musical theory of the former inhabitants of that land, and we are therefore compelled to take refuge in the region of supposition, and it is at best only by indirect inferences that we can arrive at some not improbable conclusions on this important subject. We have but little positive information concerning the keys and scales of the Egyptians—indeed, much less than we have relating to the systems of the Chinese and Hindoos. The reason is that the occasional finding of a single papyrus and palimpsest can afford but scanty information compared with that contained in the sacred books of the Chinese and Hindoos that have been preserved to us. The sacred books of the Egyptians are chiselled in stone, and it is from the walls of the temple, obelisks, and tombs that we have to read. But it was impossible for the Egyptians, under such adverse circumstances, to fix the details and subtleties of their tonal system and musical history in the same manner as they are fixed in the Hindoo books Soma and Narayan.

Nevertheless we are justified in supposing that the oldest tone-relations of the Egyptians consisted of tetrachords—*i.e.*, four notes. Yet, were we certain of this, it is always an open question whether these tetrachords were of a melodic or harmonic structure; if melodic, they would have been played in succession—*i.e.*, note after note; if harmonic, then they would have been sounded simultaneously—*i.e.*, in chords. Kiesewetter supposes the latter. In this event, the tetrachord could only have consisted of its key-note and its natural aliquots, a succession of tones like the following :—



Dio Cassius entirely rejects this, and admits only the Greek system, which has the interval of a fourth ("Diatessaron") as a foundation. But

here the notion of a melodic and harmonic tetrachord would be excluded, and we should be reduced to the circle of fourths and its inversion—a circle of fifths—which we met with among the Chinese.

In the face of such contradictory opinions and surmises of ancient and modern times, the author is compelled to adhere to the melodic tetrachord as the oldest and only authentic one. In proof of this we would point to the use made of the melodic tetrachord by the neighbouring Greeks, who employed it as the foundation of all their melodies; and as it is known that they imitated the Egyptians in music, as well as in other departments of knowledge, there is nothing to militate against the supposition that the melodic tetrachord was also appropriated by them. Again, the fact that the Egyptians, like the Pythagoreans, regarded the number four as sacred, leads us to the conclusion that they may likewise have made this mystical number the basis of their tonal system.*

Still stronger evidence in favour of our contention is derived from the circumstance that certain melodies still existing in Abyssinia—that highland from which the Egyptians in pre-historic times descended into the Nile Valley—are restricted within the limits of a Greek tetrachord. We refer to example No. 40 in the chapter treating of Ethiopian music.

To these arguments another no less important, as it appears to us, must be added. Celebrated travellers during the early Greek period, who received their information verbally from Egyptian priests, relate that some Egyptian melodies have remained unchanged during thousands of years. This circumstance demonstrates not merely the tenacity with which the Egyptian priesthood and people clung to their traditions, but it also brings out into prominent relief that tendency of their artistic development which made architecture their predominant art, and gave to their sculpture an entirely architectural impress by confining it within circumscribed limits. We may, therefore, suppose that this strict conservatism extended itself to their music, and prevented it from being lost in the vague and undefined. Music being so entirely without substance and of such a subtle nature, we

* Even the Nilometer was supposed to have been based on the important number four, and Passalacqua connects the four points of that instrument with the four cardinal points, the four elements, and the four different stages which the Egyptians imagined as existing in their mental life and the transmigration of souls. If, therefore, the number four had such an importance in the real and ideal existence of the Egyptians, we have another reason for assuming that it was of equal importance in their music.

may well take it that the contemplative Egyptian mind, ruled by unchangeable lines and forms, encompassed this art within rigid rules and narrowly-defined limits. To this end the four notes of the tetrachord must have suggested themselves as being very appropriate; for whilst within their range there is scope for great variety of melodic invention, the melodies, owing to this restriction, became imbued with a character of exalted tranquillity and grandeur to which it would have been far more difficult to attain if they had been composed of a greater number of notes. These sacred songs must have excited in the mind of the hearer emotions similar to those aroused by the contemplation of the pyramids, the mighty temples, and the dignified majesty of the colossal statues and sphinxes.*

It is an ascertained fact that the musical character of the sacred songs of the most ancient nations exercised, in the course of time, a great influence over their secular music, and with a people like the Egyptians, prone to dwell upon the uncertainty of human life, we may suppose that this influence was greater than with many other ancient nations. This theory obtains significance from the fact that the modern Egyptians (who have, it should be remembered, undergone admixture with Koptic and Mohammedan elements) possess melodies based on the tetrachord. Thus we find in the work of Mr. Edward William Lane, "An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians" (London, 1836), that the following melodies are still in use in Egypt:—

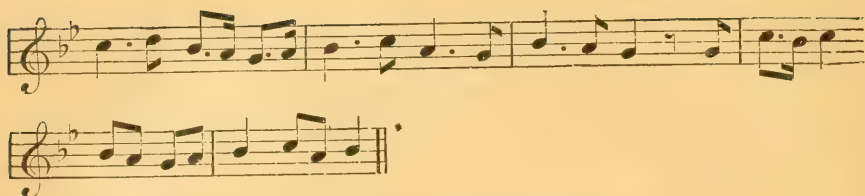
No. 28.



No. 29.



* How conducive a limited extent of notes is to the expression of the mysterious, the solemn, and lofty, may be observed in the temple melodies of some of the oldest civilised nations, in the Catholic liturgy, in the oracle of Gluck's *Alceste*, the *Commendatore* in *Don Giovanni*, the song of the men in armour in *The Magic Flute*, and innumerable national melodies.



Jomard supplies us with the following Egyptian ditty :—



It is not only the limitation of these melodies within the compass of the tetrachord, but, more than this, the repetition of pairs of similar melodic and rhythmical phrases which excite our special interest, resembling as they do similar repetitions in the Abyssinian ditties (see No. 40, &c.). In these examples we seem to discern a renaissance of old Egyptian melodies. This view accords with certain remarks made by Carsten Niebuhr in his work, "Travels in Arabia and the Neighbouring Countries," Vol. I. (Copenhagen, 1774). He relates that whilst he was in Egypt he often heard sheiks singing parts of the Koran in a way which greatly pleased him, the music being natural and the performers always keeping their voices within a certain range. One sees from this that he refers to a tonal limitation. Later on in his book he again alludes to this restriction, stating "that the melodies of the Egyptians are all serious and simple." He also notices the custom resorted to by Egyptian men and women—so often represented on the oldest Egyptian monuments—of marking the rhythmical measure of their song by "clapping hands" in the absence of drums to serve this purpose. Women are especially represented as accompanying their songs after this fashion—*e.g.*, on the tomb of Inai in the City of the Dead at Memphis, and also on the catacombs of Eleithia, near Thebes (Fig. 31). As this

* The one digression from the tetrachord in this example is rendered all the more perceptible by the remaining portion of the melody having been kept strictly within the prescribed limits.

practice of clapping the hands still exists in Egypt, there is every reason for believing that those songs and melodies based on the tetrachord which are still extant have also descended from the oldest times.

In connection with certain measured movements of the arms and feet which we meet with pictorially delineated on the walls of tombs, this clapping of hands provides us with a starting-point for understanding the musical rhythm of the Egyptians. This rhythm must have been a very strongly-marked one, as with all Orientals it was in general very decided, and is still so with the peoples of Southern Europe. Indeed, so vigorous



Fig. 31.—Performing Women and Maidens. (From an Ancient Tomb of the Egyptian Kings.)

was the marking of this rhythm that the whole body of the musician was swayed to and fro.*

There is much reason for supposing that the Egyptian appreciation of musical harmony was very highly developed. It appears to have been more decidedly innate with them than with the other civilised nations of the pre-Christian era. In this respect they not only differ from the Hindoos, whose natural tendencies inclined to the formation of flowing

* To this day the natives of Morocco and Tunis, and especially the Jewish maidens, accompany their social songs with rhythmical clapping of hands and stamping of feet. This ancient custom appears to have spread from Egypt over the whole of the northern coast of Africa.

melodies, but also from the Chinese. An almost undeniable proof of the more advanced harmony of the Egyptians is to be found in their representations of certain groups of instruments, which by their different nature lead us to the conclusion that they must have formed a musical *ensemble* in its present accepted sense. Instruments varying so much in structure, character, and tone—like the many-stringed large harps and the smaller harps with a more restricted number of strings, to which must be added guitars, lyres, flutes, and drums—when performed on simultaneously could not have been used merely to strengthen the melody, because if the melody had only been written within the limits of the tetrachord the compass of the orchestra would have been too large. The converse of this might be assumed if we suppose the melody to have consisted of a greater variety of tones. We may therefore conclude that the instruments were not played in unison, but that they supplied a harmonic accompaniment; and we are further justified in this belief by the fact that all the performers are represented as striking the strings simultaneously with both hands, thus indicating the use of arpeggio or at least of harmonic chords. We are, perhaps, justified in inferring from the use of the zither by the peasants of the Tyrol and Upper Bavaria, and from the fondness of the Bohemian (*i.e.*, gipsy) musicians for the harp, that among somewhat primitive peoples there is a liking for many-stringed instruments with arpeggio and harmonic accompaniments. It is to be remarked that the sharp short tones of harps, lyres, and lutes, which are not played with the bow, but pulled with the fingers, would have proved totally inadequate for the execution of legato melodies, especially those used in the temple. A performance of these sacred melodies on such instruments would have been as unacceptable as one of our Christian hymns performed on the violin *pizzicato*.

A strongly-developed appreciation of musical harmony by the Egyptians is perfectly reconcilable with the general disposition of a people given to mental analysis and mystic contemplation; for, in truth, music becomes of absorbing and engrossing interest only when the union of its melodic with its harmonic elements has been effected; and it is then, and not till then, that its inherent power of portraying the miraculous and supernatural arrives at its complete expression.

The musical history of the Egyptians is closely connected with their political history. Lepsius gives the year 3592 B.C. as the beginning of

the reign of the first historical Pharaoh. In those ancient times the "seven sacred sounds," the only tones which the priests permitted to be used by the female singers dedicated to the temple service, may be presumed to have been the sole music performed at their religious services, as it is probable that instruments were then excluded. The importance of these seven sounds in the old Egyptian liturgy is referred to in the writings of Christian teachers resident in Egypt and the East during the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. Amongst other things they state: "The seven sounding tones praise Thee, the great God, the ceaseless working Father of the whole universe." And again: "I am the great indestructible lyre of the whole world, attuning the songs of the heavens."

In the fourth dynasty of the "old empire" we find a chorus of female singers associated with a performer on the harp, and also men who accompany the music with mimicry. A like illustration is to be found depicted on the tomb of Imai, where, in addition to the representation of the performers, their occupation is more particularly described by the hieroglyphs as "harpers," "singers," and "dancers." The musical leader or conductor of this whole group is in the act of holding the palm of his hand to his ear, as if desiring by this means to increase the power of his hearing—an attitude often found on many ancient monuments. On the tomb of the Roti, a grotto of the time of the twelfth dynasty, the wife of the departed is seen suckling her babe and listening to a singer who is kneeling down and holding his hand to his ear in the same manner as before mentioned, accompanied by a harper.

About the time of the fourteenth dynasty it is supposed that the Hyksos invaded, subjugated, and reigned over Egypt for 511 years. It is by no means improbable that these peculiar nomadic intruders, who were governed by shepherd kings, exercised, during the long period of their conquest, some influence over Egyptian music. To them might be ascribed the introduction of instruments into the temple service, including the drums and long Egyptian flutes, the latter of which were held by the executant in an oblique position.

About the time of the eighteenth dynasty there was a marked increase

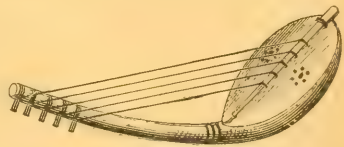


Fig. 32.—A Stringed Instrument, something between a Harp and a Lute.

in the number of musical instruments, and a greater interest also was manifested in the art of music. Of this impetus the tombs of El-Amarna furnish us with convincing proof. Here we find variously-constructed harps (Figs. 32 and 33), old and new bow-shaped harps used at social gatherings, the *Nablium* (an ancient harp of Phœnician origin in the shape of a right-angled triangle), also Egyptian lyres and lutes. The temple-harps during this period increased both in size and tone, and the richness of their artistic ornamentation was both striking and beautiful. The pictorial illustrations which we meet with from this time forward frequently exhibit a complete orchestra, composed of harps, lyres, single and double flutes, hand kettle-drums resembling the Neapolitan tambourine, and lutes.

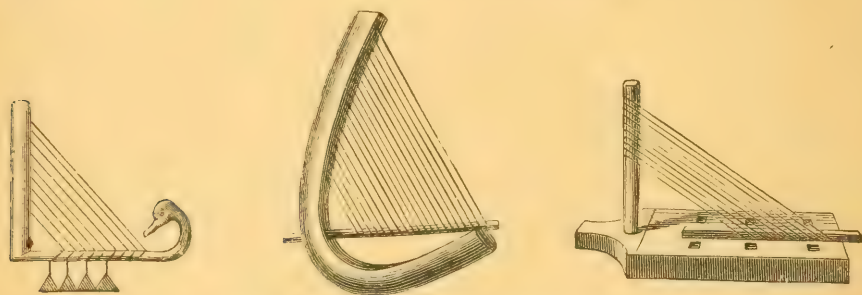


Fig. 33.—Angular-shaped Egyptian Harps.

It is, moreover, characteristic of the Egyptians that the performers at their musical requiems no longer consist indifferently of men and women as formerly, but almost exclusively of maidens—both singers and harpists—and one dancer, who regulates her steps according to the rhythm of the music. At a still later period the whole practice of the art of music appears to have been entirely entrusted to women. This is sometimes looked upon as the epoch of the decadence of music in Egypt, and to my mind it was during the period when the priests are represented standing upright and playing with both hands upon their large and beautifully ornamented temple-harps, that Egyptian music reached its culminating point of excellence.

There can be no doubt that the degeneracy of the Egyptian tonal art dates from the conquest of the land of the Pharaohs by Cambyses and the Persians (527—521 B.C.). Even during the time when the Egyptians were brought into contact with the Greeks—when the Ptolemies were

reigning at Alexandria—Egyptian music failed to retain its national characteristics, even losing, probably by reason of this very connection, its peculiar charm.

Let us now direct our attention to the construction and special characteristics of the Egyptian musical instruments. The examples, Fig. 34, copied from various monuments, represent the old native instruments of the land of the Nile, and give a tolerably correct idea of all the instruments that were then used in combination one with another. We see here a small



Fig. 34.—Groups of Musicians. (From Old Egyptian Monuments.)

harp carried on the shoulders and played by an Egyptian maiden ; harpists, both standing and kneeling, using instruments of various construction, and long flutes played in oblique positions.

According to our illustrations, the harp would appear to have been the most important of Egyptian instruments. It possesses a twofold interest, in that it is of undoubted Egyptian origin, and also because it is indissolubly connected with the rise and decadence of Egyptian civilisation. This latter connection is so striking that a mere glance at the different constructions, shapes, number of strings, and methods of playing the instrument will indicate the most important periods of Egyptian history.

Their most ancient harps are supposed to have been bow-shaped, with

one string; this involuntarily reminds one of the Greek fable told by Censorinus:—Phœbus Apollo hearing the twang of the bow-string of his divine sister Artemis, was seized with the idea that this murderous weapon might yield tones which would bring joy to the heart.

In Fig. 35 we have the first authentic illustrations of harps to be found on Egyptian monuments. The centre of the three lower illustrations in Fig. 34 already shows an enlargement of the base of the harp. The further development in this direction led to it being constructed in such a manner that there was no longer any need for the performer to hold the instrument. All later harps are constructed on this principle, and Fig. 36,

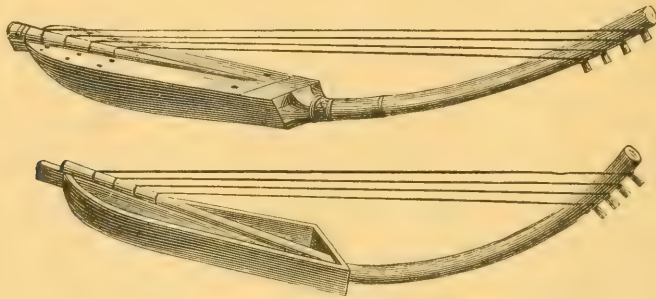


Fig. 35.—Authentic Forms of Early Egyptian Harps.

illustrating an old Egyptian priest-harp, shows that even our modern harp, in its general form and outline, has been based upon this. The chief difference between our modern harp and that of the ancient Egyptians consists in this,* that in the latter the front support is wanting.

In the twelfth dynasty the base of the instrument was so increased in size that it served as a large resonance body (Fig. 34); and in the new empire the bow-form and bent outline of the harp disappeared entirely, and were succeeded by the triangular shape. During the reign of the Ramessids (1464—1110 B.C.), and under Rameses III. (1284 B.C.), the founder of the twentieth dynasty, the harp attained to its highest point of development, and became a truly royal instrument. It then acquired the picturesque form which it still possesses. It exceeded in height the instruments now in vogue. During the period of its greatest perfection it had thirteen,

* In our modern harp this is a hollow tube called the "pillar," which contains the whole of the mechanism moved by the pedals.—Translator's note.

eighteen, twenty-one, and even twenty-six strings, and was most probably played only by priests and kings, which may in some degree account for its elaborate ornamentation. The framework was carved in the richest and most elegant manner, inlaid with gold, ivory, tortoise-shell, and mother-of-pearl; and it was further ornamented with mythical figures, or with the heads of gods, goddesses, sphinxes, and animals. It was sometimes decorated with colours, the edges, covered with morocco and velvet, imparting to it a bright and cheerful appearance. It may well be supposed that these magnificent instruments served as precious pieces of furniture in the houses of Egyptian grandees, somewhat in the same manner that our splendid grand pianos, polished like mirrors, adorn our modern residences.

From the different positions which the performers occupy when playing the harp, one can decide with tolerable certainty the date of the instrument. All representations of harpists during the "old empire" show them kneeling, those of the "new empire" standing. This remark applies especially to the priests, and would therefore have reference only to the harps used in the temple. Harps borne upon the shoulder and triangular-shaped harps, which also could not rest upon the ground, existed simultaneously with the temple harp, both in earlier and later times, as we have seen in Figs. 33 and 34.

The degeneration of the music of the temple may be dated, as we have said, from the commencement of the conquest of the Egyptians, a corresponding deterioration also being observable in the make of the harp, until at last it resumed the old bow-form shape, and finally was transferred from the hands of men to those of women.

The second stringed instrument of importance was the *Lyre*. This does not appear to have been, like the harp, an exclusively native instrument, but was introduced from Asia in the times of the eighteenth dynasty. Its graceful form, and especially its finely-curved arms, would appear to fore-



Fig. 36.—Egyptian Priest playing on the Harp.

shadow the lyre of the Greeks. Just as we found that men alone were permitted to perform on the temple-harps, so we find the lyre exclusively entrusted to women. Amongst the Egyptian wind instruments, flutes and double flutes occupied the first place. On a tomb at Gizeh no less than eight persons are represented performing on the flute.

Their trumpets (see Fig. 37), which in early times were very rude, had probably in the course of ages arrived at a state of efficiency which might perhaps sustain a comparison with the modern simple trumpet, and we may presume that the trumpets which the Hebrews used in their conflicts with the Canaanites were brought from Egypt at the time of their exodus. Similarly, we may suppose that the well-known Hebrew instrument of percussion, the timbrel or tambourine, was also brought from Egypt. In

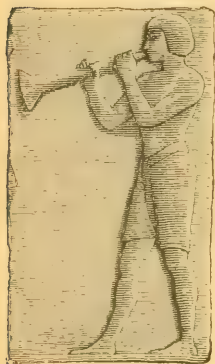


Fig 37.
Egyptian Trumpeter.

Exodus xv. 20 we read that "Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances." There is no doubt that this refers to the hand or bell drum which we find represented on Egyptian monuments.

The *Sistrum* should also be mentioned here, although it did not properly belong to the Egyptian orchestra, as was formerly, though erroneously, believed. It was employed somewhat after the manner of the little bell in the Roman Catholic masses—viz., to attract attention during special parts of the temple service. To the Egyptians it was known as the *Kemkem*; to the Romans, who connected it with the worship of Isis, as the *Isis Clapper*.

The Egyptians attributed to the *Sistrum* power over evil spirits, and believed that at its sound the hideous Typhon fled. It was possibly this supposed power that led to its use in the time of battle. Thus Queen Cleopatra, at the battle of Actium, in the year 31 B.C., employed numerous *Sistra* to intimidate her enemies. The *Kemkem* consisted of a frame of bronze or brass, crossed with three or four metal bars, and was furnished with an ornamented handle. At the end of these bars were movable pieces of metal for the purpose of producing a jingling noise when the instrument was struck with a metal clapper.

The communications which C. Billert received from Lepsius have dispelled the notion that the music of the Egyptians was closely allied to that of the Chinese. The supposed connection with the music of the Hindoos is also doubted, but if such did exist it could only have been of a very general character; that, however, with the Greeks, Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Ethiopians, has thereby been all the more conclusively established.

We will first deal with the Ethiopians, as they are the nearest neighbours of the Egyptians, and further because it is historically affirmed that the latter originally migrated from Ethiopia. Indeed, the music of the Ethiopians offers strong internal evidence in support of this assertion.



Fig. 38.—The Old Egyptian Kemkem.

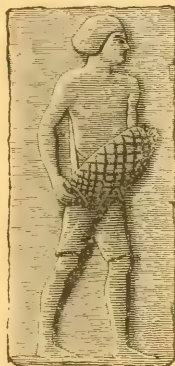
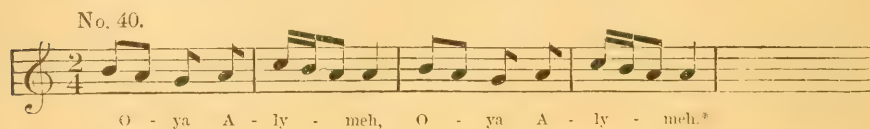


Fig. 39.—Egyptian Drummer.

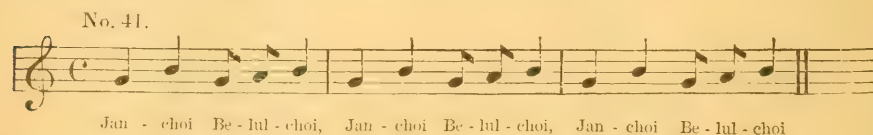
It is first to be noticed that the Ethiopians have a number of instruments in common with the Egyptians. They have the Sistrum, so characteristic of the land of the Nile, the Egyptian lyre, and a common small drum slung across the shoulders resembling a small tub, which is played at both ends with the hands (Fig. 39). The Ethiopians attribute to the Egyptian god Thoth the introduction of this drum into their land, in the first year of the creation of the world. But it is more probable that this drum was transmitted from the Ethiopians to the Egyptians, the legend having no doubt been reversed.

The clapping of hands common to Egyptian women and maidens for marking the rhythm of their songs is also to be found in Ethiopia. But the most important fact establishing a musical connection between the two

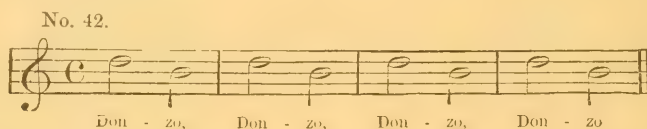
nations seems to be the marked resemblance that the songs already alluded to—sung to this day in Abyssinia—bear to a great number of melodies still prevalent in Egypt. The similarity consists in the common employment of the tetrachord. The following Round, still sung in Nubia and Abyssinia—*i.e.*, ancient Ethiopia—may be cited as an example :—



In the Habesch of to-day many of these melodies are still used, some of them with a range of but three notes, which are repeated *ad infinitum*. The following example (No. 41) is still sung in Amhara :—



example 42 in Gonga :—



and example 43 in Tigre :—



The examples given above afford convincing testimony that the earliest musical efforts of semi-barbaric nations (to whom the Nubians and Abyssinians belong) were directed to the imitation of sounds existing in nature. It is as if we heard the oft-repeated warbling of birds in the quiet of the forest, sometimes cheerful, sometimes plaintive—the voices of the

* Although the accompaniment to this ditty, for stringed instruments, has a range of six notes, it does not in any way interfere with the primary character of the melody, which undoubtedly is to be regarded as the original.

feathered tribes, which, notwithstanding their monotony, lull us into sweet dreams or conjure up fairy tales, and seem to give life to the whispering forest.

The natives of Western Asia Minor, the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the countries between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, present to us, during the pre-classical age, most remarkable contrasts when compared with those solemn inhabitants of the Nile Valley—the Egyptians. They were the Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Lydians, Phrygians, Medes and Persians; and all these nations differ from the Egyptians in their various conceptions of the dignity of the tonal art, as also in their special method of performance.

Assyria was in a far higher degree than Egypt an autocratic kingdom. This showed itself in the different dispositions of the reigning despots, who



Fig. 44.—Musicians and Singers in Front of a Triumphal Procession: (Copied from a Bas-relief from Kouyunjik, found in the Ruins of Nineveh; preserved in the British Museum.)

sometimes were bold conquerors like Ninus, Salmanassar, and Sennacherib, at other times voluptuaries like Sardanapalus, or else like Semiramis, who was a beautiful, heroic, and art-loving queen. But whatever the individuality of the monarch, music never attained a higher purpose than that of praising him—their earthly god—and of pandering to his tastes, whilst the musician's position never rose above that of the ordinary subject whose life depended on the capricious whim of the tyrant.

The sculptured figures on the walls of Sennacherib's palace represent men and women receiving the returning conqueror with music.

Amongst the Assyrian instruments we find small portable triangular harps played with a plectrum, besides cylindrical drums, double flutes, and a kind of dulcimer (*hackebrett*). Very characteristic of the Assyrians is the small harp in Fig. 44 called the *Kinnor*, played with a plectrum, and the Dulcimer, which consists of a square resonance box with strings affixed

to the top. There can be no doubt that it is to these instruments that we owe the original idea of the piano, because the strings were struck, not with the hands but with an intermediate substance—viz., the plectrum, the precursor of our piano-hammer. We also see in this sculpture women and children accompanying their singing with rhythmical clapping of hands, in the same manner as with the Egyptians and Ethiopians—an additional testimony of the spread of similar musical customs throughout the East.

The Chaldæans and Babylonians had two peculiar instruments, *Sambuka* and *Symphonia*, both of which differed from those of the Assyrians. the *Symphonia* was probably nothing else but the old sackbut, the ancestor of our bagpipes. The nature and construction of the *Sambuka* seems destined to remain for ever shrouded in obscurity, all traditions having reference to it being most contradictory. Very probably, however, it was a stringed instrument.

There is no doubt that the Chaldæans, probably the oldest of astronomers, connected music with the movement of the heavenly bodies, in the same manner as the Chinese, Hindoos, and Egyptians. They further associated music with the seasons, symbolising the relation of spring to autumn by the interval of a fourth, and of spring to winter and summer by the intervals of a fifth and octave.

The music of the Medes and Persians, of which we know next to nothing, may be assumed to have been, on the whole, similar to that of the Assyrians and Babylonians, although offering, possibly, greater scope of execution. When Parmenio, general of Alexander the Great, conquered the army of Darius, there were found among the prisoners no less than 329 singers and dancers who belonged at the same time to the harem of the king.

The music of the Phœnicians appears to have exercised a most exciting and intoxicating influence over the passions. Nor is it to be wondered at when we consider that music accompanied the performance of the indecorous ceremonies of Astarte, the Phœnician Aphrodite. The men and women that took part in the processions in honour of this goddess wandered through the streets of the great seaport towns amidst the maddening sounds of fifes, double-flutes, cymbals, drums, and clappers, the ceaseless din of the instruments stimulating their depraved fanaticism to such a pitch that they scourged themselves even to bleeding, or mutilated themselves with swords. The harp lost its old musical importance and dignity with the

Phœnicians, and became the favourite instrument of the *Hetæraë*. Naturally this observation does not refer to the large priest-harp, but only to the small portable harp introduced from Egypt. It is in reference to this, and to the hands into which the instrument had fallen, that the prophet Isaiah, addressing the city of Tyre, says:—"After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered" (Isaiah xxiii. 15, 16).

Bearing in mind the base uses to which the musical art was subjected by the Phœnicians, it seems strange that to them, amongst others, should have been ascribed the elegy, already known to us, composed in honour of the death of the youthful Adonis. This hymn, supposed to have been first sung in Cyprus and in Tyre and Sidon, was, as we know, adopted by the Egyptians and Greeks. That this elegy may have originally proceeded from the Phœnician coast does not appear to us as impossible, for degenerate nations, like licentious and dissolute individuals, may at times realise the hollowness of dissipation and the vanity of all things earthly; and though this reflection may be of too short duration to arrest them in their downward course, yet it may appal them the more, affording, as it does, so startling a contrast to the rest of their degraded existence.

The Phrygians and Lydians, like the Phœnicians, indulged in music for the flute of an effeminate and enervating character as the chief element of their tonal art, and especially adopted it for the worship of Adonis. Amongst all these people we find sculptured reliefs and mural paintings of women and maidens performing on different instruments, singers beating time with their hands, and dancing youths and maidens playing the tambourine. These are generally to be found in representations of triumphal processions, the musicians either forming part of the procession, or advancing to meet the returning conqueror. The relation of music to religion seems very slight amongst these people, who appear to have possessed warlike and effeminate qualities in about an equal measure, and to have given way to luxurious revelry. Their religious music was superficial, whilst with the Egyptians and Hindoos, as we know, it was profound and mysterious. But the primitive connection established between mankind's conception of a God and the tonal art presents itself in a still stronger light amongst that people to whom we now proceed to direct our attention—the Hebrews.

CHAPTER III.

THE ISRAELITES.

THE influence of the Israelites on the progress of civilisation has been as great and as universal as that of the Greeks. If we must resort to the religious belief, institutions, philosophy, and ethics of the latter for all that is best and noblest in art, we are no less indebted for our religion to the pure and ineradicable monotheism professed by the Israelites. Most rightly are the Hebrews called "the chosen people," or "the people of God" (a distinction retained even to this day), seeing that the land of Israel was destined to become the garden of the Lord on whose soil was to bloom the flower of Christianity.

But in addition to this there is one other distinction which this wonderful people may justly lay exclusive claim to—it is that they are the only people who, from the earliest times of human history to the present, have remained unchanged in their national integrity, fulfilling thus the earliest prophecies concerning them. What has remained of ancient Egypt, what of the classical Greeks and Romans? At most we find but ruins, statues, inscriptions, historical and poetical records, the monuments of former greatness, but of living witnesses preserved in the persons of their true descendants there are none; the uninterrupted historical continuity showing a people as they lived a thousand years ago is lost to us. The Israelites, on the contrary, of whom we possess no monuments either in stone or metal, are in themselves a standing monument of their glorious past, for although influenced and changed by the course of historical events, their individuality as a people has remained as intact as in the time of the old covenant.

What distinguished the Israelitic conception of a Godhead from that of other nations of the pre-Christian era was that instead of deifying nature, they adopted the belief of an only and indivisible God whose work was all nature. They were the first to perceive that God, the omnipotent, was the creator of the world from whose hand everything proceeded, and whose being therefore could not be represented by any picture nor expressed in the form of an image. This transcendental and idealised conception of the Almighty was regarded with inconceivable astonishment

by all the ancient nations who came into contact with them. It was this belief which stamped its impress on their poetry and music—the only two arts which became developed in Israel. How favourable such a belief was to the tonal art can best be judged from the fact that music now occupies amongst the arts a position similar to that which the religion of the Israelites held amongst the peoples of antiquity. If the belief in Jehovah forbade the introduction of images into their service, so also did music stand aloof from all emblematic representation, since it is the only art whose models are not sought for in the phenomena of physical nature. As the Hebrew faith enhanced a veneration of the Deity in spirit and in truth, and consequently conduced to a more profound contemplation of moral man, so the art of music is not objective but subjective. Music possesses the unique faculty of appealing to us with that heavenly voice and utterance which words are powerless to portray. Incorporeal and etherealised in the realms of art, tones are untrammelled by external perceptions, unhampered by the bonds that fetter human imagination.

It is only when the connection between such an art and religion has been proved to have been thoroughly complete that we may reasonably infer with any degree of certainty that music reached a higher state of perfection amongst the Israelites than among any other nation of antiquity. This aptitude of the Jews for music, to which the most ancient records bear witness, has been maintained to the present day.

The music of the Israelites must have been more closely allied to their political life, their mental consciousness, and their national civilisation than that of any other nation of olden times; for if even amongst nations possessing a less refined and pure belief we found music united to their religion, how much nobler and more profound must have been the relation of the tonal art to the faith and general civilisation of a people whose political constitution and written law were wholly united to their religious belief. The kingdom of the Hebrews was a theocracy—viz., one in which Jehovah reigned supreme; the earthly kingdom could only exist by the grace of the Almighty. The royal crown, in a certain sense, was only bestowed conditionally, and was held in a manner unlike that of any other nation: the king was but the substitute of a higher power that reigned unfettered above him, and he was liable at any time to dethronement by prophet, priest, or elder, to whom the people acknowledged a superior allegiance.

To that unseen King of kings, the Creator of heaven and earth, who had promised that He would raise His chosen people above all nations if they kept His statutes, music was dedicated as the most sacred of the arts. To Him they addressed their hymns of praise, and to Him the sorrowful heart drew near in tones of anguish. It was with the Israelites, therefore, that music for the first time became the connecting link between man and his Maker. Such an exalted sphere was never assigned to it by any other ancient civilised people, and it was not till Christianity had asserted itself, and was disseminated throughout the world, that music again laid claim to this elevated position. We may also take it, that whenever we find the music of the Israelites wedded to their religious poetry, the object was, by the co-operation of music, to intensify the meaning and expression of the words. And thus it has come to pass that the Psalms and other hymns of the ancient covenant became, and have ever since remained, the principal songs of the succeeding Christian age—of the age when music asserted her independence as an art; for the Psalms entered into the religious rites of all Christian peoples without distinction of nation or creed.

One of the oldest traditions in reference to antediluvian music is to be found in Genesis iv. 21, to the effect that Jubal was the inventor of stringed and wind instruments, and moreover that he was the first musician. The *Kinnor*—a little triangular-shaped harp—and the *Ugab*—a flute—are ascribed to him. There can be no doubt that Moses was intimately acquainted with the practice of music, as he was the disciple of Egyptian priests who, we know, had the sole control of the music of their temples. But besides this, we meet with a number of musical directions and instructions as to the make and use of certain instruments that emanated from this prophet. Thus, the two silver trumpets, which served principally as signals for the children of Israel during their forty years' sojourn in the desert, were to be made out of one piece of metal. These are, perhaps, the only instruments of which we have any authentic fac-similes. They are copied from the celebrated relief of the Arch of Titus at Rome, which clearly shows the form of these traditional sacred instruments, and, in addition, that of the golden candlestick with its seven branches, which was taken with other treasures from the burning Temple at Jerusalem, and subsequently occupied a place in the triumphal processions of the Roman emperor. In our opinion,

these are the celebrated silver trumpets of the Temple, and not, as certain learned Hebraists assert, the equally sacred Temple-horn—the *Schofar*. In every existing synagogue we find the Schofar; the form of which, according to ancient tradition, is entirely different from that of the trumpets in the sculptures on the Arch of Titus. Even to-day we should know them to be trumpets, although unusually long of their kind. A similarly-constructed instrument is also to be found amongst the Romans and in the Middle Ages. The shape of modern Schofars differs considerably from that of the trumpets on the Arch of Titus. The latter instruments consist of a tube, perfectly straight from the mouthpiece to the bell; the Schofar, on the contrary (Fig. 45), has a strongly-marked curve towards the bell, and we can bear testimony to the truthfulness of this illustration, having inspected certain Schofars for the purpose.



Fig. 45.—The Schofar. (One-sixth of its Natural Size.)

The Schofar in olden times is supposed to have been made out of the horn of a wether, and the instrument represented in Fig. 45, which is made of horn, retains the same form. The instruments represented in the Roman relief, on the contrary, are no doubt made out of pure metal; they are the silver trumpets which, as we have seen, the ancient Hebraic commandments require to be made out of one piece of metal. It could be only the fact of their great rarity, excellence, and celebrity that could have induced Titus to exhibit them in his triumphal processions. Besides, the trumpets of the prophet Moses are always spoken of as a pair, and as such they are represented on the relief; whilst the Schofar is never referred to in a similar manner, and at the present day one instrument suffices for the purpose of sounding the signals in the synagogue. That the two trumpets in the relief rest upon the same stand is but another proof of their connection, as the stand, which was also taken from the Temple, was specially arranged as a rest for the two instruments.*

* The conjecture that the Schofar, shown in the relief of the Arch of Titus, required the support of a frame on account of its extraordinary size is most erroneous, and has led to the fallacious inference that it was a principle of the Hebrews that everything

The necessity for the frame or rest is proved by the immense size of the sacred trumpets; they were (to refer once more to their length), according to the traditions of the Thora, intended "to call a whole people together," and must consequently have been large and powerful in size and blast. In the Mosaic ordinances on the use of the two silver trumpets (Numbers x. 1—10) we read:—"And if they blow but with one trumpet, then the princes, which are the heads of the thousands of Israel, shall gather themselves unto Thee. When ye blow an alarm, then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward. When ye blow an alarm the second time, then the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their journeys. But when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm."

To commemorate these commands and the wanderings of the children of Israel through the desert, the Schofar is blown at certain seasons of the year in the synagogues of to-day, instead of the obsolete silver trumpets.

connected with their service of Jehovah should be of colossal proportions. The modest dimensions of the Ark and Tabernacle, the measurements of which have been handed down to us, negative this conclusion, and the assumption that the Schofar was unusually large is also clearly refuted by passages which we shall quote from the Old Testament. In Judges vii. 16 we read that Gideon "divided the three hundred men into three companies, and he put a trumpet (Schofar) in every man's hand, with empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers;" and to prevent any doubt that the lamp-bearers were also the blowers of the trumpets, v. 20 adds, "And the three companies blew the trumpets (Schofars), and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands." Every unbiassed critic will admit that an instrument, the weight of which was so great as to require the support of a specially-prepared frame, could not have been handled by every one of 300 men whilst attacking an enemy. The most competent authorities inform me that the Schofar as used in the synagogues of to-day has one common size and form. It is a light, portable instrument, and that which I have seen corresponds to this description. One of my authorities has seen it in Warsaw, Lemberg, Vienna, Breslau, Posen, and Dresden, and states that everywhere it was of a corresponding size, and of a horn—not trumpet—form. Many ancient Talmudical ordinances support this statement. Thus, in the Treatise on Rosch-haschana, p. 26 *b*, Rabbi Jehuda says: "The Schofar which is used at the beginning of the New Year shall be the horn of a wether;" and Rabbi Levi somewhat later adds, "The Schofar must be bent near the bell." If we look, however, at the representations of the instruments in the Roman relief, we find them fashioned in a manner in direct opposition to these commands, as they are neither bent nor made of wether horn, but perfectly straight metal instruments. It is therefore impossible to mistake them for Schofars, especially when we remember that Rabbi Jehuda lived about 180 years A.D., or nearly 100 after the destruction of the Temple, and therefore at a time when all traditions were still fresh in the minds of the people.

The sounding of the prescribed signals at the beginning of the New Year and on the Day of Atonement is performed with but little variation in the synagogues of all countries. In Dresden the signals are as follows:—

No. 46.
Con moto.

No. 47.
Allegro.

No. 48.
Andante.

The first two signals represent the two alarms referred to in Numbers x. 5, 6. As, however, in the course of time, doubts arose whether the signals should be sounded as in No. 47 or as in No. 46, separated by rests, both ways of performance have been adopted in order to insure the correct rendering. No. 48 refers to the command that at the gathering of the congregation “ye shall blow, but shall not sound an alarm.” This was done by smoothly connecting the second note with the first. This so-called “long-tone” is the beginning and ending of the signals in the modern synagogues; Nos. 46 and 47 intervening. The strongly accentuated interval of the minor seventh (No. 48), as it is played at Dresden, has something in it very impressive to the hearer, for the Schofar, though but little more than twelve inches in length, has a strong, wild, piercing tone, which no doubt gave rise to the old Israelitish belief that Satan was driven away at the sound thereof.



Fig. 49.—Jewish Coin, showing a Six-stringed Lyre.

The authenticity of the representations of several stringed instruments found on Jewish coins of the time of the first and second wars against the Romans cannot be so well guaranteed as that of the silver trumpets

on the Arch of Titus. We give specimens of two coins, one (Fig. 49) representing a six-stringed Lyre, and another showing a three-stringed Cithara, both reminding one strongly of the Greek instruments bearing the same names. A peculiarity of the lyre is the kettle-shaped resonance body which is placed below the strings. That these instruments were undoubtedly used in Palestine is shown by the coins, though this does not prove that they were Jewish national instruments.

The first remarkable manifestation of the Israelites' genius for music, after their exodus from Egypt, is the triumphal song of Miriam. It is the outpouring of a thankful heart for the goodness of God, who had divided the Red Sea that Israel might pass over, drowning therein the mighty Pharaoh and his pursuing host. We have already mentioned that the Hebrew prophetess and the women accompanying her in the "Song of Victory" used the Egyptian timbrel, known to the Israelites as the *Adufe*. Miriam began the song, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."*

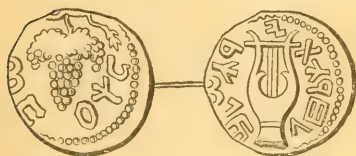


Fig. 50.—Coin showing a Three stringed Cithara.

Miriam's "Song of Victory" was probably sung as a solo, with choral accompaniments; but in the Book of Judges, Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam sing conjointly in praise of the triumph over Sisera, the captain of the host of Jabin, the King of the Canaanites. "Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying, Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel. Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes; I, even I, will sing unto the Lord God of Israel" (Judges v. 1—3). In Judges xi. 34 we read that when the daughter of the victorious Jephthah went forth to meet her father, she was accompanied with her maidens, playing the timbrel: "And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances."

The oldest traditions of the Israelites tell us that the mere effect of tone, as such, was revered as the voice of the Almighty. Thus, at the giving of the law from Mount Sinai, we read in Exodus xix. 16—19:—"And it

* Handel in his final chorus in *Israel in Egypt* has immortalised this grand triumphal song.

came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder," &c. Similar allusions to the effective power of sound are to be found in the Book of Joshua, where, at the taking of Jericho, we read:—"And seven priests shall bear before the ark seven trumpets of rams' horns; and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the Lord hath given you the city. So the people shouted when the priests blew with the trumpets: and the wall fell down flat, and the people went up into the city" (Joshua vi. 13, 16, 20). But it was not alone in the rolling thunder, or in the trumpet-blast, that the Divine Power manifested itself. In a still more impressive manner did God's presence make itself felt when Elijah awaited the coming of Jehovah on Mount Horeb. It was not in the hurricane, or the fire, or the earthquake, but in "the still small voice," that the Lord God declared himself.

Moses, as we have already mentioned, enjoined upon his people the observance of numerous musical ordinances, which were subsequently greatly increased by the Kings of Israel. The care of the sacred music was confided by the prophet to the hands of the Levites. David and Solomon not only confined this privilege to the tribe of Levi, but considerably increased and extended their musical duties. The Levites had to provide no less than 4,000 singers and musicians for the sacred service. They were divided into twenty-four orders, with twelve singing-masters, making a total of 288; these latter were, in course of time, permitted to wear the priestly vestments when officiating in the Temple.

We may assume with some degree of certainty that male singers only were employed in the choir of the Temple of Solomon. But from Ezra ii. 65, and Nehemiah vii. 67, there can be no doubt that the choir of the second Temple consisted of both men and women. The treble part, according to the Talmud, was sung by boys of the tribe of Levi. These were placed upon the lower, and the men upon the higher steps of a platform. From the works of Josephus we obtain some idea of the magnificence of the decorations of this part of the Temple. In the third chapter of the eighth

book of his *History of the Jews* he states that in the first Temple there were 200,000 of the silver trumpets prescribed by Moses, 200,000 coats made by the king's order of the finest silk for the use of those Levites whose duty consisted in singing the sacred songs, and 40,000 harps and psalteries made of the purest copper, which formed part of the Temple treasure.*

In addition to the regularly established Temple choirs, David and Solomon instituted bands composed of instrumentalists and female vocalists for the execution of secular music. They originally occupied a somewhat similar position to that held by our modern Court orchestras, but their subsequent artistic and moral degeneracy drew upon them the righteous anger of the prophet Isaiah, who exclaims, "And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of His hands;" and the reproaches of the prophet Amos, "Ye sleep upon beds of ivory, and stretch yourselves upon couches, and chant to the sound of the viol, and invent instruments of music like David, and anoint yourselves with ointment, but Woe to ye!" The female singers of this secular chapel probably constituted, at once, a portion of Solomon's household, wherein music was held in much esteem.

Both the poetical and musical endowments of the people of Israel, without doubt, approached the climax of their development in the time of David. David himself was not only a poet of inimitable and immortal genius, but was also an inspired musician, whose golden-stringed lyre was seldom absent from his hand, whether he was pouring forth his sorrowful acknowledgments of his own shortcomings, or offering up joyful thanks for the boundless goodness of God. Whilst the inspirations of David found vent in sacred hymns, the great poetical and musical gifts of the age of Solomon were more specially directed to secular song. The *Song of Solomon*, when divested of all theological associations, still remains one of the most charming idyllic love songs that has ever been sung by mortal poet. It is the ideal of a pastoral poem contemplating nature and a patriarchal existence. That it was intended to be wedded to music is shown by its entire form. It is evidently a lyric or pastoral, reminding us in mood and character of the Hindoo idyll, *Gitagowinda*.

* These figures of the historian are obviously overdrawn. Such an orchestra would be unmanageable, and impracticable from every point of view.

The musical endowments of the Israelites and the gift of prophecy were intimately associated one with another. Indeed, a similar instance of so close a connection existing between musical art and that of divination is not to be found in the whole history of music. When Elisha prophesied to King Jehoshaphat he exclaimed, "Now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him" (2 Kings iii. 15). In Israel there were whole schools of prophets, the disciples of which we are told "prophesied on cithars, harps, and timbrels." The host of prophets who went out to meet King Saul from the Hill of the Lord (1 Samuel x. 5) struck the strings of their cithars and harps, and thus gave the stimulus it needed to Saul's individual gift of prophecy.

Music was not only employed to excite and intensify the prophetic faculty, but, by its magic charm, men's troubled spirits were calmed and purified. Here, again, Saul furnishes us with an instance of one who had recourse successfully to music to banish the gloomy thoughts that oppressed and agitated his soul. For we are told in the Old Testament, as well as by the Jewish historian Josephus, who lived in the time of Titus, that the sole remedy prescribed by the physician to quell the passionate rage of the king was the harp-playing and song of the shepherd lad David.

Let us now glance at the intimate relation that existed between the music and poetry of the Hebrews, especially the religious hymns. In dealing with this branch of the subject, our comments on the Psalms should occupy the foremost place. The word "Psalter" means, indifferently, a performance on a stringed instrument and a "sacred hymn." The instruments which accompanied the Psalms consisted of harps, timbrels, psalteries, trumpets, drums, schofars,* and sometimes flutes. The instruments used were most likely selected with especial reference to the character of the Psalms which they were to accompany. Stringed instruments were effectively employed in the accompaniment of penitential Psalms; trumpets, drums, schofars, timbrels, an increased number of harps of a larger size, and a greater number of strings being added for hymns of Praise. The choruses were arranged and led by a precentor.

* This instrument has been incorrectly identified by Luther with the trombone. It is, however, to be presumed that the schofar at that time was a more perfect instrument than at present.

The modes of singing the Psalms appear to have been very varied. They were probably sung antiphonally either by the priest and congregation, the divided choirs, or the precentor and chorus. In such a manner Psalms xiii., xx., xxxviii., lxxxv., and cv. were perhaps executed; the response of different voices or choirs would under these conditions be explicable in accordance with the poetical form of the verses.

The Psalms are constructed on a poetical basis wherein the division of the couplet into strophe and antistrophe follows the form of a parallelism in which the ideas are expressed. The division of a verse into three parts is very unusual. The beginning of Psalm xxxviii., divided in the following manner, will clearly illustrate this:—

- A.* O Lord, rebuke me not in Thy wrath;
- B.* Neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure.
- A.* For Thine arrows stick fast in me;
- B.* And Thy hand presseth me sore.
- A.* There is no soundness in my flesh because of Thine anger;
- B.* Neither is there any rest in my bones because of my sin.
- A.* For mine iniquities are gone over my head;
- B.* As an heavy burden they are too heavy for me.
- A.* My wounds stink and are corrupt;
- B.* Because of my foolishness.
- A.* I am troubled and bowed down greatly;
- B.* I go mourning all the days of my life.
- A.* For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease;
- B.* And there is no soundness in my flesh.
- A.* I am feeble and sore broken;
- B.* I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart.
- A.* Lord, all my desire is before Thee;
- B.* And my groaning is not hid from Thee.
- A.* My heart panteth, my strength faileth me;
- B.* As for the light of mine eyes, it also is gone from me.

The letters A and B denote in every verse the couplets completing the parallelism. We may either suppose that A was sung by the first singer, B as the response by the second, or that they were sung alternately by two semi-choirs. But it is just as probable that the first part was sung by the precentor, and the second by the full choir. This latter supposition is supported by the fact that the second half-verse generally intensifies the meaning of the first part of the couplet. For instance, the first part of Psalm xxxviii. begins:—"O Lord, rebuke me not in Thy wrath," to which the second part adds, "Neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure."

Here the two ideas expressed are not only allied to each other, but the second heightens the point of the first, inasmuch as the "chastening" has a far stronger signification than that contained in the indecisive "rebuke." The same may be said of the first verse of Psalm ciii. :—

" Praise thou the Lord, O my soul,
And all that is in me, praise His holy Name."

The first half-verse is the key-note of the melody, or what we might call the "Positive," the second being the "Comparative," as it is not only the singer's soul, but all that is within him, which should praise the Lord.

It is, however, very possible that the alternation in the singing took place at the end of each verse, instead of at the end of the half-verses, only a slight pause being made at the half-verse. This method of chanting the Psalms (which is one of undoubted antiquity) is still practised in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches of to-day. The celebrated Miserere (the fifty-first Psalm) of Gregorio Allegri (1580-1652 A.D.) is composed in this manner, and shows how grand a musical effect can be obtained by the use of this form.

Those Psalms the verses of which commence or conclude with an oft-recurring exclamation were, without doubt, chanted in other methods than those already referred to. They must evidently have had a regularly-repeated musical phrase to correspond with the fixed poetical formula.

Other Psalms were most likely chanted by a smaller choir, the refrain being taken up by the whole congregation. This undoubtedly must have been the case with the twenty-six verses of Psalm cxxxvi., each of which has the refrain, "For His mercy endureth for ever." Psalm cxviii. contains the same refrain, but only in its four opening and concluding verses; and Psalms cvi. and cvii. have this formula at the beginning. There is a refrain to David's lament on the death of Saul and Jonathan which is most touching in its simple grandeur:—
"The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places; *how are the mighty fallen!* Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph. Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you, nor fields of offerings; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul,

as though he had not been anointed with oil. *How are the mighty fallen* in the midst of battle! O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thine high places. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women. *How are the mighty fallen!*"

To such reiterated exclamations there were probably set musical phrases in which either the whole congregation or the united choir of precentor and priests joined.

There can be the less doubt that such fixed-tone formulæ were used, when we remember that the "Hear ye, O Israel," is still sung in the modern synagogues to a tune which is obviously based on some older and more primitive melody. Also in the most ancient Christian Church music we find similar tone formulæ for Amen, Hallelujah, Kyrie Eleison, the Graduals, and other parts of the Catholic Liturgy: formulæ that have existed for more than a thousand years. It is, moreover, undeniable that the songs of the people, and even those of the most joyous kind, found their way into psalmody.

In Luther's Bible the superscriptions of certain Psalms are as follows:—Psalm ix., "The Handsome Youth;" Psalm xxii., "Hunting the Hind;" Psalm xlv., "The Roses," &c. They cannot, however, in any way be interpreted as belonging to the text of the Psalm, but merely as the titles of certain well-known melodies to which the Psalms were to be sung.*

The German Bible of Luther contains a number of musical directions. Thus it is ordered that the chanting of Psalms iv., liv., lv., and lvii. is to be preceded by a prelude performed upon stringed instruments. Psalms xi., xiii., xiv., xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxxvi., xxxix., xl., xli., li., and lii. have the simple superscription, "A Psalm of David." That of Psalms lxvi., lxvii., and lxviii., "A Psalm-Song;" or, as in Psalm lxv., "To the Song." In reference to Psalms vi., viii., xii., and lxxxi., the direction is, "To be sung on eight strings," or "To be introduced by the Gittith."† Psalm lxi. is directed "To be sung to the accompaniment of a

* In the modern German Bible similar superscriptions may still be found. It is not an uncommon practice in England, among congregations of all denominations, to appropriate *secular* tunes for their sacred poetry.

† Whether the term "Gittith" refers to a musical instrument or to a popular melody has not yet been decided.

stringed instrument." Psalm liii. is to be sung "By alternating choirs." Again, in Psalm cxlvii., verse 7, "Sing *alternately* to the Lord with thanks, and praise our God with harps."*

Again, an example of a firmly-established tone-formula is to be found in Psalms cvi., cxi., cxii., cxiii., cxxxv., cxlvi., cxlviii., cxlix., and cl., all of which begin and end with the word "Hallelujah."

The musical purpose of the Psalms is often as clearly indicated in the text as it is in the superscriptions. Thus, in Psalms xvi., xeviii., and cxlix., there is "Sing to the Lord a new song;" in Psalm cxxxvii., "We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" In Psalm cxviii., "Awake, psaltery and harp," the instruments are, as it were, summoned to join in the praise of God. In Psalms cxlix. and cl. the whole of the instruments which accompany the choirs are enumerated: "Sing praises unto Him with the timbrel and harp, praise Him with trumpets, praise Him with psaltery, praise Him with strings and pipe, praise Him with cymbals, praise Him with well-tuned cymbals."

No satisfactory explanation has as yet been given of the superscription to Psalms cxx. and cxxxiv., "A song of degrees." The word "degree" may with equal probability allude to an extended tonal range (and perhaps to some special key), or to the elevated position assigned in the Temple to the vocalist when singing the sacred songs; or, again, it may have reference to the impassioned nature of certain songs, thus imparting to the measure a more animated movement, or the word may relate to the higher flight of the poetical afflatus. Many conjectures have been offered as to the meaning of the term "Selah," but it cannot be said of any of these that they are satisfactory. Our opinion leans to those who regard it as a musical sign, representing either the termination of a section of a Psalm or a musical interlude

* Similarly in 1 Samuel xviii. 6, 7, we read:—"And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistines, that the women came out of all cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered *one and another* as they played, and said, Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." Here the words "answered *one and another*" cannot but have reference to antiphonal singing, as the innate musical gift of the Hebrews would naturally lead them to sing their hymns in the form of responses.

filling up a pause between the verses, or as serving to introduce a special group of instrumentalists or singers. It may well be that in translations other than that of Luther, many of the superscriptions above alluded to have been omitted, or that the originals, owing to variations in their rendering, have come to acquire other accepted meanings. But it may be taken generally that the superscriptions always have reference to the music and to its method of execution.

We have already stated that the word "Psalter" has a twofold meaning. In the first place, it applies to the whole collection of *Psalms*; and secondly, to that musical instrument which is always mentioned as the one upon which the *Psalms* are to be accompanied. As a musical instrument, it is frequently referred to, as we know, in the Book of *Psalms*. In English, when thus used, it is spelt *Psaltery*.

The psaltery used sometimes in the services of the early Christian Church differed from the cithar mainly in this, that in the former, according to St. Augustine, the resonance body was at the upper, whilst in the latter it was at the lower end of the instrument. According to St. Jerome, the psaltery consisted of a square frame with ten strings affixed to it; and the venerable father, faithful to the symbolising tendencies of his age, saw in the four corners of this instrument an allusion to the four Gospels, and in the ten strings the Ten Commandments. The psalteries used in the Temple at Jerusalem appear to have been made of sandal wood—a wood much used by the Orientals—inlaid with gold and silver.

The word "Psalmist" is generally interpreted as relating to David, tradition ascribing to him the greatest number of these sacred hymns. But it must not be forgotten that the origin of some are attributed to Asaph, Moses, the children of Korah, Solomon (*Psalms* lxxii. and cxxvii.), the Ezraites—Heman, and Ethan, and a great number exist, the authorship of which has never been traced.

We learn from the *Psalter* that not only men, youths, and boys, but also maidens were engaged in the performance of the *Psalms*, while it is curious to note that the instruments assigned to women were only those that served to mark the rhythm, viz., instruments of percussion, which, according to our notions, are more fitted for the use of men. Thus, in *Psalms* lxviii. 25:—"The singers went before, the players on the instruments followed after; among them were the damsels playing with the timbrels."

This proves that women were not excluded from taking part in the public performance of the Psalms, and, further, confirms the passage already quoted from Exodus xv. 20, 21, in which "Miriam and her maidens went out with timbrels* and with dances." The timbrel and the castanets are still used by the Orientals as an accompaniment to pantomimic gesture, and for marking the rhythm of dance and song.

Whether Miriam's dance consisted of graceful measured movements like the dance of King David before the ark, or a real dance of joy, in which all the people joined, it is impossible to decide. Be this as it may, however, the participation by women in religious processions, and in the public performance of Psalms, is undoubtedly proved. It would appear, however, that in the special music of the Temple, men were the sole executants.†

Although it is known that the Hebrews were the most musical people of the East, yet we have as little information concerning their tonal system as of that of the Egyptians, and consequently we are again reduced to speculation, but to speculation which has a reliable foundation. First, with regard to the scale. Some investigators hold that the Hebrews employed one of five tones (corresponding to the oldest scale of the Chinese and Hindoos), others that it was composed of seven tones, whilst some again contend that it consisted of a greater or lesser number of tones than the two scales just mentioned. In the face of so many conflicting conjectures, it may perhaps be permitted to a musician to state his own convictions. My opinion (which, of course, is but an individual one) is that the Israelites, at the time of their exodus from Egypt, carried with them, in addition to a great number of Egyptian instruments, their task-masters' scale of four tones—the tetrachord. To support this proposition, we need but refer to certain ancient melodies of the Temple still extant in the synagogues, and especially to those which are believed to be of



Fig. 51.—Castanets.

* Luther renders this word "Kettle-drum;" but the author shows that interpretation to be erroneous, as the "kettle-drum," on account of its size and weight, would have prevented its employment by women when accompanying their dances. The English translation, "timbrel," *i.e.*, tambourine, is undoubtedly the correct rendering.—F. A. G. O.

† This remark relates only to the Temple of Solomon, for, as I have before pointed out, we may without doubt assume that in the second Temple—the one destroyed by Titus—women also took part in the musical performances.

"The Lord alone is God." It is, therefore, almost conclusive that the number seven formed the basis of the tonal system of the Hebrews as well as of many other nations, who regarded this number as sacred.

There is ample evidence to warrant our belief that the Hebrews sang not only in unison, but to some extent in parts, and that they had a knowledge, if not of perfect part-writing, at least of harmonic accompaniment.* We are as little influenced by the conflicting theories of Speidel and Arends on Hebraic accents, as by the more favourable opinion of Anton, the learned Hebraist, whose examples derived from the modern common chords refute his own conclusions.†

For the present we leave these signs, which, it is presumed, have furnished a clue to the musical notation of the Israelites, in order to adduce some facts in support of our opinion. We commence with the musical



Fig. 53.—The Kinnor.

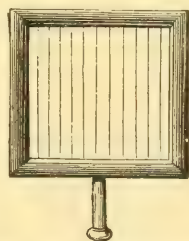


Fig. 54.—The Psaltery.

instruments of the Israelites. The greater number of these were, as with the Egyptians, stringed instruments, not played with the bow, but struck with the fingers or a plectrum, and were therefore incapable of producing a legato melody; we must then, from their nature, regard them as instruments used for accompaniment only. They were grouped together under the appellation *Neginoth*; they consisted of the small portable triangular-shaped harp (the Kinnor); an instrument provided with a finger-board called the *Hasur*, concerning which nothing is known with any degree of certainty, but which was probably the Cithar, its tortoise-shaped back reminding one of the Greek lyre; the *Nebel*, or *Nabul* (Nablium), a harp played with both hands; the *Psaltery*, a square-shaped stringed

* From our author's opinion on this point I feel bound to dissent.—F. A. G. O.

† I must here refer to the extreme difficulty experienced in obtaining a reliable interpretation of these accents, as each character varies in signification in the books of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms.

instrument somewhat like the harp; the *Asor*, or *Nassor*, an oblong psaltery; and a semicircular harp with many strings. So great a number of stringed instruments especially adapted for accompaniment naturally leads one to conclude that the Hebrews had some knowledge of harmony, or, at least, of arpeggio chords.

Now, adding to these instruments those borrowed from the Egyptians, and used for marking the rhythm, such as the Cymbal, Sistrum, and Adufe, and the silver trumpets (formerly used as instruments for signalling), none of which could have served to strengthen the melody, there remained for this purpose only the Flute and a few other wood-wind instruments. The melodies of the Psalms and other hymns must have been, therefore, chiefly sung in unison by the enormous choirs, which were far too powerful

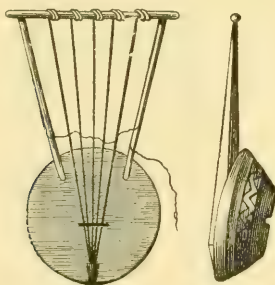


Fig. 55.—Hasur, the Hebraic Cithar.

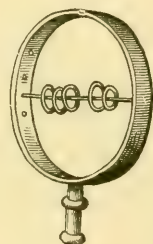


Fig. 56.—The Israelitic Sistrum.

to require the assistance of any instruments, or to run the risk of the melody being drowned by the accompaniment.

The dictum of the Hebraist, Henricus Horchius, agrees with our views of the matter. Speaking of the Israelitic instruments employed in combination in the Temple service, he says:—"The maximum number of Nebels (the Phœnician harp Nablium, played with both hands) was not allowed to exceed six, the minimum two; flutes (including, no doubt, other wood-wind instruments), not less than two or more than twelve; trumpets, not less than two; cithars, not less than nine. As these instruments were used merely for accompanying, and not for strengthening the melody, the maximum was unlimited. One pair of cymbals (Egyptian metal instruments, similar to our modern cymbals) only was used for marking the time."

We have here, then, fifteen instruments of accompaniment—cithars and harps—opposed to twelve flutes, used for strengthening the melody; whilst the trumpets (the sound of which, as our modern composers know, can be effectively used with the harps) were perhaps played in chords, in order to strengthen the harmony. This conclusion, if correct, would seem to show that the old Israelitic orchestra accompanied melodies with chords, both simultaneous and arpeggio. Apart from and in addition to the reasons above stated, we attribute to the Israelites of the pre-Christian era a knowledge of harmony on account of their national idiosyncrasy and profound religious belief, characteristics which have proved all important to the history of the human race. We have already pointed out that melody in music finds its counterpart in the outline in painting. It is only with those nations of the early ages, who, to a strong love for outline and clearly-defined form, combined with an acute sensitiveness

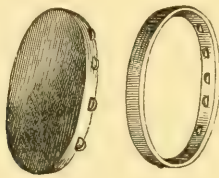


Fig. 57.—Adufes.



Fig. 58.—Cymbals.

and a religion rooted in such characteristic traits, that we find the love for melody paramount. With a people, however, like the Hebrews, who were diametrically opposed to almost all nations of the classical and pre-classical times in their rejection of pictorial representations and efforts in the plastic art, and possessing a faith that did not content itself with symbolising a deity but conceived an almighty and omniscient Godhead, it was impossible to rest satisfied with the mere sensuous effect of melodic outline, and its promptings, therefore, necessarily led them to seek that mysterious support which harmony lends to melody. To this intense religious feeling of the Hebrews must be ascribed those soul-stirring hymns which they addressed to their Deity. Thus, when the Psalmist exclaimed, “My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God; when shall I come to appear before the presence of God?” or when in sorrowful accents he cried, “The seas are mighty and rage horribly; all thy waves and storms

are gone over me:" to express such a depth of feeling the mere melodic outline does not suffice; it claims that richness of tonal colouring which the harmony of music can alone adequately supply.

For similar reasons we credit the Israelites with a species of melody bearing less resemblance to our Christian hymns, with their measured rhythm, than to a song in which the varying meaning of the text is closely followed by the melody, never degenerating, however, into that monotonous musical recitative known as *recitativo secco*. Were we, there-

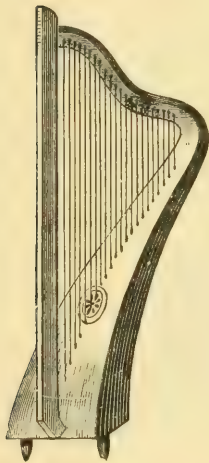


Fig. 59.
A Large Harp.

fore, compelled to decide which of the many different explanations of Hebrew accents and tonal notation of the old Hebraic poems merit acceptance, we should choose that of Arends, as it fulfils all the conditions which, in our opinion, should belong to an original Hebraic melody. The following melody, which bears the unmistakable stamp of its Oriental nationality, so plaintive, and, in a musical sense, so important, set by Arends to the first three verses of Psalm cxxxvii., has never yet been equalled by any other melody arbitrarily deciphered by self-constituted authorities. The discovery of such a melody was only possible when its real interpretation had been made manifest. This melody, which we have endeavoured to harmonise, is very suggestive of certain solo passages in Sebastian Bach's Passion and sacred music. The task was not

so easy as might be supposed, because the strange old melody would not readily lend itself to an accompaniment of single chords which are mostly used in such cases. We were most successful when employing unusual and especially diminished chords, which leads us to conclude that the original accompaniment must have been of a somewhat similar character.*

Should this inference appear strange, we would remind the reader that at the present day many Oriental peoples, the gipsies, and some of the Slavonic

* The author seems here to have been somewhat led away by his desire to establish his position; for when we consider the manner in which harmony has gradually been evolved from the simplest perfect concords, it is not probable that recondite harmonies, such as he refers to, should have been in use at so early a period, nor is it at all certain that the scales employed by the ancient Israelites were susceptible of any harmony whatsoever.—F. A. G. O.

ances evince a marked preference for diminished and augmented harmonies instead of our diatonic chords. The following ancient Israelitic melody bears evidence of having been sung by *mezzo-soprano* voices, accompanied by arpeggios upon the harp, psaltery, and cithar (which were specially attuned for diminished chords), or by male chorus in continuous harmonies.

No. 60.—THE FIRST THREE VERSES OF PSALM CXXXVII.

By the wa - ters of Ba - by - lon, There we sat down and wept,

When we re - member'd thee, O Zi - on. We wept, yea, we wept when we re -

crescendo. *f dim.* *p rit.* *p a tempo.*
mem - ber'd thee, O Zi - on! And our harps, we hung them up on the

p rit.
 trees, on the trees that are there-in, on the trees that are there-in. For
p rit.
 they that led us cap-tive re-quir'd of us a song, and mel-o-dy, and mirth, in our
crescendo.
crescendo.
f dim. p cresc. f fp rit. p
 heav-i-ness; "Now sing us one of the songs of Zi-on!"
f dim. p cresc. f fp rit. p

The extent to which the music of the modern synagogue resembles that of the old Hebraic Temple music is, and must remain, a matter of conjecture. Most of the original characteristics have, without doubt, been lost; only a few isolated remnants still exist. The destruction of the second Temple by Titus, and the dispersion of the people of Israel throughout the whole world, whilst it robbed them of their kingdom, almost wholly obliterated all trace of nationality in their music. The influence of foreign civilisation on a

people so widely scattered as the Hebrews could not fail, notwithstanding their exclusiveness, to leave its impress on them and on their tonal art. Hence the divergence between the music sung in the synagogues of the Portuguese Jews and that of their brethren in France and Italy, the difference between the sacred songs of the Polish Jews and those employed in the English and German synagogues.

Nevertheless, there are a number of characteristic tunes still extant, though sometimes consisting of a few bars only, which seem to belong to that remnant of musical traditions to which we have already referred. Our reason for this opinion is the fact that these are the only tunes that remain totally unchanged, or if changed, yet containing enough of the original to warrant my belief, no matter whether we find them in the synagogues of Lisbon, Amsterdam, Vienna, Warsaw, Berlin, or London. To these belong the "Hear ye, O Israel" (*Sch'ma Israel*), No. 52; and the celebrated song of Miriam, No. 61.

No. 61.

Not strictly in time, but almost recitativo.



This, notwithstanding that it has somewhat the character of Handel's triumphal song, is supposed to be one of the most ancient of Hebrew melodies. Its antiquity is placed beyond doubt by the fact that it is used with but the smallest variation in all synagogues throughout Europe.*

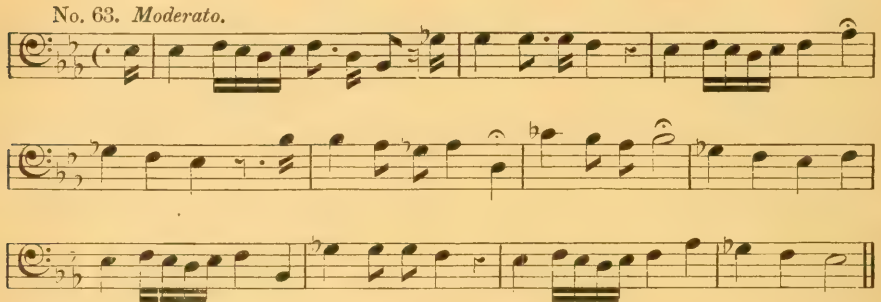
The following example is the special setting used at Dresden of the "Sch'ma Israel."

No. 62.



* We are indebted for this example, and for many other valuable items of information, to Dr. Landau, Chief Rabbi at Dresden.

With the exception of one tone, it is the same as No. 52, the former having the range of three tones, whilst the latter has that of a tetrachord. The following melody, sung at the Benediction in Dresden, is most characteristic and antique.

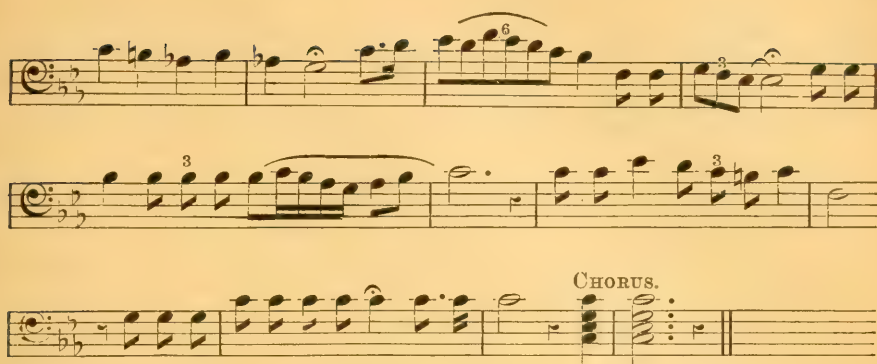


This strongly reminds us of some themes of Meyerbeer which possess certain Jewish peculiarities. The beginning of the second part of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, "Hear ye, Israel!" seems likewise based upon another well-known Hebraic melody sung at the Dresden synagogue, and yet both these melodies are, without doubt, of most ancient origin. It does not appear to us to be very difficult for a practised ear to distinguish the old tunes, with their national and foreign stamp, from the newer melodies which are animated with the spirit of modern music. For instance, one of the modern synagogal melodies is an exact copy of Haydn's chorus theme, "Be propitious, bounteous Heaven," from the *Seasons*, the words only being altered.*

In a very praiseworthy work, "Schir Zion" ("Sacred Songs," edited by S. Sulzer, choirmaster in the Israelite Temple at Vienna), the following "old tune" is to be found. It is peculiarly national in its character, and is to be sung *ad libitum*.



* We are indebted to the kindness of Messrs. Janssen and Löffler, Organist and Precentor of the synagogue in Dresden, for free access to the "Songs of the Ritual," and for valuable information concerning the signals of the horn Schofar.



This strange melody is repeated through a number of verses, but in a somewhat more florid manner. Many other "ancient tunes" from Sulzer's book have a still more unusual and wild character, forcibly reminding us of the alluring cry of the female slave Astaroth, in Goldmark's opera of the *Queen of Saba*, where the composer has, without doubt, adopted one of these tunes as his model. There breathes throughout this "ancient tune," and that of Goldmark, an air of mystery akin to that surrounding the traditions of the East, and falling on the ear like the moaning of the night wind in the desert.*

The result of our survey of the synagogal melodies of the Israelites has led us to divide them into three different groups. The first includes all those declamatory phrases of which "Hear ye, O Israel," may be taken as a type. They are not merely recitations on one and the same tone to which are added short cadences like those in the Catholic Liturgy, but they are composed almost entirely of melodic outlines, which, however, strictly speaking, are not sung so much as declaimed, and therefore permit of greater attention being bestowed on the respective lengths of the syllables. Belonging to this strictly liturgical form are certain of those legato responses sung by the precentor and choir, the origin of which is evidently of later date. They remind one of certain antiphons performed by priest and choristers in the Catholic churches, which may

* Rubinstein's *The Maccabees* contains many diminished progressions similar to those in No. 64. It is clear that diminished intervals form a special feature of all Israelitic music: just as we have seen in Psalm cxxxvii., No. 60.

probably, in the course of time, have crept into the synagogal service of song. The continuous melodic recitations, as a whole, we take to be very ancient, and it is not unlikely that they may have formed the basis of the Ambrosian songs of the ancient Christian Church, and especially that of the Psalms.

To the second group belong those melodies arbitrarily embellished with florid passages, of which No. 64 may be taken as an example. Sometimes they are sung with innumerable redundant flourishes, by the precentor alone, or alternately with the Rabbi. These possibly belong to the period following the destruction of the second Temple, when the Israelites, living in strict seclusion amongst the different nations of Christianity, began to develop that casuistic sophistry, which not infrequently usurped the place of their former grandeur and simplicity.

In the third group we include all melodies similar to that of Psalm cxxxvii., No. 60, deciphered by Arends. This may probably be classed amongst the oldest specimens of Israelitic music, but not, however, as it seems to us, with the regular songs of their ritual; it may, however, have served as a fine example of a free fantasia designed for sacred services. A work so full of religious fervour, and yet so unconventional, might with equal propriety form part of the established liturgy of any civilised nation, and we therefore cannot doubt its employment for this purpose amongst the Hebrews; but should it be difficult to believe that the music of an obscure musician could have been accepted and found a place amongst the revered psalmody of the Jews, then its invention may be ascribed to David or Solomon.* Be this as it may, in the Israelites we recognise a people to whom, for the first time in the history of the tonal art, the sensuous charm of music was not all-sufficing—a nation who employed music as a means to an end, viz., to express their ideal. Thus, music and poetry, inseparably connected, became the language in which the Israelites

* It is at once admitted that neither David nor Solomon could have composed this *Lament* on the Babylonish captivity. But we are not limited to the supposition that it could only have been the composition of kings; prophets, judges, elders, and other leaders of the people might in a moment of inspiration have indited such a composition, and their celebrity alone would have been sufficient reason for its retention amongst the songs of the Temple. Even Hebraic musicians might have been thought not unworthy of such a distinction. That their status was a highly-respected one in Israel may be gleaned from the reference made to the musicians Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthan, in the Book of Chronicles.

addressed Jehovah. They were the people who first acknowledged the God of all things, and to Him they sang in jubilant strains or bewailed in sorrowful accents their sufferings and repentance expressed when in captivity.

So soon as a deeper understanding of Music's ethereal mission began to be established upon this basis, then was the tonal art enabled to proceed upon its upward course leading to the highest pinnacle of its greatness. From the Lament, chanted on the shores of the Euphrates, to Allegri's *Miserere* or the aria in Bach's *Passion*, "Have mercy on me, O Lord," there is but one step.

If, therefore, Christian music has intensified the tonal art, and made it the language of the heart and soul, it should never be forgotten that to the Hebrews we are indebted for the prolific soil on which it fructified. The further history of the tonal art will clearly illustrate this, for, after a period of 2,000 years, not only the Psalms themselves but also the manner of their execution are still preserved in the Christian churches.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ISLAMITES.

It is a peculiarity of the civilised nations of antiquity that the complete geographical isolation of each nation finds its counterpart in their special characteristics, and the more strongly defined their natural boundaries, the greater their importance as a civilised people. Arabia, the cradle of Islam, is a country as completely isolated, geographically, as were ancient India and Egypt, and just as we found the inhabitants of the latter countries exceptionally gifted, whilst being entirely isolated from their neighbours by clearly-defined natural boundaries, so do the Arabians appear to us as the most talented amongst the followers of Islam.

Arabia, like India, is a peninsula, joined to the Asiatic continent on the north side only: it is bounded by the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Ocean. It is divided into three parts—*Petræa*, *Felix*, and *Deserta*. Arabia *Petræa*, lying to the south of Syria, is barren, sterile, and traversed by chains of rugged mountains. Arabia *Felix* occupies the south-west corner of the peninsula, and embraces many rich tracts of land.

In this division are the principal towns. Arabia Deserta consists almost entirely of enormous sandy plains and steppes: the natives, who naturally lead a pastoral life, are true sons of the desert—a trait which has so completely permeated their being that, as we shall see, it has asserted its influence over their music. But our remarks do not refer to the Arabians alone; it was owing also to their conquests over the Egyptians and Persians, and their subsequent admixture with these races, that a distinctive character was imparted to the music of Islam. From the moment that the Persians were subdued, in the year 700 A.D., Arabian civilisation received a noteworthy impetus.

The most salient characteristics of the Arab's disposition are a noble chivalry, a truly ideal love of clan-ship, hospitality, and undaunted courage—qualities which are united to natural bodily agility, and to a rich but often extravagant imagination. In strange juxtaposition to these stand their inborn shrewdness, their acute observation of nature, and strict love of truth in all things relating to the material world. Such prominent and important qualities, notwithstanding their great contrast, disclose to us the reason why Fatalism and Quietism—Islam's greatest foes—could exercise but little influence on the Arabs in the time of their ascendancy. With the Israelites, their congeners, they share a belief in a single and invisible God, the Creator of all things. If such a clear conception was momentarily obscured by idolatrous worship (which, after all, was the case with the Hebrews), their innate monotheism returned with the advent of Mohammed in all its purity and grandeur, never again to fall away.

These hardy sons of Nature benefited so little by the refined civilisation of their contemporaries, that they have remained almost unchanged in habits and customs for thousands of years. With a strong predisposition for the fantastic, they infused into their music something of the mysterious and romantic, and it seems surprising that monotheism should have played a much less important part in the development of their music than it did amongst the Israelites. The reason for this appears to me to be, that although Allah is, comparatively, a pure conception of the deity, yet it is far inferior to that of Jehovah. The Koran, notwithstanding its many excellences, is but the creation of a single powerful mind, whilst the Old Testament contains the collective writings of generations of inspired men. This circumstance will explain, we think, why the music

of the Hebrews raised itself into an art, whilst that of the Islamites ever remained at the level of folk-songs and inferior instrumental music of a popular kind.

The musical endowments of the Arabians were undoubtedly of a very high order, and, indeed, such as was only to be expected from a people so peculiarly developed as were these Children of the Desert. It was based upon their enjoyment of Nature—a never-failing sign of a music-loving people. This shows itself in their preference for rhyme, a feature that is very characteristic of Arabian poetry. It is not the rhythmical or metrical side which is predominant in their poetry, but the purely musical.* Even when the epic or dramatic element is paramount, the lyrical is never entirely eliminated, and in such exceptional instances is shown its innate musical tendency. In addition to these positive inferences, others may be adduced which negatively support this proposition. For instance, their plastic art, restricted as it was, and their pictorial representations, all point to a taste for splendid decoration or ingenious arrangements of colours and arabesques, rather than organic arrangement and completeness of construction. But, in general, those nations whose efforts in the plastic arts are similarly limited in their scope, display a proportionally strong predilection for the cultivation of music and poetry. Thus it was with the Arabians.

Their want of a more highly-developed architecture, sculpture, and painting is not attributable to their Semitic origin, nor to their monotheism, which (as with the consanguineous Israelites) prohibited the symbolising of the deity by pictorial representation, but to their unceasing love of change. This mental and bodily instability made the Arab pre-eminently susceptible to the charm of music, for the tonal art lends itself more readily to movement and variety than the arts of sculpture and poetry.

The Arabs had a strong aversion to portraits; they regarded them as soulless bodies, and believed that at the Day of Judgment the portraits would demand the souls of those who had dared to delineate them. On the other hand, the Arabs decorated the walls of their edifices (as Cordova and the Alhambra bear witness) with designs executed in the most captivating colours, or with stuccos which enchant by their strange fantastic form. Both these are richly ornamented with arabesques, whose seemingly

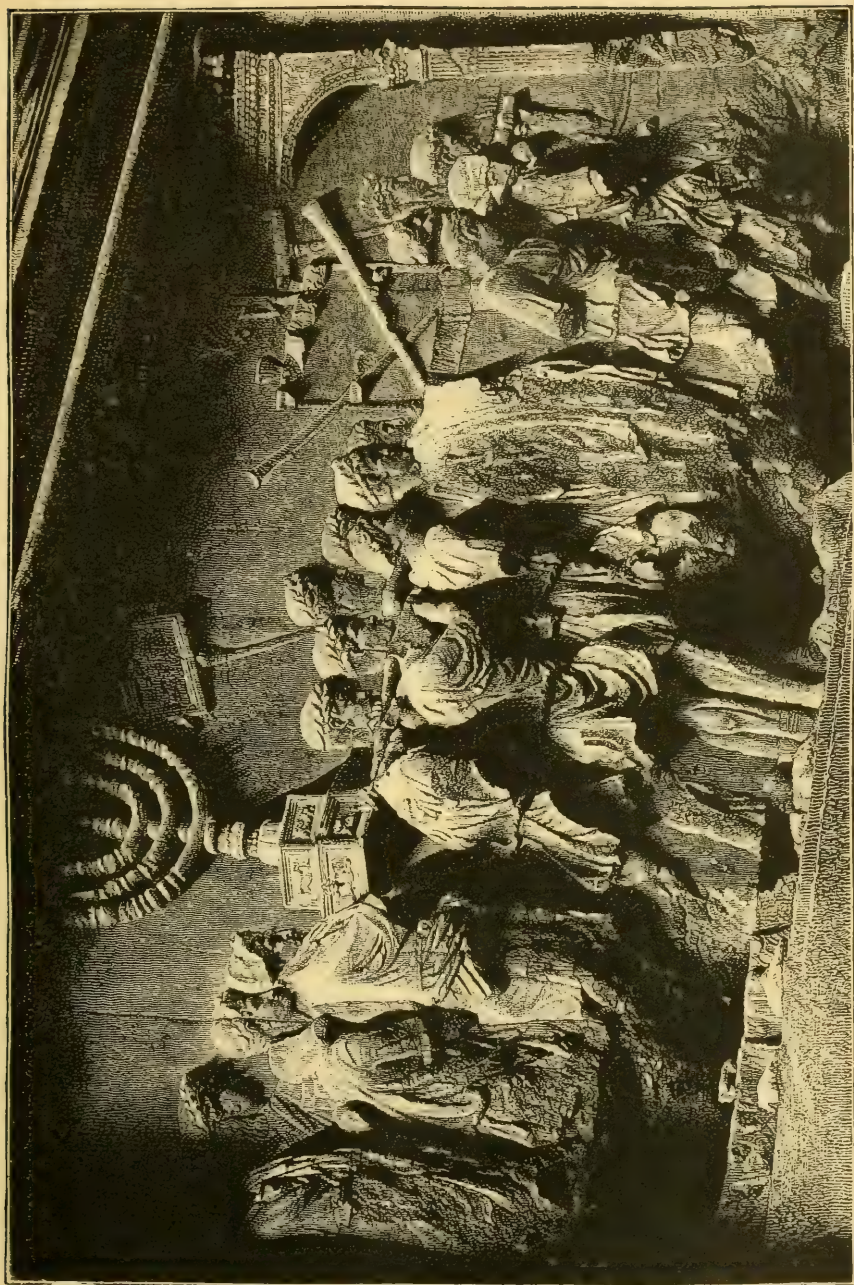
interminable lines and interlacements affect the eye with a sensation of movement similar to that produced upon the ear by continuous tones. This continual craving after movement, which so strongly distinguished them from the rest of their fellow-believers, especially the Turks, forced them from their native land in the far east of the Orient to the extreme west of the Occident. Unlike the inactive Egyptian, Hindoo, and Chinese, the Arab was of a roving and warlike nature, conquering and founding dynasties through the whole civilised world. He planted the banner of the Prophet in India, Spain, the two Sicilies, Persia, Egypt, and the coasts of Africa washed by the Atlantic. It is characteristically related of an Arabian chief that when his tribe first came to the African shores, he walked into the sea up to his neck, and turning to the people on the banks, he said, "See, God hath fixed a limit to our ambition; we are now at the end of the world."

The musical theory of the Arabs, though somewhat more adapted to the requirements of the people than that of the Chinese and Hindoos, presented numerous difficulties for a perfect musical practice. It deals in subtleties, the counterpart of which is to be found in the highly-ingenuous devices on the walls of their mosques. It is capable of numerous kaleidoscopic changes, each variation forming a perfect pattern. This corresponds with a similar tendency of the Semites which vents itself in devising word-plays and enigmas not unlike rhetorical displays. Their musical system is, nevertheless, not without a certain fantastic excellence, for although the mathematical and physical side of their music profited considerably thereby (the Arabs being as great naturalists as they were mathematicians), yet it still retained a vast amount of allegorical suggestion. Thus was music typified by a budding tree, various tones being connected with the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, finally with the twelve signs of the zodiac, the planets, and with day and night.

The oldest Arabic scale is, if we except the $F\sharp$, of the same kind as the Phrygian scale of the Greeks, and, like it, has no leading-note.



This scale is divided in a twofold manner—firstly at the G, forming a group of four and one of five notes (the latter called a pentachord); secondly,



ROMAN SOLDIERS AT THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BEARING AWAY THE PLUNDERED TREASURES
OF THE TEMPLE.

(From the Relief on the Arch of Titus at Rome.)

it is again divided at G, the G being repeated in each part, giving two united tetrachords, the mean being G.



As, however, in the second example the octave D is omitted, the Arabian musicians continued their system of scales, making the C the root of new tetrachords, and each tone and half-tone the basis of new scales.

Every whole tone was divided into three, the half-tone being reckoned in the scale as one of the three parts, so that the octave consisted of $\frac{1}{3}^7$, of which $\frac{1}{3}^5$ represented the five whole tones, and the remaining two-thirds the two half-tones.

The interpolation of such a number of sounds, exceeding in superabundance our chromatic scale, may perhaps be attributable to their nasal method of singing and the habit of gliding from note to note. These peculiarities, which are not only traceable amongst all Orientals, but also to a certain extent are common to the inhabitants of Southern Europe, viz., the Greeks, the Neapolitans, and the Andalusians, forcibly impressed the author of this work whilst on his first visit to Italy.

The division of tones into three parts may also be connected with the movable and immovable tones of their scale, forcibly reminding us of the changeable and unchangeable scales of ancient Greece. The natural sequence of the diatonic scale, which had been interrupted by the subdivision of tones, was restored by the immovable tones.

Amongst the intervals the Arabic theory regarded the octave as the chief consonance. The fifth was looked upon as doubtful, both practice and theory showing a decided preference for the tetrachord. By a simple and combined augmentation of the notes of the tetrachord (called "Thabaka"), the Arabians obtained the great number of 84 scales, twelve of which were selected as the principal keys. We find, therefore, with them, just as with so many other nations of antiquity, practical and unpractical scales. When an Arabian theorist satisfied himself as to the uselessness of one of his arbitrarily-concocted scales, he silenced his doubts in that truly stolid Oriental manner, with "God knows it."

Ambros asserts that the Arabians had no knowledge of harmony. This

is an assertion to which we cannot assent, great as is our respect for the judgment of so learned a musical historian. Such an opinion would seem to be contradicted by the favourite practice of Orientals, and especially the followers of Islam, viz., that of adding a kind of pedal bass to their melodies. This practice is still prevalent in the East. Besides, their accompanying instruments could not have been used merely for strengthening the melody, but evidently had, and have still, the object of sustaining the melody by chords, arpeggio or otherwise.*

Nowhere does the nomadic character of the Arabs more clearly appear than in their method of distinguishing different musical rhythms. These were denoted by the expressions "long rope," "short rope," "stake," "peg," thus employing the names of a portion of the implements connected with the pitching and striking of tents. Their scales were named after cities and provinces, but their appellations were nevertheless sometimes due to purely adventitious circumstances: *e.g.*, one was called "Ispahan," after the old capital of Persia; another "Uschak," *i.e.*, the loving one; and another "Buselik," which was probably the name of a very musical slave belonging to Prince Schetad.

It is greatly to be wondered at that music ever made any progress in Arabia, as Mohammed was much opposed to its use, most likely looking upon it as enervating. The Caliphs were, however, more tolerant than the founder of their religion; some of them were even inventors of melodies. Harun al Raschid, so glorified in myth, is said to have been impressed to such an extent by the song and lute-playing of an attendant singer that he pardoned a maiden whom he had condemned to death in a fit of jealousy.

The music of the Islamites, and especially that of the Arabs, appears to have entered upon a new lease of life at the period of the conquest of New Persia. The Islamitic race became so intermingled with the musical inhabitants of this beautiful country that they naturally appropriated to themselves some characteristics of the land of their adoption. The Persians regarded two of their chief singers as being of equal value to the whole region of Iran. If this should appear extravagant, we need but refer to the extraordinary halo which surrounds the name of Hafiz, who lived in the

* The author here again has been induced, by his adherence to his own opinions, to make an assertion which is in total opposition to the present practice of Oriental nations, as well as to all their indigenous traditions.—F. A. G. O.

fourteenth century A.D., and subsequently to Firdúsi, the most popular poet and singer of Persia, in order to show how much music, especially in the shape of folk-song, had become a necessity to the every-day existence of the Persians.

The music of Persia and Arabia in the eighth century became so indissolubly blended as to render impossible any subsequent separation. About the year 780 A.D., Chalil wrote his "Books of Sounds," which was followed by El Kindi's "Theory of Composition," "Arrangement of Tones," "Laws of Rhythm," and "Musical Accompaniment," 862 A.D. But far more interesting than any of the foregoing works are the writings of a number of medical men, who adopted the unprecedented course of setting themselves up as authorities on matters musical. Their treatises show that music was not merely regarded as a pleasure-giving art, but investigations were conducted by them with the eyes of naturalists and philosophers.

The first celebrated author of this class was Achmed ben Mohammed, who lived about the middle of the ninth century A.D. His work, "An Introduction to the Science of Music," deals principally with the philosophical side of the question. "The Influence of Musical Melodies on the Souls of Animals," written by Ibnol Heisem, who died in the year 1038 A.D., is a work of great interest. But the most remarkable of these savants is, perhaps, the celebrated Avicenna of the eleventh century A.D. This distinguished doctor and philosopher started with the thesis that the only purpose for which the human body had been entrusted to man's keeping was to aid in the development of the soul; that our senses conceive and comprehend only the external form of phenomena, but that our reasoning faculties (which he places high above the mere understanding) could alone penetrate into the secrets of nature; and lastly, that only by subduing, ennobling, and purifying our animal passions could we fit ourselves for contemplating infinity and eternity. A man of such elevated thoughts could not but be capable of discerning the ideal and ethereal power of music. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that Avicenna should have been perhaps the first physician who, in a profoundly scientific manner, recognised the power of music to "minister to a mind diseased," as well as to the human body. Assertions which might at the time have seemed hazardous, have since been verified by long experience, for music at the present day is an acknowledged remedy in cases of mental derangement,

especially in those of a lighter character. Arabian lawyers, also, made a special study of the nature of musical art, amongst whom stood pre-eminently Sisi Mohammed ben Issa, 1344 A.D.; he delivered public lectures at Cairo, and wrote a treatise on the "Signs of the Tonal Art." *

It is, however, to be regretted that the musical theory of the Arabs did not adhere to the lines laid down by those intellectual and far-seeing men who, whilst cultivating the technical, mathematical, and physical departments of the tonal art, attached, nevertheless, due importance to its purely human and its ideal side. By ignoring the results of their labours, it became dogmatic, puerile, and involved in abstraction. In the tenth century—*i.e.*, before the time of Avicenna—ill-starred attempts were made to discover a connection between the musical theory of the Arabs and that of the Greeks; and finally, in the fourteenth century, certain doctrinaires of New Persia, in conjunction with their Arabian colleagues, succeeded in destroying what little there remained of practical utility in the Mussulman theory. They abandoned the hard-won octave, substituting for it a number of useless keys, and reverted anew to the tetrachord and pentachord. At the same time free invention was interdicted, and the disciples of the tonal art were ordered to keep strictly within the limits of the theory. Thus all inspiration was checked, and its products discarded, unless they bore the brand of scholasticism, and only those phrases were deemed worthy of acceptance which were formed by the interweaving of a number of short and rigidly-prescribed tone-formulæ.

Under such circumstances one can only regard it as a piece of good fortune that the people began to treat the theory of their teachers with disdain. In defiance of arbitrary rules, they improvised songs responsive

* During the past fifty years several members of the legal profession in Germany have earned for modern music a similar distinction. It may suffice to mention a man like Thibaut (1774—1840), a celebrated lawyer of Heidelberg, whose excellent pamphlet on the "Purity of the Tonal Art" caused quite a sensation; Ambros (1816—1876), legal adviser to the Government at Prague, and one of the most learned of modern musical historians; Bitter, Prussian Minister of Finance, "The Biographies of Sebastian Bach and his sons, Friedemann and Philip Emanuel." The philologists Bellermann, Böckh, Otfried Müller, Heimsoeth, Von Jan, Westphal, and Otto Jahn, have all done substantial work in this branch of literature. The interest taken by such savants in the art of music shows that with this, more perhaps than with any other of the arts, the co-operation of the lay element has proved itself extremely beneficial.

to their inner promptings, accompanying themselves according to their own inclination. Naturally, the divergence of the music of the people from any recognised system was as powerless to create a perfect art as the dogmatic professors, who affected contempt for the unrestrained outpourings of national sentiment. To this schism between abstract theory and intuitive practice we owe a number of songs, dances, and marches, possessing a peculiar and even romantic charm, characteristic of the Arabs, Bedouins, Saracens, and Moors, and exhibiting their great aptitude for music.

The music of the East became so widely diffused that appellations such as "Alla Turca," "Danse Maure," and "Music of the Janissaries" have crept into European vocabularies to indicate music of an entirely national character. Not alone inferior composers, but also the great masters have imitated this kind of music, on account of its characteristic excellences. Mozart, Beethoven, Cherubini, Boieldieu, and C. M. von Weber have repeatedly made use of this form. It will be sufficient to refer to Mozart's *Seraglio*, certain fragments of the too little known opera *L'Oca del Cairo*, and the "Alla Turca" of his pianoforte sonata in A major; to Cherubini's *Abencerages* and *Ali Baba*; Boieldieu's *Caliph of Bagdad*; Beethoven's *Ruins of Athens*, with its Turkish march and dance of dervishes; and Weber's *Oberon* and one-act opera *Abu Hassan*.

Within the category of the people's music, which was uninfluenced by any theory, many different kinds are distinguishable. The music performed in the palaces of the grandees and in the secluded gardens of the harems differed from that of the streets, public places of amusement, and the songs and dances of the middle and lower classes. From these two sorts, which bear more or less resemblance to one another, must be separated the social songs, the martial and instrumental music of those tribes living in the desert, and of the Arabs, Moors, and Fellahs who accompanied the caravans. Again, the songs of the old Islamic ritual are a class by themselves; and further, the highly-original dances of the dervishes, with their strange admixture of religious frenzy; and lastly, the impressive chant of the Muezzins, who from the minarets of the mosques summoned the faithful to prayer.

The music in the kiosques and palaces of the Turkish grandees was exclusively entrusted to women, and was therefore confined to the harem.

The princesses of the houses of Omejjade and Abbaside greatly distinguished themselves as lutists and vocalists. Amongst the Turks, on the contrary, and especially since the decadence of the Turkish Empire, the music of the harem fell more and more into the hands of the Odalisks and female slaves, perfection in the musical art being a great recommendation to a slave even at the present day.



Fig. 65.—Music and Dance in the Harem of a Turkish Pacha.

The song, dance, and mimicry of the women, accompanied by the lute, tambourine, and the tanbur (a stringed instrument), possess a charm for the Turkish grandee, seated majestically on his divan, similar to that produced by the pleasant murmur of the rising and falling of the fountain, which in its monotony cannot fail to harmonise with his Oriental Quietism. Both the song and dance, accompanied by the castanets, have a soothing effect, and serve rather to induce than to arrest a dreamy state of forgetfulness in the hearer.

The music performed in cafés, and especially in those of the larger

towns, presents features of greater interest. Our illustration (Fig. 66) represents the interior of one of the largest and handsomest cafés at Cairo. It would appear, on glancing at the picture, that the performance was restricted to instrumental music, the *Rebab* and *Kemengkeh* (stringed



Fig. 66.—Music in a Café at Cairo.

instruments played with the bow) being principally in requisition. The instrumentalists are exclusively men, and the placid Moslem listens for hours to their dulcet strains whilst smoking his hookah and sipping his favourite beverage. The folk-songs, marches, "Turkish concert music," and dances performed in these cafés all evince the peculiar characteristic features of Mohammedan music, of which the following tune (No. 67) may be taken as a specimen:—

No. 67.

Allegretto. §

f *p*

1st time. 2nd time. FINE.

p *f* *p* *f*

p

§

f *Da Capo dal Segno al Fine.*

The melodies of many Mohammedan dances, whether of the inhabitants of the desert or of those Egyptians of the Nile Valley who go out in the quiet of the evening to meet the returning fishermen with jubilant songs and merry dances, possess an unusual charm for the musical ear. Women, even of the lowest class, very rarely take part in these dances, and if they do, it is merely in the clapping of hands. There are, however, public dancers, known at Cairo as the Ghasi, who, although Mohammedans, yet may be engaged to perform in gardens and houses. This is entirely contrary to the custom prevalent among women of the East of living in seclusion, but as the husbands of these dancers are generally artisans of

the poorer class, they have no objection to their young wives and maidens dancing before any company that may choose to hire them. Sometimes the dancers are very good-looking, and although their gestures, attitudes, and movements not infrequently border on the extravagant, yet are they often as pleasing and original as the very primitive instrumental accompaniment of the tambourine and kemengeh.

The dancers mark time by incessantly clapping the castanets, to the rhythm of which, whilst swinging their arms high in the air, they regulate their gestures. The instrumentalists who assist at these dances are generally a man and an elderly woman; the latter, besides playing the tambourine, acts the part of duenna to the young dancers. The music on such occasions has frequently a wild and excitatory character, of which the following tune may be taken as an example. It was first made known to us by De la Borde, and has since been effectively introduced by C. M. von Weber as a Moorish dance in his opera of *Oberon*.

Allegro maestoso.

f *ten.*

ten.

II

The songs, dances, and marches of the wandering Bedouins, and those that accompany the caravans, although bearing a general resemblance to the songs, &c., of the Arabs living on the borders of the desert, yet have special, and by no means unimportant points of difference. The musical mind of the Arabs is seen at its best in the simple songs of the faithful nomads, who, notwithstanding their excitable nature, have nevertheless remained uncorrupted by the pernicious atmosphere of the Mussulman towns. A reference to the works of a French composer of the nineteenth century, Félicien David, affords convincing corroborative evidence of the pure and unvitiated character of Arabic music. Félicien David wrote a cantata for orchestra and male voices, entitled *Le Désert*, which consisted principally of Moorish melodies and dances. On an examination of the works of William Lane, De la Borde, Villoteau, and other historians, containing Turkish, Arabian, and Moorish melodies, we discovered that the finest themes of David's *Le Désert* were either note for note in these works, or that they had been modelled after certain others in a remarkably intellectual manner. This, as every sensible person knows, in nowise detracts from the artistic merit of the work, for the musician, like the poet, is but the mind that unites into one complete whole the fragmentary elements of the traditions of the people, colouring it with the peculiarity of his own genius. David's cantata created a startling effect by the novelty of those national songs, which reproduced in a most vivid manner the composer's impression of the immensity of the Sahara, the brilliancy of the starry heavens, and the dreamy longing of an imaginative race; the fantastic dances and marches being eminently suggestive of a bold and powerful people. This work was highly praised by Robert Schumann.

We owe the origin of this cantata to a journey which Félicien David made across the Sahara from Cairo to Algiers.* He had drunk, as it were, at the fountain-springs of Moslem music, intently watching the hardy sons of the desert, who, at the end of a fatiguing day's march, having pitched their tents, followed their musical instincts, and gave themselves up to the

* David having joined the Order of Saint Simon was compelled to leave Paris. He sought refuge among the Turks, but was incarcerated at Constantinople. Subsequently pardoned, he went to Egypt, from whence he returned through the north of Africa to France, travelling but slowly on account of the attraction that the habits and customs of the Moslems possessed for him.

enjoyment of song and dance. The two following melodies effectively worked out, and accompanied in the true spirit of Mohammedan music, by Félicien David, will give the reader some idea of the singularly poetical instincts of the tribes inhabiting the Sahara. They are to be found in a collection of Moslem melodies by Lane, and also in a volume of Egyptian dances published at Cairo. They seem tinged with that dreamy and melancholy longing so characteristic of those strange children of the desert.

DANSE DES ALMÉES.

No. 68.

Allegretto moderato. (Oboe solo.)

The first system of musical notation for 'Danse des Almées'. It consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a melodic line starting on a half note. The bass staff begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a series of chords. The tempo/mood is marked *Grazioso e melancolico*.

The second system of musical notation. The treble staff continues the melody with a first ending bracket labeled '1st time.' The bass staff continues with chords. The tempo/mood is *Grazioso e melancolico*.

The third system of musical notation. The treble staff continues the melody with a second ending bracket labeled '2nd time.' The bass staff continues with chords. The tempo/mood is *Grazioso e melancolico*.

The fourth system of musical notation. The treble staff continues the melody with a first ending bracket labeled '1st time.' The bass staff continues with chords. The tempo/mood is *Grazioso e melancolico*.

2nd time.

sempre p

un poco rit - - en - u - to. morendo.

PED. *

No. 69

RÉVERIE DU SOIR (OLD ARABIAN MELODY).

*Andante moderato molto,
cantabile.*

p dolce.



dim. *pp*

un poco rit.

PED. *

In the melody of No. 68, "Danse des Almées," the accompaniment of which imitates the rhythm of the castanets, the $F\sharp$ in the scale of A

A RECITATION FROM THE KORAN.

No. 70.

TENOR SOLO.

minor, in the descending passage, should be particularly noticed. It occurs in the 6th, 10th, 15th, and 16th bars, and reminds one of many melodic progressions in old Israelitic tunes, showing that the music of kindred Semitic nations possessed certain distinguishing features in common. The second example, No. 69, called by David "Rêverie du Soir," appears to be an exact transcript of a melody given by Lane in his book on "Modern Egypt," vol. ii. of the English edition, p. 80, published in 1834. The first performance of *Le Désert* took place in Paris in 1844. One might at first imagine that the composer copied his melody from W. Lane's work, but as we know that David appropriated his Arabian airs from the people themselves, we can but see in the perfect identity of the two melodies a further proof of their genuineness.

Coming now to the songs of the Mohammedan ritual, we find many points that are interesting. The preceding example (No. 70), which we owe to the learned Englishman just mentioned, is given as a specimen of the music of the Koran. It bears a strong resemblance to the celebrated song of the watchman in the third act of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, which he sings at the tolling of the curfew. And if this should suggest a certain homogeneousness in the inventive genius of the Orientals, we cannot fail at



Fig. 71.—Muezzin, Singing at Sunrise.

the same time to be struck with the remarkable similarity which the melodies of the Koran bear to the responses and chants of the Catholic liturgy.

But all Arabian melodies do not possess the same charm for us as those which we have quoted. If some are remarkably pleasing, there are others whose beauty is marred by confused and intricate progressions, elaborated with every kind of possible and impossible flourishes, producing a most disagreeable effect on the ear of the auditor. Amongst these fantastic and distorted melodies, however, there are some which hold us entranced by sheer force of beauty. Prominent among these stands the chant of the Imam, summoning the people to prayer, as well as his address to the Rising Sun, both of which are to be found in the works of Villoteau. But still more affecting is the song of a Muezzin, which David heard during his exile, and transcribed in *Le Désert*. It is a song of praise to Allah, sung at early dawn by the Muezzin from the minaret turned towards the golden East.

The following example is given in its entirety, as noted down by David, together with the few accompanying chords added by the composer. They strengthen the bold, elevated character of the melody, proving that even so curious and seemingly formless a strain may derive support from a harmonic basis.

SONG OF A MUEZZIN TO THE RISING SUN.

No. 72.
TENOR SOLO. *Un poco mosso e con elevazione.*
energico.

The musical score is written for a tenor solo and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo and style markings are 'Un poco mosso e con elevazione' and 'energico'. The score consists of three measures. The tenor line features a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the bass and treble staves, with a forte (f) dynamic marking in the first measure.

14



No one possessing the smallest modicum of musical acumen can fail to recognise the similarity between this and certain of the most ancient synagogal melodies still extant. True it is that the flourishes of the Arabian melodies are conceived in a jubilant strain, whilst those of the synagogue have a certain solemnity; but this very dissimilitude strengthens the conclusion that the latter were composed during a period subsequent to the destruction of the Second Temple and the dispersion of the children of Israel over the wide world.

The military marches, boating and funeral songs of the Mussulmans, and those sung by them during the drawing of water, abound in originality. Like all Orientals, the Moors, Turks, and Arabs prefer a nasal method of intonation, and the more exaggerated the nasal tone the greater is the supposed perfection, affecting them at times even to tears. The execution of a song without this nasal twang, and according to the modern European style, is not appreciated by them; they consider it tedious in the extreme.

We will now glance at those instruments most generally used by the Islamites, the comparatively great number of stringed instruments played with the bow chiefly occupying our attention. Amongst these the *Rebab*, or *Rabab*, holds a prominent place. It is a stringed instrument, in shape somewhat like a violin, though in size sometimes larger or smaller, and it generally has only one string, but some are also used with more than one. Judging from the drawing furnished by the historian Lane of one which he saw in Egypt (see Fig. 73), it looks almost as large as a modern violoncello.

It will be seen that it differs from our violoncello in being four-cornered, and that the resonance body becomes slightly narrowed towards the top; the

strings are affixed to the neck by pegs in the same manner as with our violins.

In the eighth and ninth centuries the *Rebab* was introduced by the Arabs into Southern Europe, and may be regarded as the precursor of all our modern stringed instruments.* But it was not till the sixteenth century, after undergoing various modifications in Italy, that it finally assumed the shape of a viol or violin, the violoncello and contra-basso (double-bass) being added at a somewhat later date. We next meet with the *Rebab* in the twelfth century as the *Rebek*, or *Rebec*, of the Provençal troubadours, who imported it from the East during the Crusades. The *Rebab* with one string (Fig. 73) is known in the East as the "Poet's *Rebab*," and that



Fig. 73.—Performer on the *Rebab*.



Fig. 74.—Performer on the *Kemengeh*.

with several strings, the "Singer's." The latter is seldom used conjointly with other instruments, being reserved for the accompaniment of song. On such occasions the accompaniment is confined to an unchangeable and oft-repeated figure of two or three tones, serving as a sort of pedal-bass to the melody that rarely exceeds the limits of a tetrachord.

Another old Oriental stringed instrument, which has not, however, been subjected to the same process of development as the *Rebab*, is the *Kemangeh*, or *Kemengeh* (Fig. 74).

It has, as may be seen, a very curious appearance, the drum-shaped resonance body being made from the shell of a cocoa-nut, or of wood, with a

* From this view I am compelled to dissent, believing the British *Crwth*, and perhaps some other northern instruments of a kindred nature, to have been in use at a much earlier period.—F. A. G. O.

disproportionately long neck of ebony, inlaid with ivory, to the pegs of which are affixed two or three strings. Almost as long as this enormous neck is the iron peg below which serves as a support to the resonance body. This instrument is always played by the musician in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed in Oriental fashion. An enumeration of the various offshoots from the Kemengeh would exceed the limits prescribed, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to an instrument called *Marraba*, having but one string, the sounding body of which is covered with the skin of an animal, serving thus the double purpose of drum and violin.

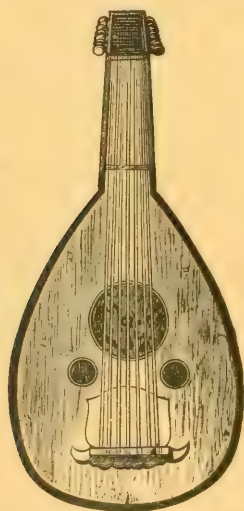


Fig. 75.—Front View of an Oriental Lute.

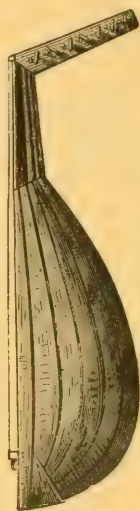


Fig. 76.—Section of an Oriental Lute.

Among the Turkish stringed instruments with narrow necks, the *Lute* stands pre-eminent. The use of this instrument spread as far as Japan in the East, and Portugal in the West. It was called by the Arabs *L'End*, or *El And*, from which the Spanish *Laudo* and the Italian *Liuto* are derived. The Oriental lute (Figs. 75 and 76) originally had four strings, which by degrees were subsequently increased to fourteen. It is sometimes played with a steel plectrum, and sometimes with the quill of an eagle. To this class belongs the *Tanbur*, which, with its oval body and long neck, strongly resembles the Egyptian instrument of the same name.

The Moslem wind-instruments form a very numerous class. Of these

the oboe, or hautboy, seems to be specially selected for the performance of the melody, on account of its shrill piercing tone, which is very effective in processional music. Flutes are also largely used by the Turks.

One might reasonably suppose that instruments of percussion and brass wind-instruments would be deemed fitting accessories to those dances of the Dervishes (Arabian Fakirs) which are so potent to excite religious fanaticism. Contrary to expectation, however, these performances are, oddly enough, accompanied by the sweet and low sound of the flute only.



Fig. 77.—Darabukkeh (Drum).

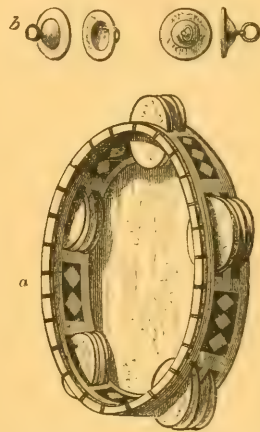


Fig. 78.—(a) Tar (Tambourine);
(b) Sâgât (Castanets).

Oriental Instruments of Percussion.*

F. G. Welcker, the celebrated archæologist, told us that during a journey through Asia Minor he repeatedly saw Dervishes dance till they fell to the ground in spasmodic fits, oftentimes foaming at the mouth. This circumstance may possibly explain how it happens that amongst nations who have not reached a very high state of civilisation, the seductive tones of the flute are productive of exaltation.

A special group of percussion and wind instruments is used by the Turkish and Islamitic armies, known by the name of *Janissary music*. Belonging to this class are "Mohammed's standard," the national instrument of the Turks, consisting of a brass frame, with numerous bells,

* From Lane's "Modern Egypt," third ed., vol. ii., pp. 87, 88.

carried on a long perpendicular pole, the point of which is surmounted by the crescent and the well-known streamers of horse-hair: an elongated roll-drum, narrowed towards the base, a big drum, triangle, metal clappers, shrill piccolos and oboes, trumpets and horns, forming an *ensemble* most effective and warlike.

The trumpet used by the Janissaries is of Arabian origin, and called by them *Nefyr*. It, more than any other Oriental instrument, resembles the



Fig. 79.—Dancing Dervishes.

modern trumpet—tube, bell, and mouth-piece being similar to ours. It is very probable that our trumpet owes its origin to the Arabian *Nefyr*, and, indeed, that the whole of our military instruments are of Eastern origin, having been introduced into Christian Europe by the Crusaders.

There can be no doubt that our pagan forefathers used neither trumpets nor bugles when preparing for the fray, but the more uncouth buffalo horn. This remark applies equally to the ancestors of all other European nations whom the Romans contemptuously styled “barbarians.” Under the generic term of “Turkish music” are included the big drum, the now

obsolete side drum, which first came into use at the end of the Middle Ages, kettle-drums, triangles, clappers, "Mohammed's standard," and bell-instruments like huge rattles, all undeniably of Turkish origin.

That the Moslems were cognisant of the moral power of the tonal art may be gleaned from the writings of their most celebrated philosophers. But if they—and especially the Arabs, who were so learned in astronomy and mathematics, and to whom we owe the science of Algebra—systematised too much, forgetting the true mission of music as a language of the heart and passions, their folk-songs, and the old chants of their mosques, prove that the ethical aspect of the art was not entirely ignored by them.

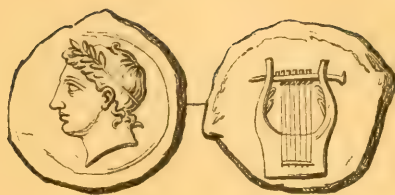
Even if we can bring ourselves to suppose Turkish theory and folk-song to have joined hand-in-hand and elevated music into an art, yet it could hardly have arrived at an advanced stage of development, for in that event it would probably have still retained, though in a somewhat refined and more artistic form, that arabesque character—lacking neither grace nor eloquence, but depth only—which is common to the Moslem music of the present day. Still less impressive is the Arabian folk-song, suggesting as it does the pleasure-seeking *Almée* rather than the serious muse. It sports with sounds in the same manner that the lyric poetry of the "Makame" and "Ghasel" plays with words and rhymes. A preference is everywhere evinced for the mere charming of the ear by sensuous tonal effect. If, on the one hand, a poet like Hafiz treats art in many of his verses, which were doubtless wedded to appropriate music, from a purely sensuous standpoint (foreshadowing the famous convivial song of Martin Luther, "He who loves not wine, women, and song"), the Turks, on the other hand, in their recitations from the Koran, and the songs of the Muezzins already referred to, showed themselves capable of soaring into realms of far nobler inspiration. The Arabs attribute to the lute—their chief instrument—miraculous powers of healing. Their philosophers claim to see in it a reflection of nature, and liken the highest of its four strings to Fire, the two middle ones to Air and Water, and the lowest to the Earth. They further add that a musician should not play without pursuing some systematic method of procedure; for instance, starting from the lowest string, the melody should speak comfort to the hearer; this should be succeeded by a song of love, gradually giving place to a seductive dance rhythm, and concluding with sounds inviting to peaceful slumber.

It is, indeed, remarkable that the founder of the religion of a music-loving people like the Arabs should have been so decidedly indifferent to the practice of the tonal art. For although Mohammed, strictly speaking, was the avowed enemy of the plastic art only, yet nowhere do we find him encouraging the practice of the tonal art. This is all the more unaccountable, since, notwithstanding the prophet's seeming indifference towards the art, he never denied his descent from a musical nation. For he tells us that when, like Moses, he withdrew into the solitude of the wilderness, there to hold communion with his God, he heard the sound, as it were, of a tinkling bell, and voices singing and calling to him, and on looking, behold, no one was nigh! Afraid of losing his reason, he communicated this strange manifestation to his wife Chadidsha, and it was entirely owing to her ministering comfort that he took courage, and continued to believe in his Divine mission. The fact of Mohammed seeking the advice of his wife would seem to indicate that the social position of Arabian women was superior to that of other Oriental nations, and it breathes somewhat of that chivalrous spirit which we see now and then reflected in their melodies.

Music, also, had no unimportant part assigned to it in the early wars of Mohammed. At the battle of Ohod, 625 A.D., in which the victorious Mohammed three times repulsed the Meccanites, the women, led by the poetess Hind, sang to the sound of the timbrel that the victor would be received with open arms.

This song of the Arabian women recalls to our recollection Miriam's "Song of Victory" when Pharaoh's host was drowned in the Red Sea; and a further parallel suggests itself in the means adopted by the Caliph Omar for summoning the faithful to prayer, who in lieu of the fifes of the Jews, and the bells and metal instruments of the early Christians, substituted the song of the Muezzin.

This substitution of the human voice for the sound of instruments betokens that keener appreciation of nature and that higher sense of refinement which give us a clue to their tolerant bearing towards Jew and Gentile alike; it discloses a state of civilisation unapproached by the Christians in the eighth and ninth centuries.



THE MUSIC OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.



THE classical era of Greece has been called the “adolescence of mankind.” If an ideal conception of the universe be an especial character of the Spring of Life, then such a comparison is not over-strained when applied to a people whose entire existence was subordinate to the radiant influence of Art, proceeding from their innate sense of ideality. This becomes all the more manifest when we compare the prevailing realistic tendencies of our age with the beautiful idealism of the ancient Greeks, who sought in all things to bring man into harmony with nature. It is, at the present day, almost impossible for us to enter into the feelings of a people that deeply sympathised with the being who had not seen the statue of Jupiter—their masterpiece of sculpture—and whose sense of beauty was so intense that it even warped the true course of justice, as the following story will testify. It is related that at the trial of Phryne, a celebrated beauty, Hyperides, the young advocate for the defence, produced an almost magical effect by lifting the veil from the face of the accused, and, by thus exposing her exceeding loveliness to the gaze of the assembled Court, secured her acquittal. We moderns can hardly conceive the idea of a people whose two greatest philosophers, in the midst of the most serious debates on the laws of their country, could speak of the tonal art as one of the chief elements of education, and denounce the introduction of presumably irrational scales as a national danger and misfortune. A people who, from the highest to the lowest, could follow the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles, and who recited at their national festivals the songs of the poet Homer, is a unique phenomenon; nor is it probable that ever again in the history of the world shall we find a

nation, even under the most favourable circumstances, so exceptionally gifted, and possessing such noble attributes.

Schiller says, "The May of Life blooms but once;" and if this be accepted as true of the individual, must it not apply with even greater force to a whole nation? Again, when the poet is dilating upon the charms of classical Greece, he yearns for the hallucination of the past, as only man can yearn, when thinking of the golden dreams of his youth, and of that time when the glories of the wide world were before him, or, as Goethe has it, "Those days when the breath of heaven fell like a loving kiss upon the cheek of youth, filling his heart with an undefined craving, and impelling him to seek the seclusion of the forest." But the idealism of the Greeks is essentially different from that which the modern poet delights to picture. The Athenian could not feel, like Goethe's Faust, "amidst thousands of scalding tears, the birth of a new world." To the poetical Hellene such a subtle analysis of human feeling and so subjective a survey of surrounding nature would have seemed but weak sentimentality. The Hellene viewed the world from a purely objective standpoint, and it naturally followed that the aim of Greek art was to ennoble and idealise the real and terrestrial without aspiring to go beyond physical nature. Bearing in mind these characteristics, we shall the better understand the only position that it was possible for the art of music to assume with such a people; but in order to comprehend this the more fully, it will be necessary to give some explanation of the relation in which music stood to the other arts of Greece.

The natural artistic sense of the Greek was, on the whole, of a plastic character: everything objective possessed a greater attraction for him than fantastic dreaming or revellings in fanciful emotions. The actual world was more interesting than that of his imagination; the bright noonday sun more congenial than mystic twilight. That which was simple appealed to him more than that which was complex—the clear, well-defined outline in nature more than the mysterious and abstruse. It cannot, therefore, surprise us that, under such circumstances, sculpture should have been the favoured and dominant art. Sculpture and music represented to the Greeks the two extremes in art, and therefore the influence of the former on the development of the latter could only have been of a very slight character, whereas the art of poetry, although, in

point of completeness, inferior to sculpture only, was nevertheless strongly influenced by the plastic art. Epic poetry and the epic drama were the most admired, the lyric forming part of the poem only when describing the visible aspect of the beautiful.

The architecture of the Hellenes, like their poetry, was brought under the sway of the plastic art. Their ancient temples—harmonious buildings in themselves—lose much of their attractiveness, if we think of them apart from their magnificent gable groups, panels, reliefs, and the colossal statues of their gods. This plastic character was all-important, the sacred element being largely eliminated. Thus were their temples but splendid erections for the exhibition of statues victoriously enthroned on the topmost points of the gable roofs. Were we even to disassociate the sculptural wonders of the interior from those of the exterior, the plastic would still be visible. Their pillars, too, were not like those of the Gothic churches in which the arched plinths seemed to grow in uninterrupted succession one out of the other, but they stand in their plastic absolutism supporting the architrave—the state resting as it were on the shoulders of man—a comparison which is by no means inapplicable as the names of the various parts of the pillar, such as capital (head), socle (foot), and shaft (body), eminently remind one of man. The subsequent substitution of the Caryatides (figures of women dressed in long robes serving to support the entablatures) for pillars, therefore, appears to me to be the most natural outcome of such a system.

The influence of the plastic art on music, although, as we have stated, of a very slight nature, is nevertheless easily traceable in the prevalence of melodic outline and pointed rhythm, greater attention being devoted to these than to harmony. We shall, however, deal with this more completely when describing their music.

The influence of sculpture upon painting was even still more strongly felt; indeed, music appears to have occupied a position in relation to poetry analogous to that held by painting in reference to sculpture. The Hellenes proceeded from the mere colouring of statues (a system proving the subordinate position assigned to painting) to the execution of pictures. But even in the latter the design was the more important, the colour being laid on merely to give that apparent roundness of form and distribution of light and shade which helps to bring the contour into relief, the plastic side of

painting being thus alone represented. The modern system of colouring was practically unknown to the Greeks, who were alike ignorant of shading and perspective. Possessing no knowledge of perspective, colouring, foreshortening, or *chiaro-oscuro*, as we understand those terms, and without any foreground, centre-distance, or background, it was naturally impossible for painting to occupy a position equal to that of the other arts of that period. Equally impossible was it for music to become an independent art prior to the discovery of the system which forms the basis of that employed in modern times. The Hellenes were content that painting should remain a mere slavish imitation of sculpture, and music the handmaid of poetry. And yet Greek art has continued to be the classical standard for all succeeding ages. In architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, the Romans were but imitators of the Greeks, so that one can only speak relatively of Roman art. It was not till the Romans had departed from the lines laid down by the Greeks that they could be said to possess an art of their own, and this secession was accomplished by substituting for ideality unmitigated realism, and for poetical intensity, external splendour and exuberant extravagance.

Relatively speaking, those works of the Romans are of the greatest value which were erected to commemorate the success of their arms, such as their triumphal arches and pillars of victory. We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that a people who earned for themselves the appellation of "followers of Greece" must necessarily have been endowed with a considerable amount of artistic aptitude and a keen appreciation for the achievements of their predecessors.

When speaking of the Israelites, we said that they were the first to employ music and poetry as a means of establishing a personal relationship with the Godhead; on the other hand, the Greeks cultivated art solely and entirely for itself. For if they, like other ancient civilised nations, originally employed art in the service of religion, yet at an early period of its development we see it quitting this narrow arena, and gaining thereby an importance and value out of all proportion to that achieved whilst it was subservient to other purposes. In proof of this we need but note the introduction from time to time of certain artistic productions of a purely secular type into their religious rites, and indeed the humorous and cheerful spirit with which special phases of their mythology are treated betoken the

pursuit of art for art's sake. The Israelites were led through their religion to art and artistic expression; but the Greeks, on the contrary, evolved their religion from their art, for it was impossible that their gods could ever have attained that perfect reality of an ideal existence which charms us even now, without the assistance of Greek poetry and sculpture. We shall not, therefore, err in repeating what has been said of Homer and Hesiod, and, we may add, Phidias and Praxiteles, that they created the gods of the Greeks.

Thus it was that the Israelites were the people that laid the foundation for the religion of all religions, and the Greeks the nation on whose artistic development our modern art is entirely based, and to which we must ever have recourse to correct eccentricities and to draw invigorating draughts of noble inspiration. And, furthermore, the music and the lyric poetry of the Christian era sprang from the psalmody of the Israelites, and modern Christian era sprang from the psalmody of the Israelites, and modern plastic art from ancient Hellenic tradition. The influence of both the ancient Jewish and Greek nations has left its indelible impress upon our modern culture, whilst that of the Hindoos, Chinese, and Egyptians cannot be said to have affected, to an appreciable extent, Western civilisation.

For a thorough understanding of the music of the Greeks it is all-important to note their classification of the arts. Owing, no doubt, to their superior powers of discernment, they were the first people who placed music and poetry in a category by themselves apart from the plastic arts. This division was implicitly adhered to by the Romans, and, as regards the plastic art, obtained recognition not only in the fifteenth century, but has become a guiding principle in modern æsthetics. It is to Gluck that we are indebted for re-asserting and maintaining the close affinity which exists between music and poetry. The union of music and poetry effectuated by the Greeks had its drawbacks as well as its advantages. Music was ever regarded by them as inferior to poetry; but though in practice it occupied a purely subordinate position, yet, on the other hand, in its ethical and æsthetical character it assumed a comprehensiveness and universality denied to it in modern times. Tone was looked upon by the Greeks as a powerful moral element, calculated to awaken the purest harmony of the soul, and to inspire enthusiasm for noble and worthy deeds. It was considered capable of affording consolation and hope to the afflicted, and the graceful evolutions of the

human body whilst engaged in gymnastics, dancing and mimicry seemed also to convey to the Greeks the idea of music. It spoke to them from out the sounds and rhythms of their wonderful language, and was closely associated by them with their philosophy, sorcery, mathematics, and astronomy.

The history and theory of Greek music, which we are about to pass in review, will disclose to us the intimate connection that existed between the tonal art and the every-day life of the Hellene. It will, moreover, convince us at the same time that, notwithstanding its restricted sphere of action, it is after all such a powerful factor in the history of the tonal art (influencing as it did the whole of the Middle Ages, and especially the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) that without it the possibility of any further development might reasonably be doubted.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREEKS.

THE musical history of the Greeks, if we include the mythological era, ranges over a period of nearly 1,300 years. We will divide it into two principal sections, viz., the mythological and historical periods.

We may date the commencement of the former from the thirteenth century B.C. It is during this dark epoch that the Argonaut expedition is supposed to have taken place, and that Orpheus is said to have stimulated by his music the courage of the heroes. To this period belong also Amphion, the elder Olympus, and Chiron, the renowned Centaur, celebrated in myth as the musical instructor of Achilles.

In Orpheus the Greeks personified that entrancing power of music which nothing, as Shakspeare tells us, is too "stockish, hard, and full of rage" to resist. The wild beasts of the forest crouch at the feet of the enchanter, mountains and forests bow to his will, even the terrible rage of the Furies of Hades is calmed by his tuneful lyre and plaintive song, and they are constrained to grant to the suppliant free admittance within those awful gates where tarries his lost wife Eurydice.

Another well-known myth symbolising the power of sound is that

of Amphion. It attributes to this demi-god the erection of Thebes and Cadmea, who by his playing caused the rocks and stones to move spontaneously, suggesting that magic charm of pure harmony which can unite into a perfect whole the most discordant and incongruous elements, and can also restore tranquillity to the human mind rent with discord and confusion.

Not only the demi-gods, but also the gods, of the Hellenes were intimately associated with the tonal art. The tutelary deity of poetry and music was Phœbus-Apollo, and he alone was regarded as the god capable of inspiring the singer's utterances. The lyre was on this account regarded as the attribute of Phœbus-Apollo, who was also celebrated as the leader of the nine muses, amongst whom were Euterpe, Erato, and Terpsichore (the muses of the tonal art and the dance), as well as Polyhymnia, the songstress.*

When referring to Apollo as the god of music he is always designated Apollo Citharædus, or Apollo Musagetes, and never Phœbus the shining, nor Helios the sun-god. We must not forget, however, the beautiful Homeric myth of the "Musical bow," in which the archer and Musagetes are one and the same; Apollo wings death-dealing arrows, but the bow-string, which is doubled or trebled, suddenly produces sweet sounds that heal the wounds of the body, and give balm to the troubled conscience. Thus Apollo, the god of the murderous bow, also presided over that manly and ethical element in music which stimulates the warrior to deeds of daring, and supports the soul in its struggles with adversity.

* The reputed inventor of the lyre was the god Hermes, who having stolen from Apollo certain bulls, was permitted to retain them only on resigning the lyre to the god of the muses.

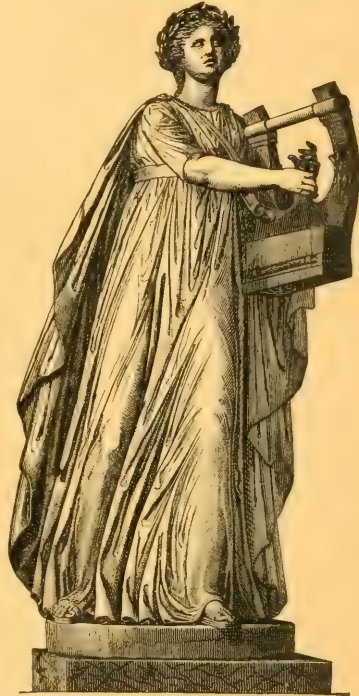


Fig. 80.—Apollo Musagetes.
(From the Statue in the Vatican.)

One of the oldest traditions referring to Apollo as the god of the lyre is that of Marsyas, the celebrated flute-player, who was flayed alive for presumptuously entering into a musical contest with the son of Latona.

Apollo Citharædus was regarded as the personification of that noble power of the tonal art able to purify and elevate the mind and to allay pain, whilst amongst all other Hellenic deities who were in any way connected with music, Dionysus (Bacchus) was looked upon as the representative of the mere sensuous power of tone. That distinctive kind of



Fig. 81.—Euterpe.



Fig. 82.—Erato.

(From Statues in the Vatican.)



Fig. 83.—Terpsichore.

music which incited man to reckless adventure, increased his love of life's pleasures, and drove him to maddening orgies, found in the songs dedicated to the god of wine its strongest expression. The Bacchanalian songs were always sung in chorus, and in their original form were songs of praise to Bacchus as the giver of the joys of life; subsequently they developed into the Dithyrambus. They were not, however, always restricted to the expression of unbridled joy and jubilant praise of the god as is generally supposed, but were occasionally transformed into touching laments or passionate outbursts of sorrow. For Dionysus was not only the giver of wine and its consequent joys, but by his sufferings and

death—which were celebrated in mystic rites dedicated to him—he became alike the symbol of perishing nature and of the awakening of spring. Hence arose the sacred tradition that Zagreus or Iacchus (names by which Dionysus was known in the mysteries) had been torn asunder by the Titans—the personifications of the forces of nature.

A characteristic feature of the mysteries of Dionysus was the peculiar manner that the Centaurs, Silenus, and Satyrs were related to the god, and the way in which they were made to symbolise nature as the teeming mother of all existence, or Bacchus the friend and protector of the tiller of the soil, and the joys of pastoral life. The plastic art of the Greeks connected these mythological personages (that are not entirely devoid of humour) with Dionysus, as the personification of the power of sound, and sometimes with Bacchus, as the god of wine, to whom were dedicated rustic dances and songs accompanied upon the shepherd's pipe, crotali, and cymbals.

Our illustration (Fig. 84), a copy of which is in the Louvre at Paris, affords us some notion of these mythical beings. They are represented in the original with the ears of an animal, and a small tuft of hair growing upon the back, and one is seen playing a double-flute. Other illustrations represent Centaurs and Satyrs with the Pan-pipes and similar rustic instruments. The lyre also frequently formed one of the instruments employed at these Bacchanalian orgies. Fig 84 represents, besides the flute-player already mentioned, a female figure regulating her steps to the clapping of castanets (called by the Greeks *crotali*), also two maidens playing the lyre. The exciting effect of the music used at these orgies is strikingly represented in Fig. 85 by a female Centaur and a Bacchante. The Centaur strikes her lyre in transports of joy, and conjointly with the Bacchante sounds the Greek cymbal.

The myth of the Sirens testifies to the entrancing power of tone—so well known to the Greeks—in a manner totally different from that of the unrestrained songs and dances which formed part of the mysteries of Bacchus. To them were ascribed those strange sounds which, seeming to rise from the billows of the raging sea, startled the mariner near the rocky shores of Hellas, or the islands of the Ægean Sea. With the Grecian mermaids originated that love for the rippling, splashing, and roaring of the brook, stream, and river—that delight experienced in



Fig. 84.—Bacchic Revel. (From a Relief on the Borghesian Vase.)

contemplating the silver-crested waves dancing in the sun and breaking into ten thousand mirror-like sparkles, which is characteristic of all the Indo-Germanic nations. The legends of the German nymphs and sprites, the Provençal Melusine, and other creations of modern Germanic poets, such as the "Daughters of the Rhine" and the "Loreley," with their seductive songs, are all more or less indebted for their origin to the myth of the Sirens.

Besides the well-known contest between Apollo and Marsyas, there is also related in Grecian mythology an account of a tournament between the Thracian singer Thamyris and the nine muses, which clearly shows that the Greeks accredited not only Euterpe, Terpsichore, and Erato with musical skill, but also the other muses. One of the oldest traditions informs us that Cadmus, who came from Phœnicia about the year 1550 B.C., was wedded to the youthful Harmonia in the presence of the gods. This would seem to indicate that Cecrops and Cadmus brought the arts and sciences from Egypt and Asia to Hellas, and that at this union the Samothracian mysteries were indissolubly connected with the art of music.

Amongst the heroic warriors who, in the twelfth century B.C., besieged Troy, the youthful Achilles is the only one referred to as a singer, and able

to perform on stringed instruments. With the close of the great Doric migration, 1068 B.C., the first period of mythical history may be considered at an end.

The second period, although treading to some extent on historical ground, is still enveloped in a mythological twilight. It seems to me that the commencement of this period may be best dated from the time when the Olympian, Pythian, and Nemean games were first established, viz., about the year 1000 B.C., of which games music formed a part.

The Olympian games, the founder of which is supposed to have been Hercules, and also those of Nemea, consisted almost exclusively of gymnastic displays, the songs of celebrated poets being sung only at banquets. The Pythian games, however, dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, were specially confined to musical contests, chiefly between Citharædes and Auletes, in which the contending parties sang a festival hymn, accompanied on stringed instruments or flutes; and although the prize was but a simple laurel wreath, the victor's praises were sounded throughout the whole of Greece.

Homer, 950 B.C., proves himself an invaluable guide to the musical historian. Both the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" contain materials under this head which enable us to draw almost positive conclusions. We are told by the greatest poet of the Hellenes, who was himself regarded as a singer, that music in his time was capable of arousing the deepest emotions. This assertion would not astonish us at the present day, when music has reached such a high state of development, but taking into account the period at which it was made, it must be regarded as truly surprising. Thus Achilles, repining at his forced inactivity whilst on shipboard, and also at the loss of his beautiful Briseis, forgets his sorrow when striking the



Fig. 85.—Female Centaur and a Bacchante.

golden strings of his lyre ; and thus it is that Nestor and Ulysses find him—

“How he comforts his heart with the sound of the lyre,
Fairly and cunningly arched, and adorned with a bridge of silver,
Stimulating his courage and singing the deeds of the Heroes.” *

And when Penelope from her balcony heard “the heavenly song” of Phemius, bewailing the return from Troy, she descended to her suitors, and discoursed with the bard.

“Phemius! much art thou skilled in moving our hearts by singing ;
Telling the deeds of the heroes and great gods, famous in story ;
E’en one of those do thou sing us, and cease from this song of our sorrow.
Truly, thy strain awoke deep down in my heart lamentation ;
To whom, more than all upon earth, are sorrow and mourning unending.” †

Whose heart is not moved, as only music can move it, at the story of Odysseus (Ulysses) weeping and covering his head whilst, unrecognised, he hears his own luckless adventures and the deeds of his brethren in arms related by the bard Demodocus?

We have already pointed out the close relation that existed between the music and poetry of the ancient Greeks. In the Homeric time poet and musician were united in the same person, and we are able to recognise the poet in the “Iliad” and “Odyssey” (who was really more musician than poet) only by his playing on a stringed instrument, or, like Phemius or Demodocus, he is referred to as the one whose duty it was to amuse princes and heroes, after the pleasures of the table, by music both instrumental and vocal.

Homer was probably the first who gave adequate expression to the deeper meaning underlying the myth of the Sirens. He describes their song as so seductive that the companions of Ulysses, fearful of exposing themselves to the enticing strains, stopped their ears with wax while passing these dangerous songstresses ; the hero himself meanwhile, eager to listen, being bound to the mast ere he ventures within hearing of the alluring songs.

A profound symbolism, characteristic of the Greek mind, is embodied in this fanciful and humorous story ; for, as the same poet elsewhere suggests, noble and manly music invigorates the spirit, strengthens wavering man, and incites him to great and worthy deeds ; whereas false and sensuous

* “Iliad,” ix.

† “Odyssey,” i.

music excites and confuses, robs man of his self-control, till his passions overcome him as the waves overwhelmed the bewitched sailor who listened to the voice of the charmer.

Before we leave the mythical age of Grecian music, we must mention the elder Olympus, who belongs to historical times only inasmuch that he is neither referred to as a god nor a demi-god, but always as a "musician." By this we do not mean to say that he is entirely unconnected with mythology, because we are told that the shepherds' god taught Olympus the flute.



Fig. 86.—Ulysses Passing the Sirens.

(From a Relief on a Marble Sarcophagus in the Museum at Florence.)

With this exception, musical facts alone are related of him, and none of those wonderful legends that surround the stories of Orpheus and Amphion.

The elder Olympus, who is believed to have lived during the twelfth century B.C., is of some importance in history, for it is to him that several Greek authors and some modern philologists ascribe the introduction into Grecian music of the so-called enharmonic system. Other archæologists and musical historians dispute his claim, and attribute this innovation to the younger Olympus, who is supposed to have existed 500 years later.*

* The question whether the elder or younger Olympus was the inventor of the enharmonic system still remains unsolved, and the period is so remote that any opinion upon the point must, at best, be purely conjectural.

Be this as it may, one thing appears certain, that neither the elder nor the younger Olympus can be in any way connected with the later theory of enharmonics, which subsequently had such a baneful effect upon

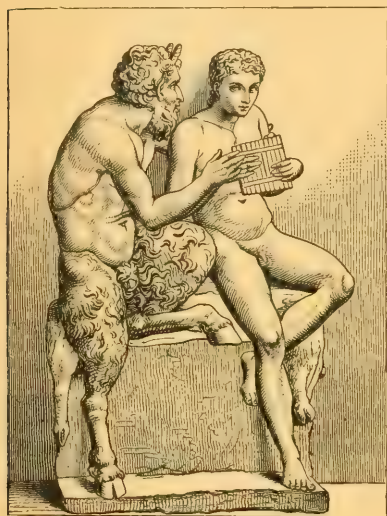


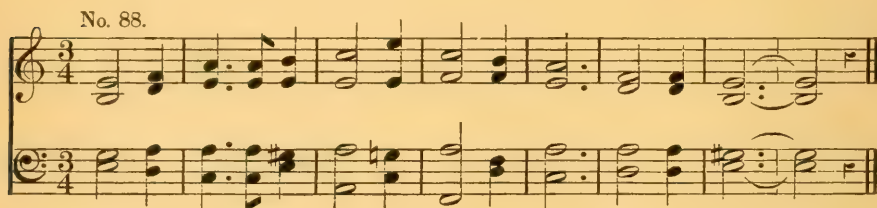
Fig. 87.—Pan Teaching Olympus to Play the Syrinx or Pipes.

(From a Bas-relief in the Albani Villa at Rome.)

Greek music. Most probably both were allied to the older enharmonic system, which consisted in the omission of certain intervals of the diatonic scale, *e.g.*, the third and seventh of the Doric scale, and hence arose melodies like the following (No. 88). Concerning these, Aristoxenus and Plutarch said that under this system Olympus had produced much that is beautiful; and we cannot but admit that, for our ears, No. 88 has a certain impressive solemnity.

The second era in the history of Greek music belongs to the historical period, and may be said to date from the time when the Greeks began to count by Olympiads, viz., 766 B.C. I

divide this epoch into four parts:—(1) from the first Olympiad to the time of Terpander, 776 to 676 B.C.; (2) from Terpander to Pythagoras, 676—580 B.C.; (3) from Pythagoras to Aristoxenus, 580—350 B.C.; and (4) from Aristoxenus to Ptolemy, 350 B.C. to 161 A.D.



The development of the tonal art during the first two periods rested entirely with the Dorians, and it is to the earlier that the younger Olympus belongs. He is supposed to have been a contemporary of Midas, whose

ears Apollo changed into those of an ass, because at a musical contest between Pan and Apollo he adjudged the former the victor. Midas died 697 B.C.*

The younger Olympus is frequently spoken of as a celebrated *Aulete*—*i.e.*, a flute-player.

From the time of Tyrtaeus, 676 B.C., our historical information is of a more reliable nature. In the wars of the Spartans against the Messenians, Tyrtaeus performed the double rôle of warrior and bard, rousing the Spartan youth to acts of heroism by his passionate patriotic songs. He it was who first induced the Spartans to use the trumpet as a martial instrument, the strange and war-like sound of which put the attacking Messenians to flight.

Terpander, however, gained greater ethical renown for the Lacedæmonians, among whom—although a native of the isle of Lesbos—he chiefly taught. His greatest successes were probably



Fig. 89.—Dance of Spartan Maidens, accompanied by Tympanum and Crotalus.

achieved during the years 638—634 B.C., *i.e.*, between the first and second Messenian wars. He founded the famous Lesbian school, which boasts of such names as Arion, Alcæus, and Sappho, among whom, although all practised both branches of the art, Terpander and Arion must be especially regarded as musicians, and Alcæus and Sappho as poets. Terpander had very great influence in Sparta, and his name was long remembered by the grateful Lacedæmonians, chiefly because his melodies (known among the Greeks as *Nomes*) were found to exercise the highest moral effect upon the spirit and courage of the Spartan youth. It is from the history of this great master that we learn for the first time what an incomparable position music occupied in Greek political life—a position to which, even

* It will be noticed that the mythological influence is felt during the historical era, reaching even down to the time of Pythagoras.

in these days of musical culture, it has never since attained. He relates that in consequence of the Messenian war, a large party in Sparta clamoured for a redistribution of land; the tumult threatening the very existence of the State, the Delphic oracle was appealed to for aid. The appeal was answered by—

“ When Terpander’s Cithar shall sound
Contention in Sparta shall cease.”

The Lacedæmonians thereupon called in the assistance of Terpander, and by the power of his song, those that were enemies became friends, and the contending factions were reconciled,

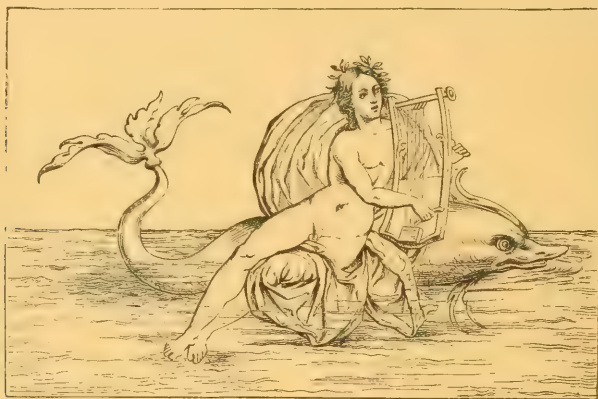


Fig. 90.—Arion Riding through the Waves on a Dolphin.
(From an Antique Fresco.)

In addition to his own compositions, Terpander made a collection of Asiatic, Egyptian, Æolian, and Boeotian melodies, and set to music a great number of foreign poems. Owing to his exertions, Greek music acquired a firm basis, and he is also accredited with the invention of a new notation, and the enlargement of the cithar from four to seven strings.*

In the year 620 B.C., when Sparta was visited with the plague, the

* Euclid states that Terpander celebrated the extension of the tetrachord to the heptachord in the following stanza :—

“ The four-tonèd hymns now rejecting,
And yearning for songs new and sweet,
With seven strings softly vibrating,
The lyre anon shall we greet.”

people, sorely pressed, anxiously appealed to the bard Thaletas for help, who by his supplicatory hymns appeased the anger of the gods, whereupon the plague ceased. Thaletas, a native of Crete, introduced into Lacedæmonia both choruses and war-dances, which found great favour with the Spartan youths. Ten years later Aleman imported into Sparta choruses and dances for the "honey-voiced" maidens of the land, as well as the flute and the Lydian scale. But the Dorian mode remained the national one, and was always employed when singing the praises of their gods and of their native land, and when glorifying all that was noble and sublime.

The story of Arion (620 B.C.), though belonging to the historical period, contains, nevertheless, much that is mythical. The fable runs that certain mariners, jealous of Arion's victory over the Citharædes at Tarentum, captured him, carried him on board ship, and determined to put him to death. Arion, however, entreated and obtained permission from his would-be murderers to prepare himself for death by song, and uttered sounds so sweet and affecting, that when the bard cast himself into the waters the dolphins, who meantime had surrounded the ship, bore him to his home.

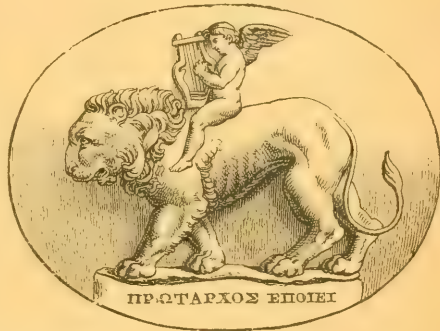


Fig. 91.—Eros Playing the Lyre, Seated on the Back of a Lion.

(From an Onyx Cameo in the Museum at Florence.)

This fable, like that of Orpheus, is symbolic of the power of music over the animal creation. The historian Pausanias tells us that a representation of Arion's ride on the dolphins was wrought in metal, and that the Spartans, anxious to honour the bard's memory, placed his lyre amongst the stars, or, in other words, named a constellation after him. The power of music is glorified in the most beautiful manner in the cameo represented in Fig. 91, in which the child Eros is seen to subdue the wild king of the forest by his playing on the lyre.*

* Goethe makes use of this myth, dressed in a modern garb, in his "Novelle," written in 1827. In both instances music is lauded as that heavenly power which enables even children to subdue the wildest and most ferocious natures.

Herodotus attributes to Arion the first Dithyrambus. It is most probable that Bacchanalian music had its origin in the islands contiguous to Asia, where it sometimes assumed a passionate and exultant, at others a cheerful and jubilant character; and it was owing to such development that the Greeks accredited Arion with the invention of this wild, rugged poetry. The Dithyrambus plays an important part in the history of Greek music. It was the root out of which, by degrees, the Greek drama, and especially the tragedy with its stately inspired choruses and cheerful Satyric Drama, was evolved. The Satyric Drama commenced immediately after the final chorus, the latter being sung by men dressed as Satyrs, in honour of their divinities.



Fig. 92.—Female Dancers Striking the Lyre.

The Song, as the expression of individual sentiment and as a pure love-ditty, is especially identified with Sappho (560 B.C.). She is also the reputed inventor of the Barbiton, a stringed instrument that was certainly unknown up to her time. It is extraordinary how many young maidens of noble birth were attracted by Sappho to Lesbos to be instructed by her in the arts of poetry, song, dance, deportment, and calisthenics. We can well imagine the pupils of this queenly poetess, lyre in hand, singing praises to Aphrodite, and accompanying their songs with graceful evolutions, as they are represented in our illustration (Fig. 92), taken from Hope's magnificent pictorial work, copied from an ancient Greek monument.* It is highly characteristic that each dancer holds a lyre with six strings—a number rarely

* "Costumes of the Ancients." By Thomas Hope. (London, 1812.)

met with in Grecian stringed instruments of that date. This is all the more significant, as a relief in terra-cotta, found in the Isle of Melos, represents Sappho playing on a six-stringed lyre. Another picture on an ancient vase (Fig. 93), whose antiquity is evidenced by its archaic style, depicts Sappho in a poetico-musical contest with her countryman Alcæus.

Representations of ancient monuments and figures, like that of Fig. 93, all point to the double meaning which the Greeks attached to the word "bard," especially in the time of Alcæus (580 B.C.). Although Alcæus was distinguished as a poet, yet in our illustration he is shown accompanying himself on a lyre. The poet Anacreon also, who lived in the fifth century B.C., speaks fondly of accompanying himself on the twenty-stringed Magadis, dancing to its strains and caressing it as his "darling child," or joyously singing to the sound of the Pectis. Hence the appellation of "lyric-poet," *i.e.*, a bard who sung his own verses and accompanied them on the lyre, had a far more accurate signification with the Hellenes than it has in our time.

Up to the time of Sappho and her contemporaries, music and poetry floated across the Ægean Sea from those happy isles Lesbos, Samos, Chios, and Melos, to the Greek continent. At the same time the Greek colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily, where the fine arts had already established themselves, must have exercised an influence over the art of the mother-country. It was to Arion, a native, as we have seen, of Lesbos, that Hellas was indebted for a partial union of the two schools, and the development of those Bacchanalian songs and dances—forerunners of the chorus of the Greek drama—which played so important a part in the subsequent history of Greek tonal art. Contemporary with Arion was Tisias (640—556 B.C.), who, on account of his activity in the same field, was known as "Stesi-chorus"—*i.e.*,



Fig. 93.—Contest between Sappho and Alcæus.

(From the Agrigentine Vase in the Munich Museum.)

the director of the chorus. To him is ascribed the division of the chorus into three parts, called *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*, an arrangement intimately connected with the dances of the chorus.

Further, it is of great importance to note that he connects his choruses with stirring events, such as the Fall of Troy, the Labours of Hercules, and the Life of Orestes. From this it is but one short step to the powerful tragedies of Æschylus, in which the chorus occupies so prominent a position.

Meanwhile the musical theorists had not been idle. About the time of Lasos (590 B.C.), who is supposed to have arranged and ordered Dithyrambic contests, music began to be the subject of mathematical and philosophical speculation. The labours in this direction of Pythagoras (584—504 B.C.) influenced the theory of music not only during the classical period, but also throughout the Middle Ages until the time of the Renaissance. Born in the Isle of Samos, and supposed to be the son of a merchant, his thirst for knowledge drove him into Egypt, where he remained for twenty-two years, departing thence to Babylon, and finally taking up his abode at Crotona, in Southern Italy. The contributions of this remarkable man to the study of mathematics and philosophy scarcely require comment at our hands, nor will our limits allow us to make any adequate reference to his speculations. We are, therefore, compelled to confine ourselves to the briefest possible notice of those relating to music. Before adverting to them, however, it may be deemed necessary to cast a cursory glance at the theoretical systems in general use among the Hellenes.

The foundation of all Greek scales was the *Tetrachord*, the same four notes which formed the basis of all the scales of the Egyptians and Mohammedans, represented in Hellas by the four-stringed lyre. The Greek tetrachord was at all times of a melodic and not of a harmonic nature. It did not consist of tonic, subdominant, dominant, and octave—1st, 4th, 5th, and



8th—but of a pure fourth, beginning invariably with a semitone: the same, it will be remembered, that belonged to the people of the Nile Valley and of the East.

Thus—

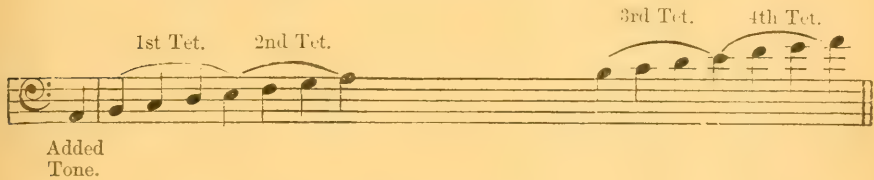


Or thus—



It was out of four such tetrachords that the Greeks formed their normal scale. It will be noticed that the first and second and the third and fourth tetrachords were united by a tone common to both groups of notes. The second and third tetrachords, however, were divided by a whole-tone, known as the “*diazeuctic*” interval. By prefacing the first tetrachord with a whole-tone they obtained a succession of fifteen notes.

No. 94.—Added Tone.—*Diazeuctic* Interval of a Whole Tone.



We must not confound this normal scale (which, be it noted, corresponds to our descending A minor scale) with the pre-existing octave passage called by them “*harmony*” and “*mode*.” If, then, this normal scale represents the whole of the system of the Greeks, both in the manner of construction and as to extent, the “*octave scales*” were to them what our various keys are to us. Of these octave scales they originally possessed but two or three, but subsequently they were increased to seven. Aristotle speaks of the “*Dorian*” and *Phrygian* as the oldest. Aristides



and Plutarch refer, in addition to these, to the *Lydian* scale, which, it will be seen, corresponds in every respect to our modern scale of C major.

No. 96.—Lydian Scale.



It is interesting to note the different emotional and ethical effects attributed by eminent men of Hellas to melodies composed on the various lines of these simple scales. Thus the Spartan Ephori (teachers of schools) directed that the manly and serious Doric scale should be exclusively used in the education of youth, as it was considered to be the only one calculated to inspire respect for the law, obedience, courage, self-esteem, and independence. The Lydian scale, imported from Asia, was less highly esteemed. Plato considered that melodies founded upon it had a voluptuous, sensual, and enervating tendency, fitted at best only for the accompaniment of orgies; and wished, therefore, wholly to prohibit its employment. Aristotle ascribed to the Phrygian scale the power of inspiration, to the Dorian the qualities of repose and dignity, and, in opposition to Plato, attributed to the Lydian scale power of awakening the love of modesty and purity. In addition to the three foregoing scales, four others were developed out of the old *heptachord*—viz., the Hypolydian, ranging from F to F; the Hypophrygian, from G to G; Hypodorian, from A to A; and the Mixolydian, from B to B, all of which would lie on the white keys of the modern pianoforte.


It is easy to see that this ancient tonal system was as simple as it was comprehensive. Its origin has been associated by some with Terpander, which would accord with the supposition that this celebrated master added three strings to the old four-stringed lyre; and others have associated it with Polymnesus (700 B.C.). Although their tonal system was naturally capable of melodic expression, yet gradually it became so overlaid with theoretical subtleties, the results of false deductions, that for ages Greek theory has presented to the scientific investigator obstacles almost insurmountable. This chaotic confusion was caused by adding the so-called enharmonic and chromatic systems to the original seven diatonic scales, a result both valueless and detrimental to musical practice. And still more futile was this system rendered by a factitious, yet highly-plausible, reconstruction of their one changeable, normal octave, increasing their number of scales from seven to fifteen.


We must not confound the enharmonic system of later times (which

inserted quarter-tones within the tetrachord) with the diatonic-enharmonic system of Olympus. This insertion of quarter-tones may have been the result of Hellenic connection with the Orientals, who, as we already know, loved to glide from note to note by the smallest possible interval. It is, however, just as possible that the Hellenes copied the procedure from their Asiatic neighbours, a practice which would greatly harmonise with the Hellenic theory of dividing tones into infinitesimal portions. Seeing that the human voice is not capable of the execution of quarter-tones, and even instruments only approximately so, this system must be regarded as a lamentable failure. All melodic phrases built on this plan could only be of a disagreeably lachrymose character. Their chromatic scale was more in accord with our system, as it did not go beyond the division of whole-tones into semitones.*



In nothing is the true musical instinct of the Greeks, notwithstanding theoretical aberrations, more clearly visible than in the small importance which their celebrated philosophers and tone theorists attached in practice to the chromatic or enharmonic scales. Thus it was prescribed that they should never be used separately, but always in conjunction with the diatonic scale. In the time of Aristides and Ptolemy, the employment of

* It is easy to discriminate between the diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic tonal systems of the Greeks, by the different divisions and groupings of tones within the tetrachord. The lowest and highest tones of the tetrachord in all three systems were the same, and were therefore called "immovable" tones; the intermediate tones, being changeable, were called "movable." The three lowest tones of their chromatic and enharmonic tetrachord consisted of a lesser interval than that between the third and fourth, because in the chromatic tetra-

chord they were counted as a whole-tone, *e.g.*, , and in the enharmonic

as a half-tone only, *e.g.*, . In the latter example B#—identical with

our C—must be regarded as the quarter-tone between B and C. And, further, the interval from the C# to the highest tone of the chromatic scale consists of one tone and a half, whereas that of the enharmonic consists of two whole-tones, giving us for the chromatic

, and for the enharmonic .

the *enharmonic* was entirely obsolete, and even the much earlier Aristoxenus bears witness of its gradual decease. Theon of Smyrna refers to the *diatonic* as being capable of both manly and intelligent expression; the *chromatic* as plaintive and pathetic, and the *enharmonic* as artificial, mystical, and intelligible only to the experienced musician. Aristotle, and an anonymous writer mentioned by Bellerman, characterise the chromatic scale as voluptuous, insipid, and lachrymose. Aristoxenus derisively says that it was only used by musicians brimful of mawkish sentimentality.

To this same aestheticism may be ascribed the dissociation of the chromatic scale from the performance of tragedy, at a period long anterior to Aristoxenus, and it was not re-introduced till the time of Agathos (450 B.C.). As the *enharmonic* was comparatively easy of execution on the flute, it was on this account adopted in their sacred services.

The melodic system of the Greeks, being based exclusively on the diatonic scale, was far more matured than the harmonic. Although they knew of combinations of simple intervals such as the octave, fifth, and fourth, called by them "*Symphonia*," yet this coupling of sounds must have been but sparingly used, otherwise their theorists would scarcely have omitted all reference thereto. And, furthermore, their classical writers make no mention of counterpoint, that is to say, of a melody accompanied throughout by a counter melody; nor in the few specimens of Greek music still extant do we find any trace of this contrivance.

We may therefore assume with some degree of certainty that part-singing, like the use of the Gothic arch in architecture and rhyme in poetry, is the outcome of Christianity. It is, however, possible that Greek melodies were not infrequently accompanied by sundry isolated chords on the lyre, and this might lead us to infer the occasional use of combinations of more than two notes.

Greater attention was bestowed upon the rhythm of Greek music than upon harmony, by reason of the subordinate position which the latter occupied relatively to poetry. We cannot therefore be surprised that rhythm should have attained greater importance than melody; and this, no doubt, explains why Aristides likens the former to the manly or active, and the latter to the feminine or passive element in the tonal art. It is for this reason that the development of the music of the Hellenes was concomitant with the progressive development of their

language. The aim of the musician was therefore no higher than that of supplying the language of the poet with melody and musical accents. He never strove to invest music with a dignity that should make it independent of poetry.

After these few cursory remarks on some of the more prominent and characteristic features of Hellenic music, we will now return to consider how great was the influence which the labours of Pythagoras exercised over Greek tonal art.

It is to Pythagoras that we are indebted for the discovery of a system representing the numerical relation of one tone to another. He started with the assumption that the harmony of the mighty universe was methodically arranged and governed by numerical laws. The master and his disciples conceived the theory that the whole world was governed by musical intervals founded upon mathematical rules. The Monochord of Pythagoras consisted of a square box with one string and movable bridges, certain points being indicated as the normal tones of the instrument. By means of this instrument he fixed the ratio of the tonic to the octave, as 1:2; the tonic to its fifth, as 2:3; the tonic to the fourth, as 3:4; and on account of the numerical simplicity of the ratio of these three intervals, and their equally simple progression, declared them to be perfect musical consonances.*

Even to this day the octave, fifth, and fourth are the fundamental notes of our modern tonal system, for regarding the octave as the tonic, the fifth and fourth are then relatively the upper and lower dominants. Important as may have been the adoption of this theory, it is nevertheless to be regretted that music, according to the Pythagoreans, was to be governed by numerical laws, instead of by the truer instincts of the ear. By such an arbitrary method the third—that most agreeable of all intervals—was regarded as a dissonance; and this in no small degree prevented any development of harmony and part-writing, as we now understand those terms.

The completion of the scale is considered by some to have been the work of Pythagoras, as it is recorded of him that he added an eighth string

* The above ratios are based on the observations made by Pythagoras, viz., that a string shortened by one-half produces its octave, that $\frac{2}{3}$ ds will give the fifth, and $\frac{3}{4}$ ths the fourth.

to the seven-stringed lyre of Terpander, and hence arose the name of "the octachord of Pythagoras." The scale of Terpander no doubt embraced the interval of an octave, but it was by omitting one of the intermediate tones. It was formed by combining two tetrachords, and since the highest note of the first was the lowest note of the second, it could only have contained seven tones, as the following example shows.



It is assumed with some degree of certainty that the interval omitted by Terpander was the B, the fifth note of the Doric scale.* But Pythagoras, conscious of the deficiency, and unwilling to dispense with this perfect fifth, which was one of the pure consonances discovered by him, is supposed to have disunited the two tetrachords of Terpander, and, leaving the lower one in its original state, began his new tetrachord with the hitherto omitted B.



If Pythagoras was in truth the perfecter of the scale, it would go far to prove that the renowned teacher's ear was not always governed by his mathematical predisposition.† Nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose that the researches of Pythagoras were solely confined to the establishing of musical intervals according to the number of their vibrations, or to the placing of music on a scientific basis. "Number" and "measure" had for the great Hellenic philosopher beyond their actual a symbolic signification, thus expressing the ideal side of music, as well as for the first time connecting it with the most exact of all sciences—mathematics. Just as number and measure were not in the eyes of the

* A passage from Nicomachus would seem conclusively to prove this; others, however, suppose that the C or D was the omitted note, and therefore the sixth or seventh of the Doric scale.

† The claim of Pythagoras is supported in a direct manner by Nicomachus (1, 9), and indirectly by Philolaus (*vide* Böckh, p. 65); but Lycaon of Samos is also mentioned as having supplied the omission in Terpander's scale. (Boethius de Musica, 1, 20.)

Pythagoreans mere abstractions, for to them number was the symbol of the germ of all creation, and the laws of harmony the laws of nature, so a harmonious and well-directed life was deemed the end and aim of our mortal existence, and this they symbolised by a well-tuned lyre. They ascribed to music the power of controlling the passions, which they compared to a bottomless vessel, incapable of being filled. They firmly believed that sweet harmony and flowing melody alone were capable of restoring the even balance of a disturbed mind, and of renewing its harmonious relation with the world. Playing on the lyre, therefore, formed part of the daily exercises of the disciples of the renowned philosopher, and none dared seek his nightly couch without having first refreshed his soul at the fount of music, nor return to the duties of the day without having braced his energies with jubilant strains. Pythagoras is said to have commended the use of special melodies as antidotal to special passions, and, indeed, it is related of him that on a certain occasion he by a solemn air brought back to reason a youth who, maddened by love and jealousy, was about setting fire to his mistress's house.

We cannot be surprised to find such traditions associated with the name of a man whose conception of the high moral power of the tonal art was so great, to whom number, tone, and the harmony of the universe were identical, and who, convinced of a mysterious relation between the seven notes of the scale and his seven planets, perceived in the solar system the "Music of the Spheres." This belief of Pythagoras so forcibly impressed Shakspeare that it moved him to the utterance of the grandest and noblest praise that poet ever bestowed on music. In this Pythagorean system we see carried to its final consequences the tendencies of the ancient Chinese, Hindoos, Egyptians, and Chaldæans, who connected music and its laws with the universe and the orbits of the heavenly bodies. It is impossible to conceive a grander theory than that of the great Hellenic philosopher, who believed that the movements of the heavenly bodies and their distance from the world's centre were governed by musical and therefore mathematically determinable intervals, and that the planetary revolutions produced a harmony intelligible only to the initiated.

It is improbable that we shall ever possess any definite knowledge of the musical practice of the Pythagoreans, as the search for any manuscripts containing specimens of their melodies has proved futile. We may, how-

ever, obtain some notion of what this practice was by a study of one of Pindar's Odes (522 B.C.), which has happily been preserved and deciphered. Pindar, the greatest lyric poet of Hellas, was a disciple of Pythagoras, and greatly celebrated as an inventor of melodies.* The rhythm of the following ode has been arranged by Westphal, the harmony by Carl Lang and myself.

A PYTHIAN ODE BY PINDAR.

Corypheus.

No. 98. *Un poco mosso.*

Χρυ - σέ - α φόρ - μιγξ 'Α - πόλ - λω - νος καὶ ἰ - ο - πλο - κά - μων

σύν - δικον Μῶν - σαν κτέανον τὰς ἀ - κού - ει μὲν βά - σις ἀ - γλα - τ -

Chorus of Citharodes.

ας ἀρ χά πεί θον

* Some writers have maintained that Pindar belonged to the school of Lasos. Be this as it may, the interval between Pythagoras and Pindar was but a few years, and the influence of the Pythagoreans on Greek musical art was in his day at its zenith. We have it on no less an authority than Böckh that the above melody (No. 98) was composed by Pindar.

τci δ' ἄ-οι - δοὶ σά - μα - σιν, ὁ - γη - σι - χό - ρων ὁ - πό - ταν προ-

οι - μί - ων ἑμ - βόλας τεύ - χης ἑ - λε - λι - ξο - μέ - να

καὶ τὸν αἰχ - μα γαν κε - ραν - νὺν σβεν - νύ - εις.

The above ode moves chiefly in melodic sections, each not exceeding an interval of four tones, except in one instance. Although at the time this melody was written the seven-stringed lyre of Terpander and the eight-stringed lyre of Pythagoras were both known, yet it is evident that the Hellenes preferred to restrict their melodies to the limits of the old favourite tetrachord. For the rest, although Pindar was by birth an Æolian, his melody might be regarded as belonging to the Doric mode, both on account of its rhythmic and melodic character, and its serious and manly feeling.

Viewed from a purely musical and formal standpoint, it is interesting in that it works out a clearly tuneful and rhythmical theme.*

The second epoch of Greek music may be taken as dating from Pisistratus (550—527 B.C.), during the time of the Athenian ascendancy. This celebrated autocrat and ruler of the chief city of Attica is accredited with having regulated on an increased scale of magnificence those grand Athenian processions held every four years in honour of Pallas Athene, the tutelary deity of Athens. He added to the existing gymnastic dis-

plays, and horse and chariot races, contests of musicians, singers, and dancers, as well as rhapsodical recitations of portions of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." The illustration on the opposite page, copied from the frieze of the Parthenon, and representing a group of musicians, shows us that flute-players took part in the Athenian processions, known to the Hellenes by the name "Panathenæa." The illustration (Fig. 99), copied from a celebrated frieze by Phidias, proves that cithars were also used at the festivals of

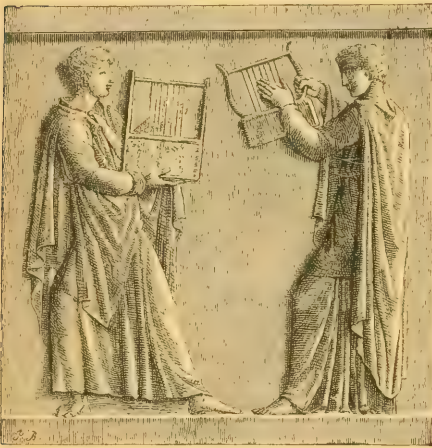


Fig. 99.—Performers on the Lyre.
(From the Frieze of the Parthenon.)

Minerva. Pisistratus was also looked upon as the special patron of the spring festivals held in honour of Dionysus. These festivals consisted of fantastic processions, celebrating Bacchus as the god of joy and regenerate nature; the Bacchantes, both male and female, joyously shouting "Evoë," and swinging their Thyrsus wands, entwined with ivy and the vine, or dancing to the sound of the Crotalum. Singing boys, gaily attired, joined in the processions, as also at intervals the singers of the Dithy-

* We have partially altered the harmony of Lang—although conceived with much refined feeling—by omitting the chord of the dominant seventh, and the tonic which had been added as a pedal-bass. It savoured too much of our modern tonal system, so totally opposed to that of the Hellenes. The repetition of the seventh could not be altogether avoided, owing to the *cantus firmus*, still the melody must have gained greater simplicity by being restricted to the triad and its inversions, retaining thereby a closer affinity to the Doric mode.

rambus, who accompanied their songs with pantomimic action. In the course of time speech took the place of song, and the accompanying gestures developed into dramatic action, the whole by these changes acquiring the characteristics of a stage play.

In the works of the Attic poet Pratimas the singer of the Dithyrambus is distinguished from the early tragedian. Thespis appears to have been the first to absorb the Dithyrambus into the legitimate drama, which he performed on a rude stage erected in a waggon. Thus it happened that tragedy in Athens was originally derived from the worship of Bacchus. The dramatic element in the Dithyrambus, which hitherto had only been treated episodically, came to be regarded as more and more essential. This by no means implies a subordination of the lyrical and musical element; but on the contrary, now that the Dithyrambus appeared in tragedy under the form of the all-important chorus, Greek music found a wider

scope for the expression of exalted and joyful emotions, and a channel was opened up wherein it obtained its grandest and noblest effects.

But in common with the plastic art, music and poetry, united in the chorus of the tragedy, only reached the highest stage of perfection in the time of Pericles (478—429 B.C.). Æschylus (525—456 B.C.), the oldest of the three great Hellenic dramatists of the era of Pericles, assigned to the chorus, and especially the musical part of the tragedy executed by them, a very prominent position, allotting to them space equal to that of the dialogue. Sometimes the chorus encroached directly upon the dramatic action—*e.g.*, in his *Orestes* trilogy. Sophocles (495—406 B.C.), predisposed in favour of the dramatic element, introduced into the tragedy a third actor, and thereby increasing the amount of dialogue, must of necessity have curtailed



Fig. 99a.—Performers on the Flute.
(From the Frieze of the Parthenon.)

the part of the chorus. Euripides (480—406 B.C.) accepted the chorus as a sacred tradition compelling his submission. It was for this reason that he used it only when actually obliged for the elucidation of the story, sometimes changing its dramatic character to that of a reflecting and moralising spectator. Such a change naturally could not remain inoperative in its influence on the musical treatment of the chorus, and we cannot but conclude that the emotional utterances usual to the chorus gave way to those of a more measured and passive kind.

The duty of providing the members of the chorus devolved upon the oldest and wealthiest of the Athenian families, and they were fired by the same ambition which stimulated the dramatists when competing for the national prize—a wreath of ivy dedicated to Bacchus. The fortunate citizen who had provided the chorus for the successful drama was honoured by his name being engraved on a tablet recording the fact.

The greatest poets of Hellas all interested themselves in training the chorus in the songs and dances, the latter of which naturally partook of a serious and solemn character in keeping with the sublimity of the drama; nor is it at all improbable that the dramatists composed the music of the chorus, and at the same time arranged the order of the dances. They may besides have employed the well-known melodies of Terpander, Alcman, Hierax, &c. Each principal chorus was divided into strophe, antistrophe, and epode; the strophe was sung whilst the chorus moved to the right, the antistrophe while moving to the left, and the epode after these two evolutions were performed. This distribution, no doubt, greatly influenced the musical form of the chorus. The “chorus” may have consisted of two semi-choirs that sang antiphonally during the first two parts of the drama, joining in one grand unison in the epode, or it may have been that they sang in unison throughout the performance. Supposing the latter conjecture to be the more correct, the division into three parts would then be marked by musical rests or refrains. Stage processions of great solemnity, and dramatic dances arranged for performance around an altar, were accompanied by choruses of an appropriate nature. Such processions and dances are to be found in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, the Bacchanalian chorus of which, in its allusion to Dionysus, significantly reminds one of the origin of the Greek drama.*

* It is that chorus which has become so celebrated through Felix Mendelssohn's music to *Antigone*, and now known under the name of the “Bacchus chorus.” Mendelssohn, with a

There can be no doubt that the chorus was never sung *recitativo*, as all Greek authors always refer to the chorus as specially representing the melody, and distinguish between it and the musical recitation of the tragedy. The monologues and dialogues of the actors were generally treated in the *recitativo* style. The dialogue was not spoken, as one would naturally imagine, but delivered in a half-singing manner; the sacred meaning attached to the tragedy excluding all ordinary speech, as savouring too much of every-day life. Such a method of performance becomes at once intelligible when we find a Greek philosopher justifying the use of the tetrachord upon the ground that its limits were not exceeded by the human voice in speech. The semi-musical recitations of the actors may, therefore, not improbably have been confined to four notes. In a few cases, however, the recitation perhaps assumed a melodious character, and we may suppose that this occurred most frequently in lyrical monologues, or in the dialogue of the actors with the chorus.

We know that the Greek tragedy, not excepting even those parts which were recited by the actors, was accompanied by instrumental music; but it has not been satisfactorily ascertained what special class of instruments was used. Judging from the performances in the Hellenic temples, we should suppose that flutes and cithars were employed. The number of the chorus originally consisted of forty-five persons, but for general purposes Æschylus reduced this to fifteen. In exceptional cases the poet employed an increased number of singers, and it is an ascertained fact that his terror-striking chorus of the "Furies" was sung by fifty persons. The corypheus preceded the chorus, and acted as precentor and conductor. Concerning the musical treatment of the text we have but little information. It seems, however, to be beyond question that the music of the chorus was what might be termed *Syllabic*—i.e., one note allotted to every syllable, and not, as in our modern compositions, a whole tonal phrase or succession of notes to one syllable. This is, to some extent, an additional proof that the music of the Hellenes was but the handmaid of poetry. The modern composer manipulates his metres and syllables according to his music, whereas the Hellene shaped his melody according to the words.

refined artistic feeling for the metre of Greek poetry, has successfully reproduced its peculiar rhythm and accent. According to Donner's translation of the master-work of Sophocles, the festive song, beginning with the words "*Thou god of many names*," should be sung while the singers march in procession round the altar dedicated to Dionysus.

It is interesting, and well worth remembering, that on the day of the battle of Salamis, 20th September, 480 B.C., the poet Æschylus, in the full vigour of manhood, was numbered among the warriors that fought for the freedom of Hellas; that Sophocles led the dance of the Athenian youths celebrating the victory of their countrymen; and that Euripides first saw the light of day.*

It was not long after the Persian wars, with which the three great dramatists were connected in so memorable a manner, that the music of Hellas gradually began to fall back from its high position. The first traces of this degeneration date from the close of the reign of Pericles. This is no doubt surprising, as the era of Pericles (444—429 B.C.) has always been glorified as that period at which Greek art arrived at its greatest excellence and refinement. Phidias, the greatest master of the plastic art that the world ever saw, was an intimate friend of Pericles, and under his directions were built the Parthenon and the Propylæa. He added to the already splendid temples works, the marvellous beauty of which enchants the modern world of art, and has immortalised the name of the renowned sculptor. The three great dramatists were also contemporaries of Pericles, and that noble ruler interested himself greatly in the success of the art of music by erecting the Odeion for musical and poetical contests. It is, however, not to be denied that the tragedies of Euripides do not reach the sublime height of his predecessors; he has neither the grandeur and deep passion of Æschylus, nor the unaffected simplicity and beauty of Sophocles. Still, as Goethe says, if we find fault with him, we should do it on bended knee. We may naturally suppose, however, that the music of the chorus in his tragedies was also inferior to that of his celebrated contemporaries.

Conclusions of a more decided nature may be drawn when we notice the increase in the number of virtuosi, whose predominant influence in the arts, and especially in that of music, must always be regarded as the first step in its downward course. In the year 456 B.C. Phrynis, the Citharæde, aroused great enthusiasm by his wonderful execution of scale passages, but did not escape the censure of some for apparently endeavouring to make digital skill the end and aim of musical art. He is also regarded as having added a ninth string to the eight-stringed lyre—a contribution of much

* The supposition that Euripides was born in the year 485 B.C. has of late been abandoned in favour of the year 480 B.C.

value to the performer, because he was thereby enabled to play in two keys without re-tuning his instrument. On arriving with his newly-constructed instrument in Sparta, where the heptachord of Terpander and the severe style of this master were highly respected, the Ephori cut two of the strings, as a lyre with nine strings was opposed to all their revered traditions.

The same striving after effect, observable among the performers on the lyre and flute, now began to show itself amongst the singers. Instead of simple melodies, we find tunes embellished with all kinds of superfluous ornaments. This was carried to such a degree that Aristophanes, in his comedy *The Clouds*, makes Phrynis, a teacher of singing to the Athenian youth, the object of pitiless satire:—

“Had any one for sport essay’d such shakes and trills to practise,
As Phrynis now has introduced, neckbreaking skip and flourish,
Of stripes he’d had a measure full, for holy art corrupting.”

Aristophanes states that, in the time of his forefathers, measured rhythm and simple melody were the fundamental rules of music.

Timotheus the Elder (446—357 B.C.), who succeeded Phrynis, is accredited with having increased the seven strings of the lyre to eleven. The singer Moschus, a native of Agrigentum, became a great favourite, owing to his power of sustaining the sound of a note longer than any of his compeers. Thus arose a system of substituting artifice for art, and sensuous effect for heartfelt emotion. Hence this materialism naturally led to the invention of a number of new instruments, for poverty of inventive power ever seeks to gloss over its shortcomings with novel and startling tonal effects.

Let us now turn our attention to the history of the mechanical construction of the musical instruments of the Hellenes, noticing how from very primitive beginnings they matured into elegant instruments, whose symmetrical form corresponded to the purity of their tone, and how their increasing excellence was concomitant upon the development of their music.

Although archaeology has supplied us with the names of a vast number of Greek instruments, we have but little reliable information concerning their construction. It was this lack of knowledge which provoked Ambros’s observation: “Would that the descriptions of Greek instruments were less ambiguous and inexact!” We will, nevertheless, endeavour to furnish the reader with explanations as correct as existing details will allow.

The two principal and, indeed, the national instruments of the Hellenes were the *lyre* and *flute*, the former being more extensively used, because in a country where music was but the handmaid of poetry it permitted the simultaneous exercise of singing and playing.

Both these instruments were originally introduced into Greece from Asia and Egypt; but subsequently, after undergoing an entire change, they came to be regarded as purely national instruments. This remodelling will be at once apparent on referring to Fig. 34, an Egyptian lyre, and to Fig. 55, the Israelitic lyre called the *Hasur*, from which

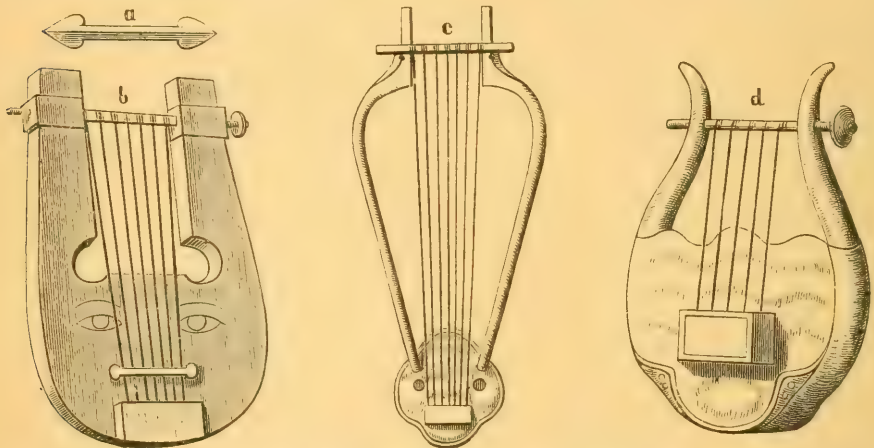


Fig. 100.—(a) Plectrum; (b) Cithar; (c) Psaltery, or Long Lyre; (d) Chelys.

one cannot fail to trace the descent of the lyre of the Hellenes. The greater number of the stringed instruments of Hellas are all offshoots, either direct or indirect, of the lyre. This is at once apparent on comparing the construction and mechanism of the various instruments. In general, the resonance body consisted of a square box, from which two arms, more or less curved, projected symmetrically; these were connected at the upper end by a cross-bar, to which strings and pegs were affixed, the strings passing under a similar bar at the lower end.

It is specially to be observed that the Greek stringed instruments were never played with a bow, while the non-employment of a finger-board, by means of which sounds other than that given by the vibration of the string itself are obtainable, left them with only as many notes as

the instrument had strings. The performer used either the pointed *plectrum*, or struck the lyre with his fingers; but when tones of different qualities were required the two mediums were employed alternately.*

Several authors, betrayed into error by the many appellations of larger and smaller lyres, have fallaciously concluded that each name particularised a different instrument. We are confidently of opinion, however, that the Greeks possessed but two stringed instruments—viz., the *lyre* and the *cithar*—and that all others were but variations of these. The dissimilarity that exists between the lyre and cithar is more apparent than real.†

The characteristic features of the lyre and cithar are clearly illustrated in Greek sculpture, statues, reliefs, vases, and mural paintings, representing the more ancient cithar with a cube-shaped resonance body, whilst that of the lyre has somewhat the oval appearance of the back of the tortoise. The arms of the cithar are but slightly curved, and are massive, broad, and square; whilst those of the lyre are slender, rounded, and gracefully curved. The cithar would therefore appear to have been the heavier instrument, the lyre the more graceful; and we may not unreasonably suppose that the strings of the former were shorter than those of the latter. The instrument which Apollo Musagetes is generally represented as carrying would therefore be the cithar (Fig. 80), the same as that of Terpsichore (Fig. 83). A cithar of a lighter kind is represented in Fig. 100, *b*. The square-shaped instrument held by the performer on the left in Fig. 99 must be regarded as belonging to the cithar family, whilst that held by the performer on the right hand has the shape of a lyre. This latter observation will also apply to the statue of Erato in the Vatican (Fig. 82); the instrument held by the goddess is not a cithar, but the more ancient lyre, whose primitive shape recalls the invention of the lyre—viz., the connection of the horns of a goat, hart, or an ox, by means of a cross-bar, to which strings were affixed. We are also of opinion that the golden *Phorminx* often associated with Apollo is the older and heavier cithar referred to above. Gevaert considered that the cithar made greater demands on the dexterity of the performer than the

* The neglect to use a finger-board, the advantages of which were recognised by the Egyptians, will surprise us the less when we remember that the Greeks never adopted the large and well-developed harp of their south-eastern neighbours.

† The Hellenes, amongst themselves, distinguished between the lyre and cithar, their mythology attributing the invention of the former to Hermes, and of the latter to Apollo. A similar tradition in reference to the last-mentioned instrument is current in Egypt.

lyre, basing his belief on the assumption that the performer on the cithar could produce not only the actual tone of each string, but also its harmonics. The cithar was carried by an embroidered band fastened over the right shoulder, enabling the performer to hold the instrument firmly against the breast or hip (Fig. 80); the lyre, on the contrary, was always borne on the left arm of the performer, and played with the fingers of the right hand. The cithar appears to have been the favourite instrument of the virtuosi and bards; the lyre, being more adapted for general use, became the more popular. Notwithstanding certain variations in the construction of these

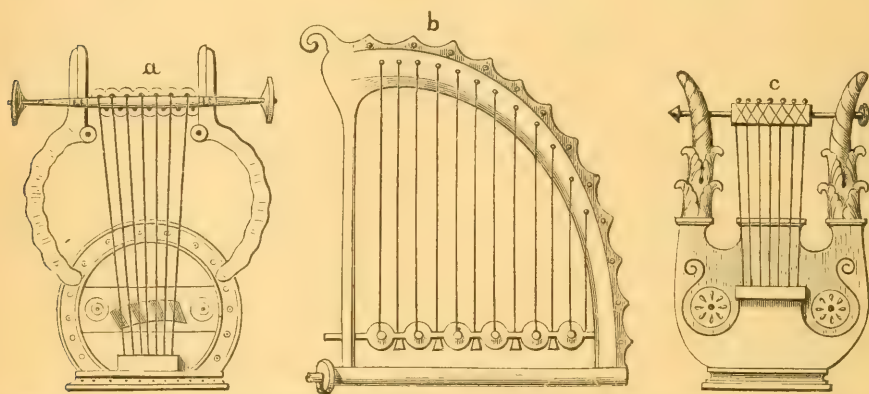


Fig. 101.—(a) A Variety of the Large Lyre; (b) Trigon; (c) A Variety of the Large Lyre.

instruments, more than one Greek author has referred to their cognate nature. Thus Aristides Quintilianus speaks of the lyre as a “manly” instrument, because of its deep, sonorous tones, and curiously adds that the cithar possesses almost the same qualities. Athenæus relates that when the Pythagorean Clinias sought to calm his anger, he had recourse to the soothing influence of music, “and struck the strings of his lyre as if it had been a cithar.” Euphorion may be said to have carried this relation still farther, as he states that all Hellenic stringed instruments belonged to one and the same family, the manner of performance only being different. Pausanias mentions that an altar at Olympia was dedicated to Hermes (as inventor of the lyre) and Apollo (as inventor of the cithar); and the plastic art represents Apollo sometimes bearing a cithar, and sometimes a lyre.

Many of the oldest of the Hellenic stringed instruments—*e.g.*, the *Barbiton* and the *Pectis*, the favourite instruments of Sappho and Anacreon—were discarded, after the Persian wars, in favour of the lyre and cithar. The strings of both instruments consisted of the sinews of animals, the use of metal strings being unknown at that date. Smaller and more portable cithars, in addition to the large and unwieldy Phorminx, were in use, a lighter kind of lyre being substituted for the large lyre in the accompaniment of the songs of the people. The large lyres (Fig. 101, *a* and *c*) were richly ornamented. The *Chelys*, sometimes represented with only five strings (Fig. 100, *d*), and the *Psaltery*, or long lyre (Fig. 100, *c*), must be numbered with the lighter or smaller lyres; the former instrument is repeatedly referred to as having been used in the accompaniment of the songs of women. We have already stated that the number of the strings of the lyre increased in proportion to the development of the tonal art. The oldest lyre, viz., that with three strings, was doubtless introduced into Greece from Egypt. On the case of an Egyptian mummy at Vienna the lyre of Anubis is represented with five strings. The six-stringed lyre is supposed to have been of Lesbian origin. The addition of three strings to the four-stringed lyre of Pythagoras is attributed to Terpander, who is also accredited with having completed the scale. This number of strings remained unchanged up to the time of Pericles, as the nine-stringed cithar of Phrynis was, as we have seen, held in disrepute. Shortly afterwards, however, owing to the influence of Theophrastus and Ion of Chios, the nine and ten stringed cithar came into general use, which in course of time gave place to lyres with twelve, fifteen, and even eighteen strings.

Among the seven and eight stringed instruments, the use of which was condemned by Plato and Aristotle, were the *Magadis* and *Trigon*. The strings of the *Magadis* were tuned either in unison or in octaves; an instrument, therefore, of thirty strings would represent fifteen octave tones, which would considerably increase its tone-giving power. This practice was so irritating to the sensitive ear of the Hellene, that Aristotle satirically called it “magadising.” The *Trigon* (Fig. 101, *b*) was used by the Greeks in the place of a harp. Unlike the trigone harps of the East, it was provided with a pole, had eleven or thirteen strings, and was embellished according to the canon of Greek art.

The wind instruments of the Greeks may be regarded as next in

importance to those with strings, and amongst the former the *flute* stands pre-eminent, the *trumpet* and *horn* acquiring but a secondary importance. That the trumpeters Timæus and Crates were the declared victors in the Olympian musical contests does not cast doubt upon the above assertion ; it proves no more than that Greek taste, at all events in the year 396 B.C., was no more refined than that of the people of the present day, whose enthusiasm is aroused by the performance of some popular melody on the cornet-à-piston.

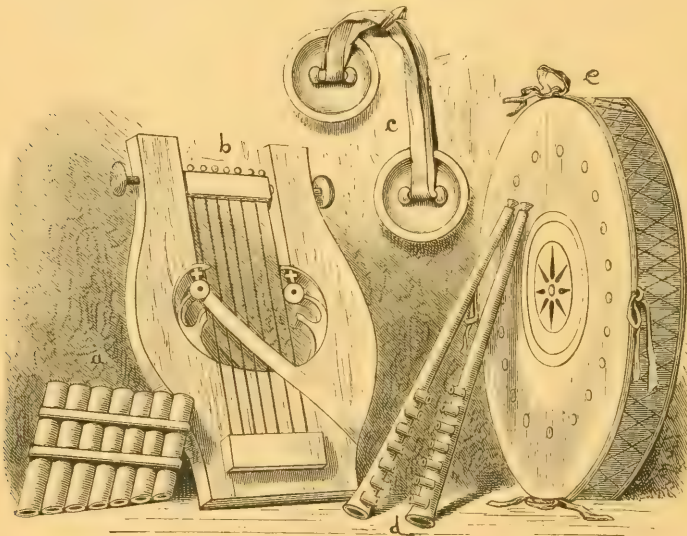


Fig. 102.—Musical Instruments of the Greeks.
(Copied from Monuments and Paintings in Herculaneum.)

It is probable that the flute was in general use as far back as the eighth century B.C. The Greeks possessed the long-flute (called the *Anlos*, used especially by the virtuosi), a small flute, and the double-flute (Fig. 102, *d*) so often seen in the hands of Erato and Euterpe. The Grecian flute should not be confounded with the one used in our modern orchestras. A superficial inspection of the former shows at once the difference, as, with its funnel-shaped tubes, it resembles the oboe or clarinet much more than the flute. The description of its tone by ancient writers leads us to conjecture that it was both stronger and shriller than modern instruments of the same name. It probably partook of the nature of the two instruments above referred to, which accounts for some of our musical historians, versed

in ancient lore, having indiscriminately compared it, sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other. Fig. 102, *a*, represents the old Grecian shepherd or Pans-pipe, called the *Syrinx*, its seven reeds giving the seven notes of the scale. The *Tympanum* (hand-drum, Fig. 102, *c*) and the *Cymbalum* (cymbal, Fig. 102, *c*) were both used in the Bacchanalian orgies. The lyre-looking instrument (Fig. 102, *b*) is perhaps a variety of the more antiquated cithar.

Instruments of an unusually large number of strings, like the trigon, were no doubt first used after the time of Phrynis and the elder Timotheus. All these (including the *Sambuca*, an invention ascribed to Ibycus) could not have been used exclusively for accompanying songs, which, under the peculiar development of Greek music, alone acquired artistic value. They must, therefore, have served to produce digital skill, and attest the ever-increasing popularity of the virtuosi. Still, music was revered by all the people as a high and sacred art, destined to call forth the noblest aspirations of man; but as at this time there was a perceptible decrease in musical invention, both theorists and philosophers began seriously to speculate on the causes of such degeneration, and to consider music's true mission in relation to the moral education of the people and to the State. In so profound and serious a manner was this accomplished, that the names of Plato and Aristotle must always be surrounded by a halo of glory in the history of the tonal art.*

Plato deprecated the notion that music was intended solely to create cheerful and agreeable emotions, maintaining rather that it should inculcate a love of all that is noble, and hatred of all that is mean, and that nothing could more strongly influence man's innermost feelings than melody and rhythm. Firmly convinced of this, he agreed with Damon of Athens, the musical tutor of Socrates, that the introduction of a new and presumably enervating scale would endanger the future of a whole nation, and that it was not possible to alter a key without shaking the very foundation of the State. Plato affirmed that music which ennobled the mind was of a far higher kind than that which merely appealed to the senses, and he strongly insisted that it was the paramount duty of the Legislature to suppress all music of an effeminate and debasing character, and to encourage only that which was pure and dignified; that bold and stirring melodies were for men, gentle and soothing ones for women. From this it

* See Plato's *Republic*, *Timæus*, and *Laws*; also Aristotle's *Politics* and *Problems*.

is evident that music played a considerable part in the education of the Greek youth. The greatest care was also to be taken in the selection of instrumental music, because the absence of words rendered its signification doubtful, and it was difficult to foresee whether it would exercise upon the people a benign or baneful influence. Popular taste, being always tickled by sensuous and meretricious effects, was to be treated with deserved contempt.

The opinions of Aristotle, though differing in detail, on the whole coincided with those of Plato. The latter would not permit the performance of any music devoid of a distinct moral purpose, whilst the former, more tolerant, pleaded for the admission of all that was elegant and graceful. With reference to the position which should be assigned to music for educational purposes, Aristotle agreed generally with Plato. That strength and vigour which gymnastics lent to the body, music was to impart to the soul, and in its relation to our mental culture was to foster what was noble and pleasing. Like exhilarating wine or refreshing sleep, music affords enjoyment and recreation; but its higher mission was to comfort and calm the troubled soul.*

In their attitude towards musical art the Greeks may be divided into two classes, the intellectual and the unreflecting. The music of the virtuoso found great favour with the latter class, who admired extravagant and dexterous manipulation no less than the mere jingling of sound, gratifying even to children, slaves, and animals. But to the intellectual, that only was true music which brought solace to the suffering heart, and inspired with patriotism the mind of youth. Aristotle also advised the exercise of discrimination in the choice of instrumental music, and also in the use of special instruments. He condemned all instruments difficult of execution, especially such as had many strings, like the trigon and cithar; but he recommended the genuine Hellenic lyre, which, doubtless, consisted of eight strings. His depreciation of the flute appears very remarkable, because next to the cithar it was the chief instrument used in the temple service. In connection with this, Aristotle says that Pallas Athene did not, as is related of her, cast aside the flute because on one occasion, when playing upon it, she saw in a fountain the reflection of her distorted face, but really because the great goddess deemed it unworthy of her. He probably

* See Aristotle's *Politics*, and Plato's *Republic*, *Timæus*, and *Laws*.

objected to it on the ground that the flute had become the favourite instrument of virtuosi, and was used only for the sensuous pleasure that it afforded. Aristotle's dislike to the virtuosi was such that all exercises for acquiring mere execution were considered by him as unworthy of free men, and fit only for slaves.

With a consideration of the works of Aristoxenus (350 B.C.), a pupil of Aristotle, we conclude our survey of the second epoch of the historical portion of Greek music. A fragment alone remains of his work on "Rhythm;" but his "Elements of Harmony," in three volumes, have been preserved intact. In the latter work he is entirely opposed to the Pythagorean system of ratio. Both philosophers start with the same theory as to the origin of sound; but whilst Pythagoras deduced everything from numerical ratio, Aristoxenus made the ear his sole guide. This led to the followers of Aristoxenus being called "Harmonists," and those of Pythagoras "Canonists." The leader of the "Harmonists," in his work on harmony, treats of sound, the scale, intervals, transposition, key, melody, and modulation. He is also said to have increased the fifteen-stringed lyre to eighteen strings.

Our third epoch coincides with the decline of Greek freedom under Philip of Macedon. The fratricidal Peloponesian war prepared the way for the extinction of liberty, and the decisive battle of Cheronæa (338 B.C.) dealt it its death-blow. The conqueror Philip was flattered and lauded not only by poets, artists, and courtiers, but by musicians, who, degrading their sacred art to the mere expression of the sensuous, pressed themselves into his train. There were, however, a few musicians who, even at that degenerated period, made earnest attempts to elevate the art, amongst whom must be mentioned Xenocrates (335 B.C.), who distinguished himself in the cure of insanity by tonal effects.

It is not till the time of Alexander the Great that we again find the tonal art closely connected with historical events. The beautiful and famed Attic dancer Thais is said to have carried a torch before the victorious army of Alexander, and to have given the signal for the burning of the city of Persepolis (331 B.C.). The celebrated bard Timotheus accompanied Alexander in all his wars. He joined with Thais in her endeavours to reclaim the monarch from his voluptuous indolence, and induced him to return to the path of glory. Handel, the Homer amongst our great tone-

poets, has, in his *Alexander's Feast*, written 150 years ago, raised an imperishable monument to the Macedonian conqueror. Musical traditions equally important are associated with the marriage of Alexander and Roxane (328 B.C.), known, on account of her transcendent beauty, as the "Pearl of the East." This union was regarded by both Greek and Oriental as the symbol of the union of Asia and Europe. Alexander also, regarding his marriage from this point of view, sent for the most celebrated of the Hellenic musicians to be present at the festivities, and besides the younger Timotheus, the musicians Athenodorus, Aristonimus, Cratinus, and Heraclitus are mentioned as having accepted the royal invitation.

Meanwhile, the ever-increasing influence of the virtuosi led to a proportionate decadence of the ideal in art, which was followed by a gradual decline of the morals of Greece. Whilst real art mourned, the meretricious gained an ascendancy and power almost incredible. The flautist Nicomachus (325 B.C.) was renowned as the possessor of the most valuable precious stones of Greece, which he had gained by his wonderful execution of florid passages. It even became the fashion to erect statues to living bards, virtuosi, dancers, and actors; and it was in vain that Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, inveighed against the introduction of enervating keys and the supremacy of digital skill. Yet a still more extraordinary example of this one-sided adulation, exhibiting the effete taste of the rulers of nations, occurred in the year 300 B.C., when a temple was erected to the distinguished female flute-player Lamia, wherein was placed her statue, which, it is said, was regarded with a kind of divine veneration. She was also highly esteemed at the Court of the first Ptolemy, Ptolemæus Soter; and when her patron and protector was defeated by Demetrius at the battle of Salamis (306 B.C.), and she fell into the hands of the victor, she so captivated him by her marvellous beauty and enchanting flute-playing that all thoughts of conquest and the spoils of war were forgotten.

In this era of vitiated taste, theory alone endeavoured to unravel the ethical and scientific problems of music. In the year 260 B.C. (according to Gevaert 200 B.C.) the great mathematician Euclid made music the subject of investigation and speculation, and sixty years later we meet with the philosopher Alypius as a writer on the tonal art.*

* As two philosophers of this name appear in the history of Greece, much divergence of opinion has arisen as to the exact time at which they flourished. It is supposed that one

In a fragment of his "Tonal System" is contained the only information we possess respecting the musical notation of the Hellenes. He tells us that the first seven notes of the scale were named after the first seven letters of the alphabet, and that capitals were used to denote the lower, and small letters the higher octaves.*

Diodorus, to whom we are indebted for interesting information concerning the oldest music of Egyptians and Greeks, is supposed to have flourished about the year 50 B.C. Plutarch (49—120 A.D.) has left us a musical treatise which the publisher Westphal entitles "The Archaic and Classical Periods of Greek Music." The renowned astronomer Ptolemy (60—139 A.D.), born at Pelusium, wrote three books on harmony, in which he re-affirmed the relation of music to the harmony of the spheres; and, on the whole, adopted a system somewhat between that of Pythagoras and Aristoxenus. Nicomachus (150 A.D.), an Arabian by birth, was a disciple of the Pythagorean school, and interested himself solely with the theoretical part of the tonal art. With the death of this philosopher, the musical history of the Greeks may be considered as closed, and, indeed, it is doubtful whether the works of some of these men should not be regarded as belonging to the musical history of the Romans under whose dominion they lived. Certain it is that the music of the Greeks, even in the Ptolemæan era, had begun to influence the tonal art of the Romans, and it is now time to consider the music of that people—the then rulers of the world.

Thus the Greeks enforce the lesson already taught us by more ancient races, that the development of the tonal art was most intimately connected with civilisation. So long as Greece rose in the scale, music became proportionately elevated; but so soon as respect for law and morality became lax, music declined. But their *theory*, preserved by Rome and afterwards adopted by Christendom, formed the nucleus from which proceeded to a large extent all subsequent developments of the musical art.

lived 200 years before, and the other about the same period after Christ. Our opinion leans to those who believe the elder Alypius to have been the writer on music, adopting as we do, amongst conflicting chronological data, a middle course. Gevaert decided in favour of the younger Alypius, but significantly added a note of interrogation to his statement, thus—200 A.D. ?

* When in later times the seven scales were increased to fifteen, the first octave was known as the "large," the second as the "small," and to distinguish the others the initial letter of the third octave was underlined once, the fourth twice, &c. This system is now adopted by the Germans in their nomenclature of the scale.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROMANS.

WHILST the Greeks maintained a marvellous equilibrium between idealism and realism, with the Romans the latter conception largely preponderated. Although the Romans were the immediate inheritors of Greek culture, this strong dissimilarity in their nature will account for the divergence in their philosophy and the different development of the arts amongst them. This contrast between the two peoples is apparent in their national religious beliefs, and in the metamorphosis undergone by the Hellenic deities transmitted to the Romans. Apollo, Aphrodite, and the Muses—personifications of the Greek ideals of purity, of beauty and proportion, and of song—were regarded by the Romans as vastly inferior to their god Mars. The Greeks themselves venerated their god of war, Ares, in a far less degree than did the Romans Mars. Again, we cannot regard Minerva as identical with Pallas Athene; the former represents human reason in a much more realistic manner than Pallas Athene, who symbolised less the rational than the mystical side of wisdom. We cannot be surprised that the strong veneration of the Greeks for the beautiful should have been with the Romans but a love for the real and visible; nothing of the ideal had any weight with them. Greek heroism and patriotism became but mere ambition for conquest and military glory. Genuineness in art was to the Greeks their highest delight, whereas the Romans were content with the semblance of it. Whilst the love of unfettered liberty was innate in the Greek, the Roman was satisfied with restricted freedom.

If we have emphasised the baser characteristics of the ancient Latins, it was with no desire to detract from their undeniably grand qualities. The rather must we admire that noble sacrifice of self for the good of the commonweal, that far-reaching diplomacy, that energetic and indomitable perseverance which enabled Rome to subjugate so many nations, and to exercise over the conquered an influence that rendered them participators in an advanced culture and beneficent laws. By these means was cemented a harmonious fusion of races and nations unexampled in the history of the world. Their respect for the law, no less than their aptitude for governing,

their frugality in camp-life, their power of organisation and combination, exhibited in the erection of bridges, aqueducts, baths, and amphitheatres, and, above all, their pure, homely virtue, bear immortal testimony to their greatness. The Roman woman occupied, both socially and legally, a higher status than her Hellenic sister. Even the State itself, as the Vestal service shows, enforced respect for female virtue and the domestic ties. But Rome, on the one hand, did not long remain true to the thoroughness and austerity of her fathers, and on the other, had she done so, these characteristics were in themselves insufficient to create a self-existing art. Still less than the other arts was music able to thrive on so unproductive and superficial a soil. In Roman life there was an absence of that mysterious and mystical element so congenial to the inventive power of the musician. The Romans lacked that ideality possessed by the Greeks in the highest degree, which gave to the tonal art, especially when united to poetry, such an elevated position in Greece. In Rome music was at best cultivated to increase the pleasures of life; it served as pure ornamentation, and substituted for artistic feeling mere effect, which it attained not by intrinsic merit, but by brilliancy and display. Roman music contains certain elements which cannot be explained by the relation in which Roman stood to Greek art, but were innate in their character.

We will now proceed from this general survey of Roman music to a consideration of it in detail.

The oldest of their instruments were, no doubt, copied from the neighbouring Etruscans, a people far superior to the early Romans in general culture. This remarkable nation, which even up to the present day affords so much room for speculation, appears to have been the connecting link between Hellenic and Roman culture. The architectural and plastic works of the Etruscans, unquestionably of Pelasgian and Doric origin, no doubt influenced the corresponding arts of the Latins, and tradition informs us that the Etruscans united with them and the Sabines in erecting the city of the seven hills.

The principal instrument of Etruria was the *double-flute*. From representations depicted on Etruscan vases, it would appear that this instrument was largely used in the celebration of their funeral rites. The extravagant attitudes of the dancers may be accounted for by the peculiar rhythm of the music and the primitive condition of the art of design. The double-

flute was also employed to accompany festive dances, and also in their sacred services. It is highly probable that the Romans adopted it at a very early period, and also because their national instrument, the *Tibia*, appears to have been of two kinds, right and left handed, showing thereby its undeniable descent from the double-flute.

The illustration below represents a youth playing on a double-flute, who, from his surroundings, may be accepted as the Etruscan Orpheus. The Roman flutes were somewhat similar to the Grecian, having the shape of the clarinet and the sound of the oboe. These were used at funerals, and a female mourner sung the plaintive chants (*Neniaë*) accompanied by the

Tibia. The flute was also used at feasts, at sacrifices, and in the songs of youths glorifying the deeds of their ancestors, and finally in the Saturnalia and in the Roman comedies. Cicero speaks of solo performances on the flute as preludes and interludes to stage plays.

The lyre was but little used by the Etruscans, although it may occasionally be seen on a few Etruscan vases and mural paintings, whilst the



Fig. 103.—Etruscan Mural Painting representing a Flute-Player.

Romans used the *cithar* and *lyre* as largely as did the Greeks.* But as both these instruments were used only during the middle and the latter part of the Roman dominion, it would go to show that neither the cithar nor the lyre could have come from the Etruscans, who were acquainted with only the most primitive instruments, but were imported direct from the Grecian colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily.

At one period cithar-playing was considered part of the education of maidens of noble birth. Later, however, when music became disseminated among the multitude—who used it only as a superficial amusement—cithars and lyres, just as all other instruments, descended into the

* One of these vases especially attracted our attention; it depicted a winged spirit descending with a lyre in his hand, to receive which a woman is extending her arms.

hands of slaves. Those who desired refined musical enjoyment, which we know was the case with many emperors, senators, and rich patricians, engaged performers from Greece—another striking proof that music never became a national art with the Romans.

As might have been anticipated amongst so warlike and aggressive a people, the Romans possessed an unusually large number of martial, and especially of wind, instruments. The chief instruments of this kind were the *Tuba* and the *Buccina*. The former, as our illustration (Fig. 105) shows, had somewhat the shape of the trumpet, although it was longer than that in present use. It gave the signal for the "advance" and the "attack." The *Buccina* was in shape somewhat like a horn, though proportionately much larger than the modern brass instrument of that name. It curled round the body of the performer, passing under the left arm and over the head. Though of a more primitive nature, the *Buccinas* were less unwieldy than the huge horns now made for use in military bands.

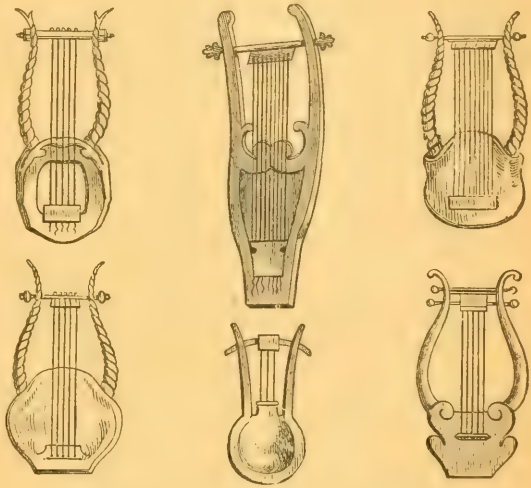


Fig. 104.—Roman Lyres and Cithars.
(Copied from Antique Reliefs and Mural Paintings.)

The purpose of the *Buccina* seems to have been to direct the movement of troops detached from the camp. The immense boots which the buccinators are always seen wearing were doubtless rendered necessary from the nature of the ground, sometimes uneven and marshy, which they had to cross in order to arrive at a certain eminence from which their signals could be heard afar off. Both *Tubas* and *Buccinas* were used in triumphal processions, and, according to our illustration, conjointly; but, judging from their simple construction, the sound could not have been anything more than the blare of a fanfare.

In the cultivation of vocal music the Romans were far inferior to

the Greeks, and this was more the case in choruses than in solos. As Latin music was not so closely connected with poetry as that of Greece, it lacked the inspiration necessary to its highest development.

The want of a dignified drama, like that which so powerfully raised the Hellenic choral song, was an insuperable barrier to the successful development of Roman vocal music; for although the Romans adopted the Greek

drama, it never flourished or took root amongst them.

With a people so practical and ambitious as the Romans there was no room for self-culture. The State that was charged with administering the government of the whole world could not be supposed to occupy itself with the individual and individual culture. The imported drama, therefore, could have had but a very limited circle of supporters. Imitations of the Greek tragedy, and these of a very diluted character, were prepared for the rich only, the people being content with, and enjoying, the coarse exhibitions of gladiatorial



Fig. 105. —Roman Performers on the Tuba and Buccina.
(From Trajan's Pillar at Rome.)

skill. With such degenerate tastes it was impossible for the drama ever to reach the sublime heights attained by Hellenic tragedy.

The rise of the Latin comedy, and its peculiar development, was not without its influence on Roman music. The dialogue was probably executed in the sort of semi-recitative adopted by the Greeks, and the monologue as a complete recitative, the chorus, according to Diomedes, being entirely eliminated.

The stimulating enthusiasm which Hellenic musicians received from

their poetical brethren was entirely wanting to the Roman musician, the lyric poetry of Rome lacking that passionate expression of the heart which is so distinctive a feature of Greek poetry. The Romans have produced nothing that can be compared to the nobility of the odes of Pindar, or the enchanting simplicity of the songs of Sappho and Anacreon. Their lyric poetry was either too rhetorical and didactic, or it was so philosophical and contemplative as to be totally incapable of stimulating the inventive powers of the musician. Even the odes of Horace are open to this observation, the peculiarity of their form, moreover, rendering them, in most instances, unsuited for musical treatment.

In one respect only did Roman music receive from the national life of the people a somewhat similar impulse to that which aided Greek song, viz., from the Dionysiac rites which had been introduced into Rome by the Greek colonists from Southern Italy. Before these ceremonies degenerated



Fig. 106.
Roman Buccinator.

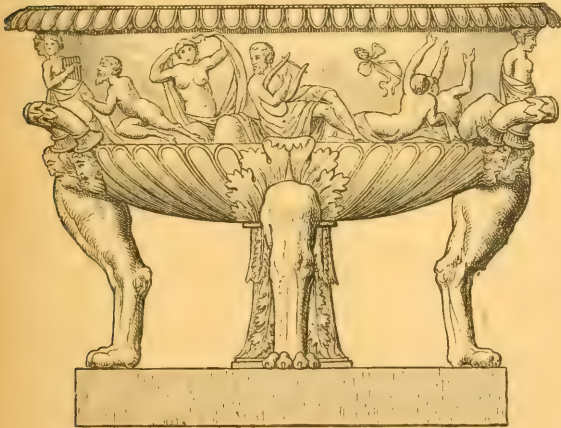


Fig. 107.—Antique Roman Vase, representing a Group of Musical Bacchantes.

into mere orgies, they were highly conducive to the advance of the tonal and plastic arts. As the Roman Dithyrambus was not, however, a national festival, but only an imitation of the Greek ceremonies, it never had the same influence over the music of the Latins as over that of the Greeks. Although the Dionysiac festivals in Greece degenerated, yet this degeneracy never as-

sumed so base a type as it did in more material Rome, where it sunk so low that the co-operation of art of any kind was entirely excluded.

The Feasts of Liber (*Liberalia*), the participators of which were only youths and maidens under the age of twenty, fell to such a low level of shamelessness that the Roman Consul, in the year 186 B.C., published a special edict prohibiting any further Bacchanalian performances. It is presumable, however, that the dance retained its character for propriety and refinement longer than the Dionysiac festivals, and that it was accompanied by both instrumental and vocal music. This supposition is supported not only by the general character of the Roman dance-songs, but also by the numerous Roman mural paintings, especially Pompeian,



Fig. 108.—Female Dancer.
(From a Mural Painting at Pompeii.)

that depict female dancers in graceful attitudes, sometimes accompanying themselves with *Crotali*, while their rhythmical movements lead to the inference that their actions were regulated by music. The decline of the dance may be dated from the decadence of Rome. It was then that the love for the beautiful began to give place to a craving for the sensual, so that even the dance of the Graces, as represented in our Pompeian illustration, degenerated into voluptuous movements and poses. But the decline of the dance in its rhythm and melody was not the only instance of decay of Roman culture; it was most intimately connected with the continual waning of the tonal art. Again, the

dominating influence of the virtuosi, whose sway was far greater than that of their brethren in Greece, contributed largely to the general degeneration. This pernicious tendency, which in Greece was restricted to the circle of artists, affected patricians and sovereign, and demoralised the standard of true propriety. It is related that Nero, with womanly vanity, imitated Greek art by decorating himself with a bunch of peacock's feathers, and that his imitation was so forced and exaggerated that it can only be regarded as play-acting. He appeared also in person as a singer and citharode before a public consisting of courtiers and dependants, who pretended to have been overcome with admiration in order to humour the emperor's personal vanity.

To the musician Diodorus—who must not be confounded with the historian of the same name mentioned in an earlier part of this work—was assigned the duty of accompanying Nero on the harp. In the year 64 A.D. this overweening potentate, bent on receiving the adulation of the people, appeared publicly at Naples in the rôle of singer, actor, and charioteer. But the emperor's triumphal musical journey through Greece and other subjugated provinces was even more characteristic of his excessive vanity. The astute Greeks, knowing the danger of displeasing the powerful monarch (whose veneration for Greek art was, as they well knew, all assumed), did not forget to load him with flattery and the usual rewards of success. The hollow sham with which the tyrant simulated a love for art becomes painfully revolting. At one time he is weeping at the recital of some touching verse, at another shedding tears of joy at his supposed incomparable voice, and yet in the same breath, as it were, issuing mandates condemning to untold torture or instant execution such nobles as had not blindly acquiesced in his unmanly cruelties. This inhuman monster, when in the closing moments of his life he fled from the Prætorians to the country-house of one of his freedmen, did not bewail his misdeeds, but sorrowed more for the world that was about to lose so great an artist.

The whole artistic life of Rome, especially the musical portion, was reduced to the vainest subjectivity. That which elevates the artist to the priesthood of his craft, viz., boundless self-denial and devotion to his ethical and æsthetic mission, was entirely ignored. The sentimental hypocrisy of the tyrannical Nero is, however, not the only instance in the history of Roman civilisation of a despotic emperor affecting a love for art. It is related of Caligula, the successor of Nero, that in the dead of the night he summoned to his palace certain of his courtiers. In obedience to the royal command, they presented themselves before him in fear and trembling, expecting instant execution. The malignant emperor, after having gloated over the terror-stricken condition of his dependants, informed them that he had merely summoned them into his presence that they might witness his representation of a dramatic scene, accompanied by song and flute.

Heliogabalus, with similar affectation, appeared before his Court as singer, dancer, tuba-player, and actor; and Nero, during the burning of Rome, is

well known to have sung the "Destruction of Troy," accompanying himself on the cithar. Indeed, we may well say that at this period there appears to have been a general tendency towards the debasement of art. The admiration of the Greeks for Phrynis, Timotheus, or Lamia was, after all, based on a love for art, although that art had somewhat degenerated; but it is a question whether the Roman virtuosi were not admired more for their personal blandishments and enchantments than for their skilful performances. In place of one celebrated female flautist as in Greece, Rome possessed whole groups of them. The story of the degenerate and degraded citharodes and female flautists is a dark page in the history of Rome. The decay of the tonal art was so complete, its practice falling into the hands of adventurous strangers and women who enticed by their charms, that, by the direction of the State, it was expunged from the curriculum of Roman education, the State arguing that an art practised by slaves and the despised classes of society was not befitting to the educational training of youthful patricians. Thus, all too soon, were fulfilled the prophetic words of Aristotle, that an art having for its object the mere display of digital skill and sensuous attraction was unbecoming to the dignity of man, and fit only for slaves.

The musical theory of the Romans based itself, like all their higher mental attainments, on that of the Greeks, but its development was more independent and bore less traces of its origin than did the Roman tragedy and epic. Thus, about the year 50 A.D., the Romans introduced the major third into their diatonic scale as a consonance, the Greeks having hitherto excluded it as a dissonance. The scale as it now stood may be regarded as the forerunner of our diatonic scale. The names of Vitruvius, Macrobius, and Boethius should be mentioned as writers on the theory and practice of the tonal art. Vitruvius, in his work on architecture (16—13 B.C.), frequently refers to music. Macrobius, who lived sometime during the first half of the fifth century A.D., discourses at length on musical theory, and proves himself a devoted disciple of the philosophic Pythagoras. Boethius, the date of whose birth is unknown, but who died by the executioner's hand, at Pavia, 524 A.D., left behind him a work named "*De Musica*," containing the old Greek scales of Ptolemy, which were destined to form the foundation of the future music of the Christian Church.

It is curious to observe with what esteem the Greeks, who were naturally a plastic-loving people, regarded that most unplastic of all arts—music. They assigned to it a position in the State, and made it one of the chief elements of education.

The Romans, on the other hand, cultivated it only to the extent of affording pleasure to the hearer, and hence we cannot be surprised that it finally became the handmaid of luxurious and licentious enjoyment. Whereas the Hellenes possessed a serious musical school, and revered their artists, the Latins had their virtuosi and dilettanti, and when Roman culture fell generally from its pinnacle of excellence, music sunk lower than all the other arts; in fact, so low that the degeneracy of the virtuosi might alone afford an historical explanation for the decay of classical Rome.

The heathen and classical ages were now effete, and if humanity was to regain its vital energy and march onward in the path of progress, a new culture with other aims and other theories of life was necessary to it.

Book II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES.



THE time when proud Rome was the centre of all civilisation, and Caesar reigned supreme over the whole world, bringing treasures from East and West to the shores of the Tiber, the one purpose of life seemed to be the draining of the cup of pleasure to its last dregs; power, influence, and the acquisition of riches appearing to be the sole ambition of humanity. It was then that, in the far east of the Roman Empire, a Babe of



lowly origin was born who was to become the moral Regenerator of humanity. The rulers of that time did not dream that this Child, cradled in a manger and reared amongst shepherds, was a Divine Power before whom the pomp and glory of the world should vanish, and the pillars and gables of the palaces of mighty Cæsar should decay and become as dust. Nor did suffering humanity dream that this Child was to be the Saviour of the world, and the One destined by the Highest to cry, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

No one will deny the lofty mission of the Classical Age. Its influence is easily distinguishable even to this day, and will always be proportionate to our love for the ideal and beautiful. But we cannot forget that the Classical Age, even in its highest state of perfection, ignored the rights of humanity as we understand them now, and Greek art could flourish only where the rigid barrier of class distinction strongly and firmly divided master from slave. Iphigenia, perhaps the most ideal feminine personification of classical antiquity, says, in the tragedy of *Euripides*,

" 'Tis just and right that Greek o'er barbarians should reign,
For bondage is the fate of barbarians. Hellenes alone are free "—

the poet intending to convey the idea that all people who were not Greeks by birth were barbarians and born to slavery. And yet the very existence of such slaves was necessary to enable the Hellenes two thousand five hundred years ago to arrive at that æsthetic and artistic state which is the admiration of to-day.

Far less even than in Greece were the rights of the individual respected in Rome. There class prejudices reigned supreme. The convictions of the most noble were only respected in so far that they harmonised with those of the sovereign. The individual, as such, was nothing; his social position, everything. The repression of all ideality, and the reign of an exaggerated reality, dismantled the world of its art divinities, and left the people with their *Imperator*, the spurious representative of the true and noble, as their idol, before whose image they bowed the knee in humble subjection. It was at this time that the voice of the Divine Master was heard proclaiming that before His Father in heaven all men were equal, and that He came with a message of love and peace to the poor, the weak, and oppressed,

which was of far greater value than all the riches that this world could give. Joyfully did suffering humanity hear the Master cry: "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul." "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." These words were to the slavish, hypocritical world as the softening influence of the spring upon the icy bands of winter. They laid bare the egotism and narrow materialism of those who believed only what their senses perceived, and infused hope and comfort into the breast of him in whom the divine spark of love and truth was not quite extinguished. The message of salvation was equally powerful in its influence on art generally as on individual life. Art's ideal was to be no longer the embodiment of material matter: henceforth the invisible and immaterial were to be its goal. This was also the substance of the new religion. It preached God as a Spirit, and that "they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." And no less profound were the words, "Except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of God."

Again and again is man directed to search his heart, for out of the deepest and most hidden sources of the soul should arise all that is pure and noble. And this was also to be the relation of the regenerated art to the divinity. The artist of the classical age selected his models from the phenomena of physical nature, imitating them with beautifying effect; the new-born art was to search for forms from the depths of the heart; to realise the divine and to embody it with transcendental beauty. Again, "My kingdom is not of this world;" "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed;" and "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit"—all these utterances were to proclaim a new era of truth in art. The plastic art of the classical era became in the Middle Ages but the handmaid of architecture. How could the plastic art delineate with propriety subjects that were the outcome of inward revelations and visions, or represent the Ascension, or floating forms of saints and angels? But the noblest task of the new era in art was to fittingly represent the

Crucified One. The expression of the face, as reflecting the soul's emotions, was the first consideration; the beauty of the form was of secondary importance, and was developed at a much later period.

Painting was an art infinitely more in harmony than any other with the spirit of the Middle Ages, and naturally it developed entirely new features. If beauty of form had been the highest ambition of the classical age, and if the plastic art had been unable to depict that soul-felt expression of the eye which painting alone could delineate, the sublime subject of Christianity now opened to the limner a boundless field for the expression of the internal workings of the mind. Not until the Middle Ages did painting become an independent art such as sculpture had been with the Greeks. Thus the expressive glance of the eye—mirror of the soul—and the facial *expression*, by which is implied a faithful rendering of the heart's emotions, became the chief objects of the Christian painter's skill, whilst natural phenomena and mere outward beauty of form were counted as of secondary importance. It can be said with certain truth that it was not till the time of the Renaissance that the beauty of the *form* again began to receive its due share of attention.

The longing for the life beyond the grave, so prevalent in the mediæval ages, could nowhere find a deeper and truer expression than in the tonal art. Music, far more than painting, was capable of entering into the depths of the soul and expressing that craving for the unknown. And although music was the youngest of the arts, and was now but in its embryo state, the works of the composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even down to the time of Sebastian Bach, were all the outgrowth of this religious era. Again, the introduction of harmony (polyphony), by which means music could alone become free and emancipate itself from the other arts, was also owing to the influence of Christianity.* Ancient melody, *i.e.*, homophony, without counterpoint, may not unfitly be likened to bare and colourless outline in painting. Part-writing—the outgrowth of

* Our author does not appear to take cognisance of the fact that harmony seems to have arisen in the first instance among the northern tribes of Europe, and it was not for several centuries after they had freely adopted it for secular purposes that it was admitted into the music of the Church. For this reason it is open to more than a doubt whether the introduction of harmony can truly be attributed to the influence of Christianity. At the same time it must be conceded that when once it had found its proper place in the music of the Church, it rendered that music more worthy of its exalted mission than it had ever been before.—F. A. G. O.

deep and sincere Christian feeling—enabled the musician to produce those effects of light and shade which may be compared to systematic arrangement and grouping in the plastic art, and to perspective, shading, and colour in painting. Thus the Christian religion increased in a wonderful manner the means of expression in music. Only now did the tonal art become capable of expressing those secret promptings of the heart which, as lightning flashes, speak to man of the existence of a Deity, and, independently of his will, force themselves upon him with an intensity and truthfulness that no language can adequately convey nor logic prove. Music had reached a power of expressing the soul's language to which no other art can attain, and feeling that now it was fulfilling its true mission, it boldly winged its flight heavenward, and showed itself as the only art capable of fitly representing the principles of the new religion. Although painting for some time during the mediæval period had been the most adequate means of artistic expression of early Christianity, yet whatever Giotto, Orcagna, Fiesole, or Bartolomeo had given to the world as faithful pictures of the feelings of their time, were not only reached but surpassed by the choruses of Palestrina, Allegri, and Gabrieli, and by those plaintive laments for the Crucified by Lotti, Schütz, and Sebastian Bach, the solemn masses and anthems of the latter touching the heart to the quick. It was music, the most immaterial of arts, that was to depict the glories of the new home beyond the stars as the life to succeed this earthly existence, which had hitherto been regarded as the termination of all being. Only flowing melodies based on noble harmonies could adequately express that anxious craving for the world beyond, which to some extent architecture had endeavoured to portray by enthroning on the topmost point of the Gothic cathedral the cross of Calvary, yearning, as it were, to enter the heavens.

Nothing could more explicitly testify to the diametrical opposition between classical and old Christian culture than this striving for the heavenly, a feature so peculiarly characteristic of the progress of mediæval art. There was no connecting link between the mysterious longing of the Christian nations and the realism of the people of antiquity. Whilst the motto of the latter was "Think ye how to live," that of the Christians was "Think ye how to die;" and the tonal art, imbued with the devotional spirit, gave to the world the affecting "De Profundis," the "Miserere," and the "Requiem." But it must not be supposed from such compositions

that Christians had nothing but the picture of a charnel-house and cemetery always before them. They also chanted in hope of eternal happiness their "Gloria in Excelsis" and "Te Deum Laudamus." Nor was there wanting a certain robust gaiety and a joyful love of life in their existence, entirely in keeping with the poet's words, "The wheel of life revolves merrily, when religion is safely rooted in the heart." The general tendency was to regard this earthly sojourn as but a stage in the heavenly journey, and the present was valued only so far that it helped men to prepare for the future.

It must not be supposed, however, that it was entirely owing to this striving for the new life that music and the other arts were impelled into new courses; another important element—and this was especially the case with the tonal art—was the changed and elevated social status of woman. For Christianity was not confined to one people, class, or sex. The Saviour directed His Apostles to preach the Gospel to *all nations* and all degrees of men, and in place of separated peoples and religions, to teach the acceptable doctrine of "one fold under one Shepherd." Before God all—men and women alike—were equal. The women with whom Jesus talked showed themselves to be as deserving of the love of the Heavenly Father, and of the appellation, "Children of God," as men.

To the changed status of the Christian woman was chiefly owing the growth of *Romanticism* in the Middle Ages, which was as unknown to the nations of antiquity as the yearning for the eternal. The reverential love for the Virgin Mary, as well as the more material but still highly idealised affection for an earthly wife, found in the Christian people its most chaste and tender expression. Tacitus speaks of the high respect which the Teutons paid to women, and how they were revered as priestesses and prophetesses, their word in war and peace being listened to with awe, the intuitive perception characteristic of woman seeming to the Teuton as something akin to divine inspiration. Nowhere did that Romanticism which grew out of Christianity find a more congenial soil than in mediæval Germany. For, however beautiful and fantastic the romanticism of the Romance nations (from whom the word Romanticism originated), it was mere elegant superficiality when compared to the deeply-felt romanticism of the Teutons, invested with all the power and earnestness of innermost life so strongly distinctive of that nation; and nothing will better exemplify this than a comparison of the

songs and poems of Wolfram of Eschenbach and Walther of Vogelweide on the one hand, with the lays of the Provençal troubadours on the other.

The "Romantic," like the idealism of the Christian, found in the tonal art its most sympathetic means of expression, for romanticism, especially in its purest form, is, like religious feeling, deeply associated with the mysterious, the unrevealed, and that ecstatic fervour which is the intimate companion of deep enthusiasm. It is within this emotional sphere that music is best able to achieve its noblest successes. Traditions embracing such scenes as the choir of angels chanting to the shepherds of Bethlehem, of martyrs and prophets singing the message of peace from the burning stake, could not fail to induce a general state of mental culture which should powerfully aid in the development of the art of music in a manner as successful as it was unanticipated. The Romantic character of the Christian era at once manifested itself in the adoption of a new tutelary deity for the tonal art. This was to be no longer the skilled archer, but a woman—the devout St. Cecilia—a martyr to the new faith, at whose tomb, in the catacombs of Rome (as depicted in the arabesque in the introduction of this book), the early Christians met together in secret, and chanted their hymns of sorrow in memory of her who had sealed her faith with her life.



THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE MUSIC OF THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE.



THE sacred songs and chants of the first Christians and earliest Christian communities were without doubt closely connected with existing tradition, and it is not without some significance that we point to the well-known traditions of the Hebrews and Greeks, because these nations occupied, as we have seen, the foremost place in the art of music in the classical and pre-classical eras. Although the melodies of the early Christians have not been preserved, yet our assumption is none the less probable. The hymn of praise chanted by the Lord and His disciples at the Last Supper (Matt. xxvi. 30, Mark xiv. 26) may have been some ancient Hebraic melody, and those psalms, the chanting of which was warmly recommended by the Apostles (see Ephes. v. 19, Col. iii. 16, James v. 13), probably comprised the whole liturgical treasure of the oldest Christian community of Jerusalem, and were preserved for the use of future generations of their co-religionists. Whether the method of singing adopted by the Christians varied from or closely resembled that of the old Hebrews, it is impossible to determine authoritatively. The accounts preserved to us seem to indicate that they were sung between precentor and congregation, or antiphonally between two half-choirs. Besides, the Israelites, at a period subsequent to the death of Christ, and even those that dwelt beyond Judean territory, continued to sing in the old traditional style. Thus the Jewish historian Philo mentions that an Israelitish sect, existing about the middle of the

first century A.D., at Alexandria, known as the *Therapeutæ*, chanted their psalms and hymns antiphonally by choirs of men and women. Such traditions, coming direct from the Holy Land, were highly respected by the disciples of the new faith, and it would seem as if the existing Christian antiphonal chant had been gradually adopted by the Western Christian nations. St. Augustine (354—430 A.D.) says, "One cannot sing to the Lord unless he hath God in his heart, and no worthier songs could be found than the inspired Psalms of David."

The strong influence exercised by Greek traditions on the earliest formation of the music of the Western nations, we leave for future investigation. How was it possible to imagine that the sources of the Christian hymnology would have been other than those from which Christian architecture and painting descended? Lübke has justly remarked that "early Christianity assumed the garb of the decaying Grecian art." Much of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Western Christians was based upon a plan similar to that of the basilica, the Roman chamber of justice. Paintings of this period represent Christ as Orpheus, and as the "Good Shepherd," the prototype of the latter being the Greek Hermes, represented as bearing on his shoulders a wether.*

In the same way the tonal art of the new epoch, adopting from sheer necessity Hebrew, Greek, and Roman traditions, selected and preserved those which laid the foundation of a newer and higher development of the future. It may be here remarked that the acceptance of the traditions of one generation by another points to the continuity of human progress and the unbroken sequence of the powers of the human mind, from the earliest times to the present.

The antiphonal method of chanting the Psalms is attributed to Flavian and Diodorus, who introduced it into the Church at Antioch, 350 A.D.† A still earlier reference on the same subject is that concerning St. Ignatius (49—107 A.D.), who is said to have been a disciple of the Apostle St. John, and to have died the death of a martyr at Rome. The sacred historian

* Orpheus, by his sweet sounds, subdued the demoniacal and animal creation, and Christ, by His loving gentleness, overcame the like evil passions in man. The wether borne by Hermes symbolises the lost sheep saved from destruction in the parable of Christ. Numerous paintings both of Orpheus and Hermes are to be found in the catacombs of the earliest Christian communities of Naples and Rome.

† See "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," by Theodoret.

Socrates relates that Ignatius in a vision saw the heavens opened, and heard heavenly choirs praising the Holy Trinity in alternate chants, a method which so impressed the holy father that he caused it to be introduced into the Church at Antioch.*

It is on record that about the year 180 A.D., the Christian communities of Alexandria accompanied the chant of the Last Supper with the sound of the flute; but, notwithstanding this, there can be no doubt that originally the music of the divine service was everywhere entirely of a vocal nature. The persecution and oppression which so cruelly followed the early Christians must, as a matter of caution, have led to a very restricted use of instruments at their secret prayer meetings. The disciples of the new faith were compelled to seek refuge in secluded forests and subterranean passages, and there bewail in secrecy the deaths of the martyred. Music was not only a solace to them in their loneliness, but a sustaining and comforting power in their dying struggles. To illustrate this we would refer to the persecutions which the Christians suffered under Nero (64 A.D.) and Diocletian (284 A.D.),† in which, by the will of their merciless enemies, the followers of Christ were crucified, burned at the stake, or cast defenceless into the arena to be torn asunder by wild beasts. And yet even with the fear of such horrible and violent deaths before their eyes, their ecstatic enthusiasm upheld them to the last, and with holy rapture they chanted the praise of their new faith. Nor were such songs of victory in vain. The heart of many a persecutor was touched, and he became a convert to the faith of the Cross. The ashes of the martyred were piously collected and deposited in recesses hollowed in the rocks, and the number of such recesses in the Roman catacombs, which at that time served as Christian burial-places, is surprising. As time wore on, these cavities were enlarged and used by the brethren as chapels, and here they fortified themselves with sacred song and girded on their armour for new conquests. We ourselves have

* "Vidit aliquando angelos hymnis alternatim decantatis sanctam Trinitatem celebrantes, et canendi rationem, quam in illa visione animadverterat, ecclesiæ Antiochenæ tradidit" (Socrates, "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," liber vi., cap. 8).

† Questionable as the declamation and song of Nero at the time of the burning of Rome may be—it is probably one of the many anecdotes which crept into the history of the emperor through Suetonius and other Roman authors—there can scarcely be any doubt that the Roman populace accused Nero of having fired Rome, and that to clear himself of such an accusation he shifted the guilt on to the Christians, who were thereupon persecuted with redoubled vigour.

trodden one of these subterraneous chambers, lit only by the aid of the torch, and indicated as the tomb of the martyred St. Cecilia, concerning whose historical and musical importance the most conflicting views exist at the present day. After carefully weighing all the evidence now attainable, we are of opinion that there can no longer be any doubt



Fig. 109.—St. Cecilia Playing on the Organ.

(From the Celebrated Painting by Carlo Dolce, in the Dresden Gallery.)

that St. Cecilia was really an historical being, descended from the noble Roman family Cæcilia, and that she died the death of a martyr during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (177 A.D.). In a fresco-painting of the seventh century, over the martyr's tomb, she is depicted wearing a richly-embroidered stola, the distinctive dress of the patrician families of old Rome. The circumstances of her death may have been somewhat distorted, but that she died a witness to the truth seems incontestable. It is re-

lated that just before her death she became the means of converting to Christianity both her bridegroom Valerianus and also her judge. On the eve of her martyrdom she was told that, on account of her noble descent, her life would be spared if she would recant and sacrifice to her former gods, and only on her firm refusal was the grim sentence carried out. It is on record, and by St. Augustine's own confession, that he was converted to Christianity solely by the divine power of music; and it appears to us but a fair deduction, considering the close relation in which St. Cecilia stood to that art, notwithstanding the doubt that has of late been cast upon such connection, that her conversion was analogous



ST. CECILIA.

(From the Original Picture by Domenichino, in the Louvre, at Paris.)

to that of Augustine. Remembering with what tenacity the Catholic religion clings to ancient tradition, and that it has ever regarded St. Cecilia as the patron saint of music, and also bearing in mind the intimate connection which has existed between music and Christianity, we are strongly led to the conclusion that a soul filled with enthusiasm for music must naturally have turned towards the doctrines of the new faith. It is no doubt an error to attribute to her the invention of the organ, for the primary principles of the construction of that instrument were already known in the East, but doubtless the dissemination of Christianity materially aided its general development.

The reverential affection for St. Cecilia was second only to that held for St. Sixtus; and on account of the immense number of pilgrims that flocked to the tomb of the martyred heroine, the exit of the crypt was enlarged into a spacious vestibule, that served as a chapel, from which resounded hymns of praise in honour of the saintly virgin. The custom among the disciples of the new faith of singing hymns to the glory of Christ, in times even anterior to this, is referred to by Pliny the Younger (62—110 A.D.). He tells us that on special feast days the Christians came together before sunrise to sing hymns of praise to Christ, antiphonal song predominating—a method of chanting distinctly showing the influence of Hebraic tradition. Music so thoroughly harmonised with the spirit of the new era that its praises were sung by mighty intellects in poetic pictures and parables. Thus Montanus, the reputed founder of the sect of the Montanists, in the second century A.D., exclaims, “I lie here like a lyre that is played by a divine plectrum;” and St. Clement, who died in the year 220 A.D., Presbyter of the Alexandrian Church, compares the *Logos*—i.e., divine reason—to a singer chanting eternal harmony and reconciling the antagonistic world to peace and concord.

The notion of a Catholic Church, as the representative of a universal and all-embracing faith, first began to dawn in the second century, and with it arose the desire to create a service of Church song which should readily adapt itself to all parts of the liturgy. Tertulian, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria relate many important facts in reference to certain attempts made in this direction in the third century. But the successful propagation of one common hymnology that should be acceptable to the whole Christian community, scattered as it was over many lands and

embracing many different nationalities, could only be achieved under the auspices of a Christian emperor like Constantine (306—337 A.D.), and his pious mother Helena. Both erected magnificent churches, the structure and size of which led to the introduction of new methods in chanting the psalms. The simple, unaffected chant of the congregations of olden times would not have harmonised with the architectural embellishments of the new church. Choirs of trained singers were therefore instituted, the existence of which strongly defined the line of demarcation between laymen and clerics, and although the hymns of the congregation were not entirely excluded, henceforth they were treated as of secondary importance only. At the Council of Laodicea (367 A.D.) it was prescribed, for the first time, that only those duly appointed should sing in Christian churches.

At the beginning of the fourth century, Pope Sylvester founded a school for singers at Rome. The production of original hymns—by which, no doubt, is intended a strain of poetry independent of all tradition—dates from the time of the partition of the Roman Empire (395 A.D.). The first writers of the new hymns of whom we have any authentic information were Bishop Hierotheus of the Greek Church, and Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (355 A.D.). About the year 400 A.D. a certain section of the clergy strenuously opposed the introduction of any new melody into the Church service, but by the determined attitude of SS. Chrysostom and Cyprian their unfettered admission was secured. In the middle of the fourth century the reaction against the Christian faith, especially among the higher classes, was so strong that it threatened any further development of Church music; and, indeed, if the Emperor Julian the Apostate (361—363 A.D.) had reigned but a short time longer, the future of Church song would have been seriously endangered. He boldly advocated the use of the pompous heathen ritual, to the exclusion of the prevailing simple and pure Christian service. But St. Jerome, anxious to uphold his Master's faith, warned his congregation against the degraded and wanton songs of the heathens, further anathematising the shamelessness of the songs of the Roman drama. With exuberant earnestness the good father insisted that a Christian maiden should be entirely ignorant of the flute and lyre, and therefore of the debased purposes for which they were employed. But notwithstanding these laudable efforts to keep the Christian service free from all pernicious influences, and the anxious desire to

improve, elevate, and mould it into one common form for the whole of the Christian Church, it was not till the time of St. Ambrose (333—397 A.D.) that that success was achieved which established the song of Christianity on a basis so firm that it lasted unchanged for 200 years.

St. Ambrose founded his system on that of the ancient Greeks, adopting the Phrygian (D to D), Dorian (E to E), Hypolydian (F to F), and Hypophrygian (G to G) scales, which were henceforth known as the "Ambrosian" or "authentic" scales. It should be specially noticed that the Lydian scale—corresponding to our C major—was omitted, and although so natural to modern system, was apparently very antagonistic to the musical feeling of that period.*

Although we are not in the possession of any melodies based on the Ambrosian scales, still, if we bear in mind the efforts which St. Ambrose made to connect his system with that of the Greeks, we may with some reason conclude that his melodies were chiefly of a metrical character—*i.e.*, based on the syllabic contents of the text. This supposition is supported by the opinion of the celebrated monk Guido of Arezzo, who flourished in the eleventh century. The Ambrosian chant was probably of a declamatory character, the tone, as with the Greeks, being entirely subordinated to the words; and it is not at all unlikely that certain of those responses of the modern Roman Catholic Church which are more often recited than sung, have grown out of the Ambrosian system.

Whatever the true chant may have been, and however much the tone was fettered by the words, it is historically proved that it was capable of grand and soul-stirring effects. St. Augustine, when referring to the Christian chant, which he first heard at Milan, exclaimed, "O my God! when the sweet voice of the congregation broke upon mine ear, how I wept over Thy hymns of praise. The sound poured into mine ears, and Thy truth entered my heart. Then glowed within me the spirit of devotion; tears poured forth, and I rejoiced."† The chant which so powerfully affected St. Augustine was one that had been introduced by St. Ambrose into Milan at the time he was bishop of that city, in the

* Our author here differs from the usual system of nomenclature adopted in the Church. The correct names would be Dorian (D to D), Phrygian (E to E), Lydian (F to F), and Mixolydian (G to G). F. A. G. O.

† "Confessions of St. Augustine," ix. 2.

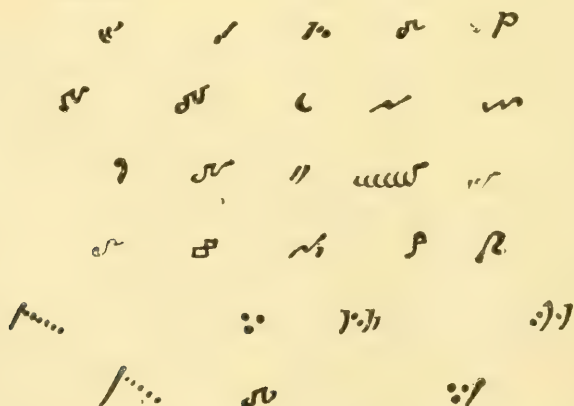
year 386 A.D. And when Augustine subsequently became Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, he carried this soul-stirring chant with him to the scene of his new labours.

The first attempts at Christian musical notation were called *Neumes*, and date from the fourth century, at a time when the Ambrosian chant was disseminated throughout the whole of Christendom, although St. Ambrose himself had no knowledge whatever of the Neume notation. The reputed originator of this system was St. Ephraim, a monk living at the end of the fourth century, who is said to have entirely renounced the letter notation of the Greeks, substituting in its place the following fourteen characters:—

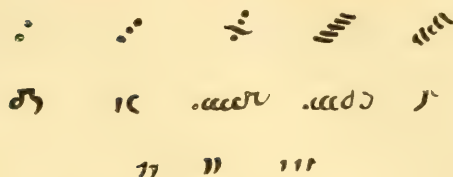
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The Neume system was originally and chiefly employed to notify to the priest the inflections and modulations required in the declamation of the Gospel, Epistle, and Psalms. The rapidity with which these signs could be noted led to the practice of uniting two or more, and so a kind of stenographic system was evolved.* The above signs of St. Ephraim are not unlike the characters of modern short-hand, and the same may be said of the following signs taken from a codex of St. Blaise:—

No. 110.



* The word "Neuma" is derived from the Greek *pnema* (πνεῦμα), meaning "breath." In *melisma* and *fioritura* passages, one single sign denoted where the singer was to take breath.



The Neume was a decided improvement upon the alphabetical notation of the Greeks and Romans, as it more clearly indicated the modulations required of the voice.

The dissemination of the Ambrosian chant brings us to an important epoch in the early history of the music of the Western nations, dating from the Apostolic era to the end of the sixth century. In dealing with that period known as the Gregorian, and which may be regarded as the commencement of the second epoch of Christian Church music, we shall note a marked divergence from the traditions of the classical age, more decided and important than that of the Ambrosian system. In closing our review of the latter system, we may remark that it was about the year 508 A.D. that Paris became the capital of France. This apparently extraneous information is really of great importance to the history of music, for when, 600 years later, Paris was the centre of mental culture, a musical school was instituted there, whose reforming influence made itself felt throughout Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLDEST CHRISTIAN HYMNOLOGY TO FRANCO OF COLOGNE.

At the time Gregory was elevated to the Papal See (590 A.D.) the Ambrosian chant had lost much of its early purity and dignity, and an anxious desire had grown up amongst the people to possess a newer and freer musical Church service than that which had hitherto been theirs. To create a service which should satisfy this craving was no easy task, because of the many varied methods of chanting certain portions of the liturgy in use throughout Christendom. It was necessary, therefore,

if there was to be one grand musical system for the Church, that the essential elements of each service should be collected, and after rejecting that which was worthless, it might then be possible to adopt a method which should be acceptable to all. Gregory, who had already done a great work as a Church reformer, was convinced of the necessity of such a common chant for the success of his Master's faith, and undertook the arduous duty. Thoroughly impressed with the importance of his serious undertaking, he so energetically set about his self-imposed task, that during the comparatively short period of his reign (590—604 A.D.) he succeeded in entirely re-constructing and re-modelling a hitherto heterogeneous service into one harmonious whole. His success was so great that it may fairly be asserted that his efforts liberated music from the fetters of the prosody and metre of ancient poetry, and laid the foundation for a free and independent art.

The chant, as now arranged by Gregory, differed from the Ambrosian in that it was no longer recited, nor governed by the length or quantity of the syllables or the metre of the language, but consisted of continuous melodies, the length of each tone differing but slightly in value. It possessed something of that peculiarly impressive character belonging to the Church chorale, so adequately fitted for its divine purpose, partaking of that seriousness and majestic dignity which makes the chorale a fitting offering to Him who is far above time, space, and the accidents of every-day life.

The Gregorian chant was termed *Cantus planus* or *Cantus choralis*. The first name was given to it on account of the even, measured movement of its melody,* the second term, *Cantus choralis*, signifying that the melody was not to be sung by a single person, but by the chorus or congregation. The participation of the latter, however, was somewhat limited, as Gregory directed that it should be chiefly sung by the duly appointed choirs. The Gregorian chant also received the name *Canonicus*, because all liturgical texts were provided with special melodies that were to be used by the united church as canonical, and hence arose the term of *Cantus firmus*—i.e., fixed chant. The Gregorian antiphonal—i.e., the richly-ornamented codex containing the new songs of the ritual—was chained to the altar of St. Peter's at Rome, thereby signifying that the

* *Cantus planus* literally translated is "plain chant."

contents were to remain unchanged for future generations. Gregory added to the four Ambrosian scales, known as the *Authentic*, four others which received the name of *Plagal*, or oblique. The latter he constructed by prefacing each *original* scale with its last four tones—*e.g.*, in the first scale (D—D) the four final tones are A, B, C, D; these he placed an octave lower, at the same time putting them before the initial note of the scale, viz., D. The new scale thus formed ranged from A to A, and the whole eight scales, *i.e.*, the four *Authentic* and the four *Plagal*, were then called *Church modes*, and written as follows:—

No. 111.*

Dorian.

Hypodorian.

Phrygian.

Hypophrygian.

Lydian.

Hypolydian.

Mixolydian.

Hypomixolydian.

It will be noticed that the initial note of the *Authentic* scale becomes the fourth note of the *Plagal* scale. The latter scale appears to stride upwards to attain its fourth tone, feeling this to be its true basis (notwith-

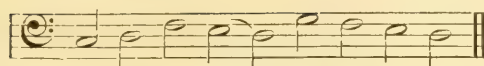
* I have added the commonly received names of these eight scales, or modes.—F. A. G. O.

standing in theory its *initial* note would be its *ground-tone*); and in a like manner does the Authentic scale recognise in this one and the same tone its first and ground note. This will explain why the melodies of the Plagal scales have their movement upwards, and why those of the Authentic, always returning to their bass note, have the character of rest. : Ambros expresses this feeling in the following somewhat fanciful words :—"Without requiring aid, the Authentic unites with the Plagal at its middle (or fourth) tone, representing, as it were, self-relying man; whilst the Plagal, in endeavouring to reach its authentic tone, has the character of dependent woman." Moritz Carriere carries this comparison even still further:—"The Authentic symbolises the satisfying and ever-returning movement of Divine life, the Plagal symbolising the longing and striving of the world to find in the Divine—*i.e.*, the Authentic—both peace and rest." And we can further add that the general character of melodies based on Authentic scales might be likened to the expression of faith and hope in the Divine Lord depicted in mediæval pictures of saints and angels, whilst Plagal melodies would seem to suggest pictures of the penitent Magdalen yearning for Divine forgiveness,* and of the Mater Dolorosa, and the suffering martyrs, all of whom were yet of this earth.

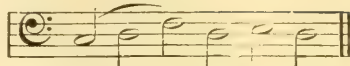
It is undeniable that the Authentic melodies possess a sensuous charm capable of inducing deep religious fervour. A somewhat similar feeling, however, is engendered by Plagal melodies, because of the aversion to construct melodies on scales which have a semitone between the seventh and eighth, the seventh of all Plagal scales (with the exception of the sixth from C to C) being a full tone below the octave. Only one other of the eight Gregorian Church modes, viz., the fifth (from F to F), possessed a leading note. Even when melodies were based on these two Church modes the semitone was often avoided. Again, the strong dislike of employing the third of the tonic, especially in ascending passages, invests Gregorian melodies with an undefinable and mystical character. In order to illustrate this the better the opening phrases of a few ritual chants are appended, the effect of which would be intensified if one could imagine them chanted in solemn strains from the altar, without any attention being paid to time.

* The upward glance depicted by all mediæval painters, with its intense feeling and devotional earnestness, has been termed specifically "the Catholic expression."

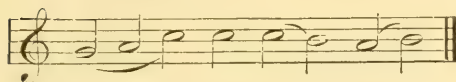
No. 112.

a NB.

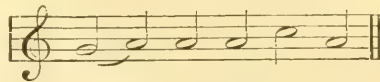
Lau-de dig-num ca-nat sanctum.

b NB.

Glo-ria Patri.

c NB.

Rex-sancto-rum.

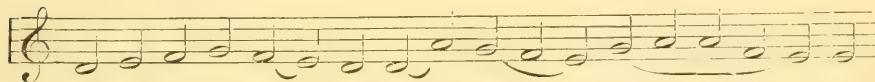
d NB.

Gau-de Ma-ri-a.

(*a*) Metensis minor, by Petrus. (*b*) From Banchieri's "L'organo Suonarino." (*c*) Letania, by Ratpert. (*d*) Cignea, by Notker Balbulus.

An example of a Gregorian melody with a more extended range will be found in the celebrated "Media vita in morte sumus" of Notker Balbulus, monk of St. Gall (912 A.D.). The idea was suggested to Balbulus on seeing certain workmen engaged in the construction of a bridge across a yawning chasm.* The following song of Adalbertus, noted down for the

No. 113.



si - - Te - - Do - mi - ne, - - Qui pro pec - ca - tis no - stris - - -
ju - - - ste i - - ra - - - - - see - - - - - ris.

first time in the year 992 A.D., and harmonised for the present work by the author, conformably to the spirit of the tune, is also of interest, and all the more so as it is still sung by the Catholic population of Bohemia.

No. 114.

THE SONG OF ADALBERTUS.

O Do - mi - ne, mi - se - - re - - re! Sa - lus es to -

tius mun - di: Sal - va nos, et per - ci - pe Do - mi - ne vo - ces

nostras da cunctis O Do - mi - ne pa - nem pa - cem no -

- stre ter - re Ky - - ri - e e - lei - - - - son.

The Gregorian system was now generally adopted by Christian congregations, and new directions were promulgated as to the performance of the Mass. Gregory also divided the *Kyrie* into three parts, viz., the *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, repeating the *Kyrie* as the third section. Immediately following the *Kyrie* came the *Hymnus Angelicus* (known to-day as the *Gloria in excelsis*), which was then succeeded by the Collects or Orations for the priest. The *Graduale*, *Alleluia*, and *Sequentia* were then inserted between the Epistle and Gospel, both the latter being recited by the deacon. Next came the *Credo*, which was sung by the chorus, followed by the *Offertory* (special Offertories being appointed for special festivals), and the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*. The officiating priest then intoned the *Pater noster* and the *Communio*, the chorus frequently responding "Amen," and the Mass terminated with the *Agnus Dei* and *Dona nobis pacem*. The arrangement of the Mass as it then stood has remained unchanged to the present day, and has been the groundwork on which some of the noblest musical compositions have been raised into monuments of imperishable grandeur. This remark may be applied with as much truth to the works of early masters like Josquin des Près, Orlando Lasso, and Palestrina, as to the relatively modern Sebastian Bach, Mozart (*Requiem*), Beethoven, and Cherubini. The *Introit*, formerly chanted by the priest at the commencement of each division of the Mass, was henceforth intoned in the solemn Gregorian manner.

The introduction of the Introit into the service of the Church is attributed to Pope Celestine I., who died in the year 432 A.D.; but although this is not clearly established, yet we know with certainty that Gregory the Great prescribed a special Introit for every Psalm, and most probably one for each division of the Mass.

It was not alone the Catholic Mass, however, that gained so much from the Gregorian chant, for the latter adapted itself equally well to the hymnology of the Christian Church, whose service, throughout the mediæval ages, had been chanted in the Latin language. At a time prior to the Ambrosian chant we meet with both Greek and Latin hymns; indeed, the *Kyrie Eleison* was adopted from the Greeks by the Latin Church as early as the third century, if not before, and Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, in the fourth century, is accredited with having introduced, one century later, the *Gloria* in its present form into the Mass.

Amongst the most celebrated of the Ambrosian hymns are those beginning "O lux beata Trinitas," and "Veni Redemptor gentium," the "Te Deum Laudamus" being but a translation by St. Ambrose from the Greek. Gregory wrote several hymns, the melodies being supplied by his "singing-masters." Ten of these hymns are still extant; that used at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, beginning "Rex Christe factor omnium," the favourite of Martin Luther (see his "Table Talk"), is deserving of special mention. The hymns of Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who died 600 A.D., should be noted, and particularly the impressive Passion hymn, "Pange lingua gloriosi."

A very important section of the Catholic liturgy was that occupied by the Sequences. The general character, however, which they assumed in the later period of the Middle Ages cannot be supposed to have been the same as that of the Gregorian era. Still, there can be but little doubt that they constituted part of the ritual as far back as the third and fourth centuries. Originally they were used by Christian congregations, more particularly from the time that duly-appointed singers were introduced, and when the Latin language gained such an ascendancy in the Church as to exclude the participation in the service, to any extent, by the people. Their part in the service, now that the Mass was chanted in the Latin tongue, was restricted to the chanting of the Kyrie Eleison, the Alleluia and Amen, and as these responses had formerly been sung by them, their purport was perfectly intelligible. It was owing to the popular use of the Kyrie and the Alleluia, and the desire to afford the congregation an opportunity of more fully joining in the service, that the Sequences were introduced into the ritual. They consisted of short Biblical and liturgical passages called "Tropes," and served to prolong the Kyrie. Similar passages, called "Jubilus," were added to the Alleluia, enabling the congregation to express their joy in exulting strains on the full, open vowel sound of *a*, the final syllable of *jubila*. Subsequently texts, and even whole hymns, were substituted for the vowel sound. As the Tropes followed the Kyrie, and the Jubilus the Alleluia, they were called "Sequences," from the Latin *sequi*, to follow.*

* It must be remarked here that "Tropes" had another and important signification, viz., the special ending denoting the specific Church mode to which each *Cantus firmus* belonged. It is a matter of no difficulty to distinguish between the two kinds of Tropes, as the former

The Sequences, especially the oldest that consisted of a single vowel, illustrate the Gregorian chant in its strongest antithesis to the Ambrosian song. In the former the method of completely subordinating the text to the tone was carried to its extreme; the tone was not only master, but also the tyrant of the word, a strange contrast to that dominating power exercised by the text over the tone in ancient music. And yet such extremes were necessary if music was to become a self-dependent art. It was imperative that the tonal art should cast aside the metrical and syllabic letters which had held it bound for so long. Without such independence it could never have attained that free sphere of action which it acquired in vocal music in the sixteenth century, and in instrumental music in the eighteenth century. The marked contrast between the uneven rhythm of the Gregorian chant, and the measured, rhythmical chorale of the Protestant Church, is best seen in the old Sequences. The latter are invested with a character of absolute freedom, strikingly impressive to the hearer. On the Good Friday of 1851 the author was in Rome attending service in the Sistine Chapel, and was much impressed by certain of the solo melodies, which he regarded, and still regards, as survivals of the oldest kind of Gregorian Sequences preserved by tradition for upwards of 1,000 years. They were very peculiar; indeed, one-half were chanted in equally measured tones, whilst the other appeared to be an aimless wandering among sounds, similar to the songs of the Alpine shepherd. One could almost have imagined that one heard the shepherd lad David singing upon the mountain slopes a half-reverential and half-jubilant song to the Almighty, the effect of which was all the more heightened as the melody was sung by a wonderful mezzo-soprano voice. It must be added that even later, when the Sequences and other musical effusions had appropriate Biblical passages added to them, rhythm was ignored, and the text was specially called "prose," which will somewhat help to prove that the Sequences retained part of their original musical freedom.

The Gregorian chant, as arranged by Gregory and his immediate successors, may be said to have remained unchanged from 590 to 814 A.D. We might even extend this period, if we regard the chant merely as the expression of homophonic song, and apart from attempts which were added to the Kyrie to prolong the service of the Mass, whilst the latter were mere theoretical signs indicating the special mode to be used.

subsequently made at part-writing. Taken in a more general sense, the Gregorian chant may be said to reach the threshold of the seventeenth century. In the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church it has been preserved even up to the present day. Many of the melodies chanted by the priest and choristers in the services of the Roman Catholic Church, and which were formerly directed to form part of the *Concentus*, are either Gregorian or evince strong characteristic features of the Gregorian song. Such are the Introits, many antiphonal Psalms, almost the whole of the Sequences, hymns, and special liturgical passages sung by the officiating priest between the choral parts of the Mass. All those ritual chants which were recited in declamatory tones, and in the manner known as *Choraliter*, and which from the earliest times were directed by the choral teachers of the Church to be governed by the *Accentus*, are no longer to be regarded as specialities of the Gregorian chant, and indeed they never were, although so much prominence was given them by Gregory in the musical part of the liturgy.* The *Accentus* lacks just that one thing so characteristic of the Gregorian chant, viz., the emancipation of the tone from the syllabic accent. We must, therefore, conclude that Gregory accepted the *Accentus* from pure reverence to Ambrosian tradition. On the same system are composed certain antiphonal Psalms and Responses, the Collects, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel, all delivered in a kind of intoned recitative rather than in melodic song. Indeed, most of these are recited on a single tone, only the verse, half-verse, cadence, and half-cadence being marked by a strictly prescribed melodic formula of limited compass.

In order to perpetuate his new system of song, Gregory instituted a musical academy at Rome on a scale of great magnificence. This school became so famous that in a very little time the praise of the *Cantus Romanus* was sounded in all lands. The founder personally instructed at his academy, and years after his professorial chair was pointed out as that from which the learned dignitary listened to the exercises of the students, or it is even said threatened with the scourge those who made mistakes. The *Cantus planus* spread with surprising rapidity over the whole of Central Europe. In the year 604 A.D. the Pope sent singers to England. The

* One can clearly see here how little the literal rendering of a word should influence us in arriving at its meaning. *Choraliter* (*modus legendi choraliter*), instead of implying choral or melodic song, really means "intoned recitation."

successor of Gregory to the Papal chair was solemnly acknowledged by the Western nations as the supreme head of the united Church, and this greatly tended to the speedy diffusion of the new musical ritual. In the year 660 A.D. Pope Vitalian permitted certain monks of the Romish Church to teach the Gregorian chant in Brittany; and in 758 A.D., at the request of King Pepin, Pope Paul sent two delegates to instruct the Franks in it. The result was that Pepin re-modelled the Gallic service both in Paris and Metz after the manner of the Church of Rome. In 678 A.D. Bishop Benedict of York invited Roman singers to England. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans, introduced the Romish ritual into Fulda in 744 A.D., and probably at the same time into St. Gall, a monastery in Switzerland founded by St. Gallus 614 A.D. And yet, notwithstanding such wide diffusion of the Gregorian chant, it retained all its original features. Charlemagne, hearing the Papal song at Rome in 790 A.D., became one of its most enthusiastic promoters. He erected similar schools to that of Gregory, at Soissons, Orleans, Sens, Lyons, Cambrai, Toul, and Dijon; and in Germany at Mayence, Reichenau, Hersfeld, Korvey, Treves, Eichstädt, Regensburg, and Würzburg. The august emperor was greatly assisted in his undertakings by Pope Hadrian I. (772—795 A.D.), and was presented by that Papal dignitary with autograph copies of the Antiphones. The emperor's zeal for the new ritual may be inferred from the proclamations promulgated at Aix-la-Chapelle in 803 A.D., and at Diedenhofen in 805 A.D., directing that the Gallic song should be superseded by the Roman. He occasionally conducted the choir at Aix in person, expressing his disapproval by brandishing his staff before the delinquents.

Meanwhile instrumental music had begun to develop itself in Christian lands. To the organ, the instrument specially appropriated by the Church for its service, we shall devote our first attention. The Israelites, Greeks, and Romans had already a knowledge of this instrument, the *Organum pneumaticum* and the *Organum hydraulicum* being known in the classical ages. The *Organum hydraulicum*, or water-organ, was a great favourite. It was used more in the house than in the temple, and Nero is said to have possessed a great number of them. In the fourth century A.D. the organ was regarded chiefly as a secular instrument.

Our illustration (Fig. 115) shows that the Roman hydraulic organ described by Vitruvius was superseded by the pneumatic about the year

350 A.D. That the latter was also used for secular purposes is clearly evidenced by the joyous gesticulations of the female singers and musicians taking part in the performance. It will be observed that the small pneumatic organs are being supplied with air by blowers treading the bellows.



Fig. 115.—Pneumatic Organs of the Fourth Century.

Many improvements in the organ were made by the Byzantines, and Byzantine emperors are known to have presented organs to Pepin in 757 A.D., and, later, to Charlemagne. Some writers have accredited the latter emperor with the introduction of the organ into the service of the Western Church, by reason of his gift of one of these instruments to Aix-la-Chapelle; but others assert that this was owing to Lewis the Pious, who first introduced the organ into Germany about 822 A.D. In 860 A.D. there were numbers both of organ-builders and performers; and towards the end of the century the Germans are said to have imported organs into Italy. In the eleventh century organs were used for divine service in the churches of Erfurt, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt, cities of Eastern Germany, and it was about this time that they were imported into England and France, where they were also used for divine service.

Our next illustration* (Fig. 116), taken from a Cambridge manuscript,

* It has been shown, however, that this very curious example of an old organ is a copy of a still older drawing extant in a manuscript now at Utrecht, but formerly in the British Museum, known as the Utrecht Psalter, to which considerable attention was attracted a few years ago in consequence of its containing the oldest known copy of the Athanasian Creed. If this manuscript is of the fifth or sixth century, as is generally supposed, it goes far to prove, *inter alia*, the existence of organs in England long before the Conquest, and *possibly* in the days of St. Augustine of Canterbury. Indeed, it would appear from some writings of Bishop Aldhelm that he claimed to have introduced an organ into this country in the seventh century. He speaks of it as "a mighty Instrument with innumerable tones, blown with bellows, and enclosed in a gilded case." Moreover, William of Malmesbury refers to an organ which was given by St. Dunstan to Malmesbury in the reign of Edgar, and states that the bellows were filled by the agency of *hot water*—which seems strange.—F. A. G. O.

is a faithful representation of one of the old English church organs, and is very interesting on account of the whimsical, droll manner in which the performer is seen communicating with the blower.

During the first thousand years after Christ stringed instruments were in the ascendant, and we may divide these into two great classes—viz., those played with the hands and those played with the bow. Of the former, the

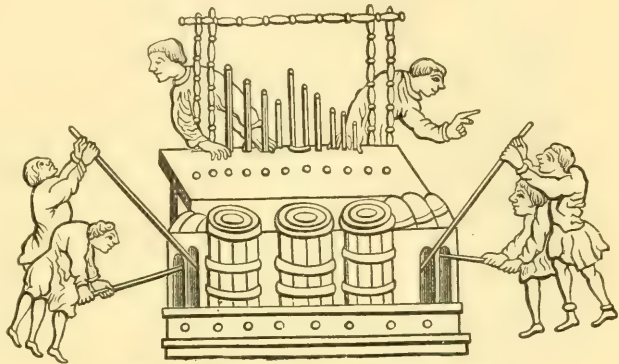


Fig. 116.—Ancient English Church Organ.

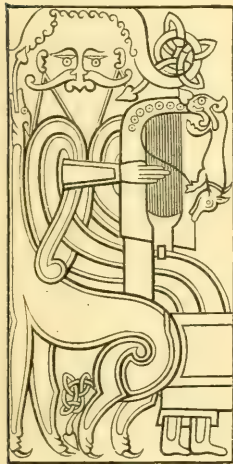


Fig. 117.—King David Playing upon the Harp.
(From an Irish Miniature of the Eighth Century.)

oldest were unquestionably harps imported from the East. The copy of a miniature of the eighth century (Fig. 117), representing King David playing on the harp, would, notwithstanding the barbarously primitive design, lead us to conclude that this instrument at that time was richly ornamented.

Another old instrument is the *Organistrum*, a faithful conception of which may be gleaned from Fig. 118. We first meet with it in the ninth century. In shape it is like an enormous guitar, having two ventages and three strings, the latter being set in vibration by a crank. The eight movable bridges seen in our illustration could be raised and lowered, thereby enabling the performer to produce tones other than those of the strings themselves.

The *Organistrum* originally required two performers, viz., one to turn the crank and the other to manipulate the bridges, but when its enormous size was subsequently reduced, one performer sufficed.

In France it was known as the *Rubelle*, *Rebel*, *Symphonie*, and *Chifonie*. Prætorius, a German musician of the latter end of the sixteenth and of

the early part of the seventeenth century, speaks of it as the "peasant's or strolling woman's lyre, which is played with a crank, the left hand manipulating the keys."*

The *Rota* (*La Rote* and *Crout* in French, and *Crwth* in Welsh), described in rather ambiguous terms as of the harp, cithar, or violin kind, was also known in the ninth century. This very equivocal statement can be best explained if we remember that many instruments of the mediæval ages, and especially those with strings, had a plurality of names. Fig. 119 represents a German *Rotte*, played with the bow. This was the favoured instrument of English minstrels, French Trouvères, German Minne and Meister singers. The *Rotte*, most likely appropriated from the Northern Celts, may, conjointly with the *Rebab*, or *Rabab*, introduced into Western Europe from the East by the returning Crusaders, be regarded as the fore-runners of all our modern stringed instruments that are played with the bow, viz., the violins and basses. Indeed, one may almost positively assert that it is entirely to the combination of the *Crout* and the *Rebab* by the people of Central Europe that we are indebted for the violin of to-day. The *Crout* may be said to have furnished the body, and the *Rebab* the neck, pegs, and bow, as the triangular-shaped bow of the *Rotte* (*Crwth*), Fig. 119, is less like the modern bow than that of the *Rebab*-player (Fig. 73, p. 107).

Figs. 120—122 represent mediæval Psalteries. It is curious to note how instruments bearing the same name completely change their character in course of time, for, beyond the strings, the instruments in these three illustrations have little or nothing in common, and the dissimilarity between these and Fig. 54 is even greater.

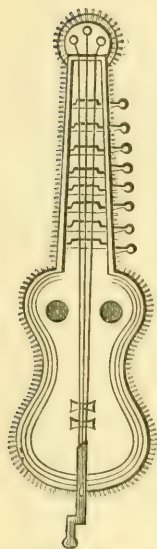


Fig. 118.—
Organistrum of
the Ninth
Century.



Fig. 119.—Performer on
a Three-stringed Crout,
or Rotte.

* "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Prætorius, vol. ii., p. 49.

The quadrilateral-shaped Psaltery of the ninth century (Fig. 120) bears the nearest resemblance to the Israelitish Psaltery (Fig. 54). Those of the



Fig. 120.—Performer on a Square Psaltery of the Ninth Century.



Fig. 121.—Performer on a Circular Psaltery of the Twelfth Century.



Fig. 122.—Performer on a Psaltery of the Fourteenth Century.

twelfth and fourteenth centuries have, on the contrary, an entirely different construction, the former reminding us somewhat of the Hebraic Hasur (Fig. 55). The two following illustrations (Figs. 123 and 124) of

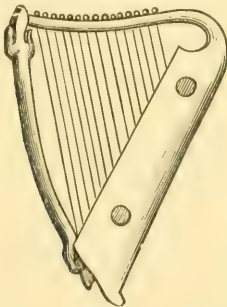


Fig. 123.—Fifteen-stringed Harp of the Twelfth Century.

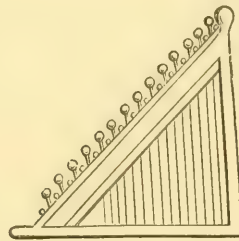


Fig. 124.—Triangular Saxon Harp of the Ninth Century.

triangular Saxon harps possess a striking affinity to the Phœnician Nablum, although that of the twelfth century has the addition of a pole.

We close our survey of the mediæval stringed instruments with illustrations of two tablets taken from the cathedral at Schwerin, bearing the

date 1375 A.D. Fig. 125 represents an angel, and Fig. 131 King David, both performing on a stringed instrument that appears to be a combination of the Rebec and Rotte, although from the body of the instrument being more developed than the neck, it is more akin to the latter than to the former.

The Neume notation employed in writing the Gregorian chant was the system almost exclusively adopted by church choirs, monasteries, and academies founded for the dissemination of sacred song. Sometimes, however, secular melodies were noted by this method, of which the following Lament, written and composed in 814 A.D., on the death of Charlemagne, may be cited as an example. The simple, popular character of the melody and its poetical contents speak of the great love in which Charlemagne was held by all Christendom. This specimen of Neume musical notation, which is taken from La Croix, is probably of the eleventh century. Its rendering into our modern system will enable the reader to gain a clear impression of the dolorous song that was chanted alike by Franks and Germans on the death of the great emperor, both nations claiming Charlemagne as their ruler. This remarkable melody has barely the extent of a tetrachord, as the C, occurring but once in each verse, can hardly be taken into consideration, and it may therefore be said that it has but the limits of a major third.*

The following specimens of the Neume notation, of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries, afford a clear illustration of the changes which the system underwent from the time of its invention to its decadence and replacement by a newer and more intelligible method.

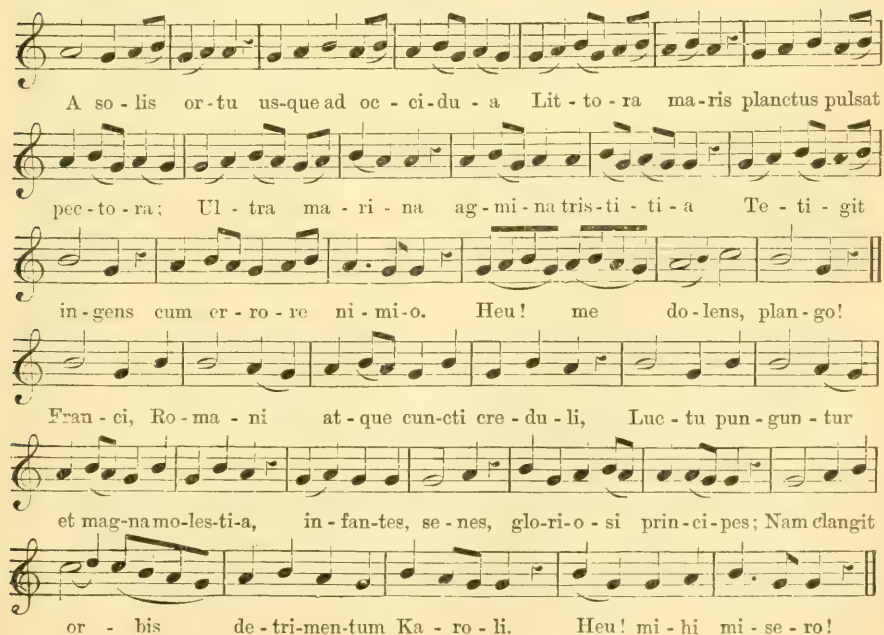
Fig. 125.—An Angel Performing on a Stringed Instrument.
(From a Tablet in the Cathedral at Schwerin.)

* Thus, nearly 1,000 years before Rousseau wrote his famous melody of three notes, it was shown that a national song, which should be at once simple and melodious, could be so written.

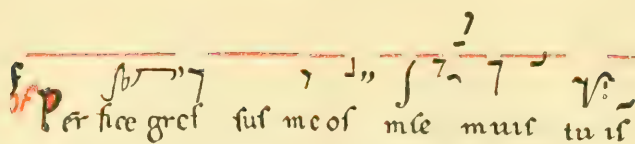
No. 126.

A SOLIS ORTU
 Vsq̄ue ad occidua
 LITTORE MARIS
 P LANCUS PULSAT PECTORA
 V LITTORE MARINA .
 AGMINA TRISTITIA
 TEGIT INGENS
 CUM ERRORE NIMIO
 HEU! ME DOLENS PLANGO;

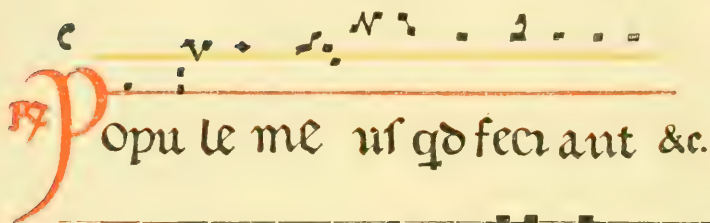
FRANCI ROMANI
 ATQUE CUNCTI CRECULI
 LUCTU PUNGUNTUR
 ET MAGNAMOLESTIA
 INFANTES SENES
 GLORIOSI PRINCIPES
 NAM CLANGIT ORBIS
 DETRIMENTUM KAROLI
 HEU! MIHI MISERO ;



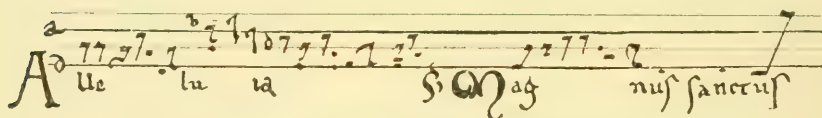
A - so - lis or - tu us - que ad oc - ci - du - a Lit - to - ra ma - ris planctus pulsat
 pec - to - ra; Ul - tra ma - ri - na ag - mi - na tris - ti - ti - a Te - ti - git
 in - gens cum er - ro - re ni - mi - o. Heu! me do - lens, plan - go!
 Fran - ci, Ro - ma - ni at - que cun - cti cre - du - li, Luc - tu pun - gun - tur
 et mag - namo - les - ti - a, in - fan - tes, se - nes, glo - ri - o - si prin - ci - pes; Nam clangit
 or - bis de - tri - men - tum Ka - ro - li. Heu! mi - hi mi - se - ro!



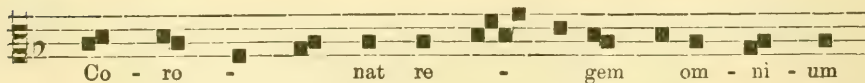
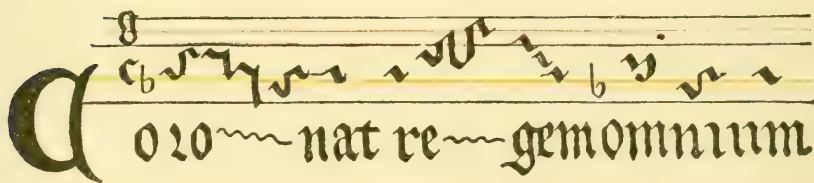
No. 127.—(a) Neume Notation of the Tenth Century.



No. 128.—(b) Neume Notation of the Eleventh Century, deciphered by Martini.



No. 129.—(c) Neume Notation of Guido of Arezzo.



No. 130.—(d) Deciphered Neume Notation of the latest period.

In course of time the characters of the Neume notation (Virga, Flexa, Ancus, Climacus, &c.), which were formerly jotted down without any systematic arrangement, were rendered more intelligible to the reader by the introduction of a coloured line. This definitely fixed the relative position

of the signs, and made their interpretation a work of comparative ease (see *a*). Should this line be of a red colour, F was the tonic, and all melodies based on this began and ended on F; if of a yellow colour, C became the tonic (see No. 128). In the eleventh century both lines were used in noting the same melody, the range of a fifth from F to C being then clearly established (see example *b*). The celebrated Guido of Arezzo added two more lines (see *c*), and it is indeed remarkable to note how near the four lines thus formed approach our present five-lined stave. The Italian monk not only employed the lines to designate certain tones, but also utilised the spaces for the same purpose. In passing, we may notice that Guido substituted a green line for the yellow line denoting the C, the fifth below, F retaining its original colour. The uncoloured lines represented D and A, so that the range now acquired extended from C below the first line to D above the fourth line, thus consisting of nine notes. In the fourth example (*d*) traces of the old Neume system are still visible, notwithstanding that the notation is that of the fourteenth century. It is interesting to notice how the characters of the eleventh century, used in No. 128, foreshadow those of the fourteenth century, used in No. 130, the latter of which were not inaptly termed by some musical historians "engrossed notation," Ambros facetiously alluding to it as the "nail and horse-shoe" system.

Amongst the schools established in England for diffusing a knowledge of the art of music, that founded by Alfred the Great at Oxford was the oldest and most celebrated.

That theory as well as practice was studied at this school is unquestionable, as it is on record that in the year 886 A.D. the king bestowed on one of the teachers of theory, by name John, the title of "Professor of Music," which is probably the first appellation of



Fig. 131.—King David
Playing on a Stringed
Instrument.

(From a Tablet in the Cathedral
at Schwerin, 1375 A.D.)

its kind. In France the school of Metz held the honoured place. The reputation of this school was so great that the *Cantus Mettensis*, i.e., the chant of Metz, or, in German, "Mette," was universally adopted by the Catholic Churches at matins, and at the grand festivals. The monastic school of Fulda, owing to the indefatigable energy of the Abbé Rabanus Maurus (776—856 A.D.), held the foremost place in Germany. But the lustre of both Metz and Fulda was eclipsed by the famous school of St. Gall, in Switzerland, to which we have already referred. It is to the renowned monk Tuotilo, who died 915 A.D., that the special merit belongs of having improved the Tropes, more particularly in their relation to the Kyrie. Ekkehard says that Tuotilo, who, it should be mentioned, was poet, painter, and sculptor, as well as musician, played Tropes of his own composition to the accompaniment of the Rotte and Psaltery, "in a remarkably sweet manner."*

Reference should now be made to the famed monk of St. Gall, Notker Balbulus, and to his work on the development of music, a treatise but little inferior to that of Tuotilo. We have already referred to Notker's celebrated "Media vita," a chant which owed much of its popularity to its subsequent adoption by Christian warriors and monks as their battle-song.

It is to the St. Gall monk that we are indebted for a nobler and

* We must here again draw the reader's attention to the high position which the monasteries of Central Europe, from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, held in relation to progressive civilisation. The monks, to whose fostering care we are indebted for such treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity as have been preserved, were not only the conservators of classical philosophy and literature (and therefore the mediators between Paganism and Christianity), but were also poets, architects, painters, sculptors, and musicians, the originators of theories and technicalities connected with all arts. The cloister was in itself a substitute for university, library, art academy, and museum. The industrious and humane ecclesiastics of those centuries were the benefactors of all who came in contact with them. They founded boroughs and towns, converted forests into arable land, tended and educated the people, acted as physicians, teachers, botanists, agriculturists, and artisans, providing the villagers with work, and giving alms to the poor. Goethe, Macaulay, Carriere, Freytag, Scheffel, and others, all well-known Protestants, who cannot be suspected of being actuated with party feeling, and some of the most eminent German historians, have testified to the noble and beneficent work done by the monasteries in the Middle Ages. But, above all, it should not be forgotten that the elevation of music into a self-existing art is almost entirely owing to the zealous earnestness of the monks. This, as the student will readily agree, was no easy task, but one of great labour, requiring the most steadfast perseverance. The venerable fathers not only occupied themselves in teaching the rudiments of music, but constructed melodies of imperishable beauty.

grander expression of the Sequences, thirty-five of which were written by him. The most famous of these are those used at Pentecost and Easter, and that beginning "All praise to thee, Lord Jesus Christ," appointed to be sung during the festival of Christmas. The existence of numerous other melodies testifies to the fertile inventive powers of Notker, a Codex at St. Gall alone containing no less than forty-four such chants.* The Sequences composed by Notker influenced both French and Italian song. Another famed writer and singer of Sequences was Robert, King of France, who died 1031 A.D. His Pentecostal Sequence, beginning—

"Veni sancte spiritus
Et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium,"

is known throughout Christendom, and there can be no doubt that the melody as well as the words was the invention of the royal composer. Indeed, I must draw particular attention to this Sequence, as its author appears to have been one of the first of the mediæval poets, who in the eleventh century introduced rhyme into the Latin songs of the Church, both the Sequences of Notker and of his immediate successors being without rhyme. Besides the French king, Adam, Canon of the Abbey of St. Victor, in Paris, who died 1177 A.D., and Bernard of Clairvaux, Abbé of the monastery of Clairvaux from 1115 to 1153 A.D., deserve mention as Church vocalists. Martin Luther, in allusion to the latter ecclesiastic, says: "If ever there lived a truly pious and God-fearing monk, that was St. Bernard. It is he whom I reverence more than all the Papists of the earth." Both the Abbé Adam and St. Bernard, besides being singers, were also writers of Sequences. Next to Notker, Adam is celebrated as the most prolific Sequence writer of the Middle Ages, some twenty being ascribed to him, which, on account of the nobleness of their language and purity of their melodies, have gained for their composer the flattering title "the Schiller of Latin Church music." The Sequences of St. Bernard are of a solemn and mysterious character, breathing, as it were, a profound angelic spirit. Foremost

* Notker the elder, also called Balbulus (the Stammerer), born 840 A.D., must not be confounded with his confrère of St. Gall, Notker the younger, known as Notker Labeo or Teutonicus, who died in the year 1022 A.D. The elder Notker was celebrated as a distinguished poet and vocalist, whilst the younger Notker obtained renown as the writer of the first German manuscript on the theory of music.

among Italian Sequence writers stands the name of the learned Franciscan, Thomas of Celano, the composer of the incomparable "*Dies irae, dies illa*," appointed to be used on All Souls' Day. Closely following upon Thomas of Celano is Jacopone, who died 1306 A.D., the writer of the beautiful Sequence "*De septem doloribus Mariæ virginis*." Both Sequences have earned for their composers an undying reputation, the "*Dies irae*" of Thomas being known in the Catholic Church of to-day as the "*Requiem*," and the "*De septem*" of Jacopone as the "*Stabat Mater*." The thirteenth century must be regarded as the era in which the poetry of the Latin Church reached its greatest perfection, and that in which the hymns dedicated to the Virgin Mary rose to the highest pitch of ideal fervour. The last Sequence writer to whom we shall take occasion to refer is the famous Dominican friar, St. Thomas Aquinas, known as "*Doctor angelicus*," who also belongs to the thirteenth century. He wrote the world-renowned

"Pange lingua gloriosi
Corporis mysterium,"

and the "*Lauda Sion*," both of which are intoned down to the present day in the Roman Catholic Church at the feast of Corpus Christi.

Meanwhile the music of the Church had been steadily developing in other directions. About the year 1000 A.D. the organ was greatly improved by Pope Sylvester II. In 1096 A.D. the Rebec, to which reference has already been made, was introduced into Europe by the returning Crusaders, who, at the same time, diffused a knowledge of the poetical rhyme of the Orientals. That same earnestness of faith which had inspired men with an anxious yearning to conquer the Pagan and regain the Holy Land in which their Saviour had lived and died, permeated the whole artistic life of Christendom, leading to an entirely new and vigorous development of art. One of the most important results of this impetus was the attempt made in the eleventh century at "*Part-writing*," *i.e.*, to invent a song in which the various parts should harmoniously blend together. Efforts had already been made to introduce an harmonious syllabic rhyme into poetry, the same desire animating the poet, as also the musician, to harmoniously connect the various parts of his subject. In poetry, rhyme conduced to as complete an harmonic basis as possible, but in music the area for the harmonist was infinitely

greater. Formerly the desire to write harmoniously for two voices (technically called parts) had been the musician's highest ambition, but now he longed to soar to loftier heights. In poetry, harmony is successive, or, as it has been not inaptly termed, *horizontal*; in music it is simultaneous, or *perpendicular*.*

All efforts of this nature in art must ever point to an increased mental activity among the people. In classical Greece the impetus derived from any such wave of mental vitality vented itself in a more vigorously defined plastic form, but in the Middle Ages man strove to penetrate into his innermost soul, and there discover that which should set at rest for ever those conflicting doubts that had tortured his spirit; and here he found God, and those Christian principles which were to be the beacon-lights to lead him to the "haven where he would be." This deep religious feeling did not fail to make itself felt on the artistic life of the people. It both ennobled and purified painting, poetry, music, and architecture.

In the eleventh century, part-singing was substituted for the unison or octave method hitherto in use; but isolated instances of the performance of Church song in this latter method are certainly to be found in the records of the early part of the tenth century, both in choirs and monasteries. The attempts at part-singing cannot, however, be regarded as arising from an innermost sense of joyfulness, but rather from theoretical causes and the requirements of musical practice. The distinguishing feature of all such essays, even up to the twelfth century, was extreme harshness; indeed, we may say that their undeniable discordance could only have been equalled by the extreme ugliness of the drawing of King David (Fig. 117), or the earliest artistic attempts of the Hindoos, the archaistic

* The author (and he believes he is the first to do so) points to the hidden links that connect the early attempts at poetical rhyme with musical harmony, the common impetus of which, in his opinion, is to be found in that intellectual enthusiasm which was the outgrowth of the Crusades. An era that saw the introduction of the Gothic arch in architecture, and that gave birth to the "Divina Commedia" of Dante, and the "Parcival" of Wolfram of Eschenbach, could not have been destitute of equally important efforts in the art of music. Indeed, it may truly be said that the grandest of all the successes was achieved on the introduction of harmony. But it will be only possible to see the inherent connection between the harmonious rhyme of the final syllables of poetical lines, and the simultaneous blending of two or more different musical parts, when one penetrates beyond the surface, earnestly striving to fathom their true origin and meaning.

era of Greek plastic art, the oldest illustration on Etruscan vases, and the gold background of Byzantine pictures. One of the first to introduce part-singing into the Church was Ubaldu, Huebald, or Hugbald (840—930 A.D.), a Benedictine monk of St. Amand, in Flanders. This learned ecclesiastic, following the Pythagorean and Boëthian theories, recognised fourths, fifths, and octaves only as consonants, and accordingly based all his harmonies on those intervals, a proceeding which could not but produce a painfully-discordant effect. The relation of dissonance to consonance in the tonal art is what the ugly is to the beautiful in painting. We cannot do better than append a specimen of Huebald's harmony, the extreme ugliness of which will be at once evident.

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No. 132.—Polyphonic Notation of Huebald.

The image shows two systems of musical notation in present-day notation. Each system consists of a treble staff and a bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system of music corresponds to the first line of the polyphonic notation above, and the second system corresponds to the second line.

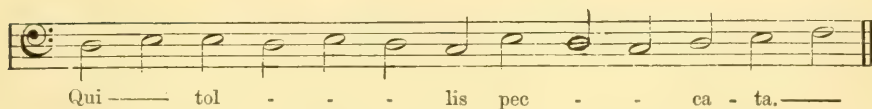
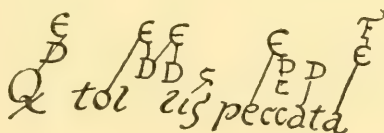
System 1:
 Treble staff: Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la lae-
 Bass staff: (Bass line)

System 2:
 Treble staff: ta - bi - tur Do - mi - nus in o - pe - ri - bus su - is.
 Bass staff: (Bass line)

No. 132 in present-day Notation.

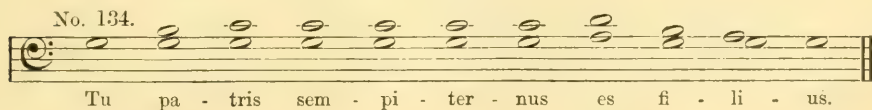
The earliest attempts at part-writing, of which No. 132 may be taken as a specimen, were known by the name of *ars organandi*, or *organum*. The intention was to denote both the whole and semi-tones, and also the range of the notes, whether high or low, by letters placed at the beginning of horizontal lines, in the spaces of which short lines were inserted close to the words of the text, in order to indicate the rise and fall of the voice.

The above example, according to the modern deciphering, appears to have been written for four voices. It is to be observed that Hucbald's notation was written exclusively between the lines, whereas Guido of Arezzo, a century later, used both lines and spaces. This may in some degree account for the retention of the Roman system by most of the tenth century composers, as it was easier both for writing and reading. A letter-notation was certainly in use in Hucbald's time and even as late as the eleventh century, but the signs denoting the rising and falling voice were not so clearly expressed.



No. 133.—Letter-notation of Guido of Arezzo, with deciphering.

The part-singing notation of Hucbald's time, known as the "sacred" *organum*, consisted of fourths and fifths; but another method, known as the "profane" or secular *organum*, was also in use. The latter system introduced thirds and seconds, which, if not altogether agreeable, was not so discordant as the sacred organum.



The transition from abstract theory to agreeable tonal effect was but by the smallest steps, as the Church practice of the Middle Ages was

completely dominated by that of the monks. This will be the more clearly understood when we refer to the edict "De vita et honestate clericorum" of Pope John XXIII., promulgated in the year 1322 A.D., at Avignon, forbidding the use of the secular organum at Church festivals as too mundane. This must not, however, lead us into the error of underrating the merits of the gentle Hucbald, who was named by his contemporaries "the spotless dove."*

Without such beginnings in the practice of sacred part-singing as those which Hucbald had the courage to introduce, and without that enthusiasm and perseverance so characteristic of all his efforts, the development of polyphony would undoubtedly have been greatly retarded.†

To illustrate how great was the contrast between the musical sense of that and the present time, we would mention that Hucbald specially commends for Church-singing his euphonious fourths and fifths. He says: "'Videbis nasci suavem ex hac sonorum commixtione concertum,' i.e., if two or more persons fervently sing according to my system, the blending of the voices will be most agreeable." Other ecclesiastics of the tenth and eleventh centuries also refer to the "sweetness" of the sacred organum. Such adjectives have been to the historical critic a source of much discomfort, frequently causing him to pause and inquire whether the organum can have been faithfully transmitted to us. But the most careful investigations, however, of modern times have entirely set this matter at rest, showing, as they do, that both vocalist and auditor meekly bore the harsh sound of the fifths for two centuries. Ambros, sarcastically referring to this, says "that the organum was probably regarded as a 'penance for the ear,'" and it does not seem altogether unlikely that it was really a punishment of the flesh—a sort of flagellation of the body—because at this period all sensuous beauty (and therefore musical euphony) was supposed to come from the evil one.‡

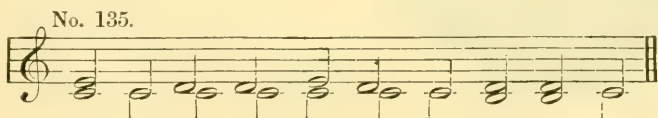
* Both Ekkehard and Scheffel refer to Hucbald in the above manner.

† Hucbald was not really the originator of the system of fifths; he himself speaks of it as being already known. But undeniably his is the merit of having noted and fixed its theoretical basis, as well as its introduction into Flanders and the neighbouring Low Countries.

‡ We must here remark, however, that Hucbald repeatedly recommends a *moderate* time in singing (probably analogous to our Adagio movement), in which the fifths and fourths, if not altogether harmonious, are less offensive than in a quicker movement. We have been greatly surprised, however, by witnessing how much discordance, even at the present

Equally zealous in the cause of part-singing was that far-famed monk, already referred to by us, viz., Guido of Arezzo, or Guido Aretinus, who was born in the year 995, and died May 17th, 1050. Guido, who was Prior to the monastery of Avellana, designated the singing of two persons together *diaphony*. Although we know that Guido was no more the originator of part-singing in Italy than Hucbald in Flanders, yet, like his predecessor, he was most zealous in his efforts to diffuse a general knowledge of the diaphonic system.

The *diaphony*, with but slight exceptions, can scarcely be said to have been more highly developed than the organum, for Guido finding successive fifths too harsh, substituted fourths as more agreeable—an alteration that can be esteemed but a very moderate improvement. This comparatively free *diaphony*, although it has been likened to Hucbald's secular organum, is certainly more bearable, the following example showing that the *third* was used no less than *four* times.



In addition to the laudable introduction of the *diaphony*, the name of Guido is also connected with the system of solmisation (*solfeggi*), although it is most positively proved that he was as little the inventor of the *solfeggi* as of the *diaphony*. The *solfeggi* was no doubt, however, the result of his teachings noted down by his pupils with the desire to perpetuate the memory of their master. But it is characteristic of modern writers, when referring to the Middle Ages, to single out one prominent name, and attribute to that the many excellences belonging to an art, omitting all reference to less prominent coadjutors. This was especially the case with Guido of Arezzo and the tonal art. But, no matter to what extent this one-sided practice may have been carried

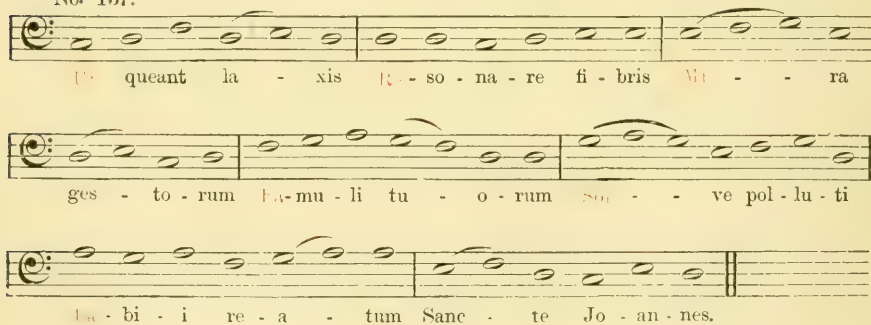
time, can be borne by some persons. In September, 1872, a chorus of men serenaded the Crown Princess Margaret of Italy, who was then on a visit at the Villa Melzi, by the Lake of Como. Amongst other pieces they sang a solemn hymn, in which a series of common chords following each other formed a complete succession of fifths. This not only excited our curiosity, but at the same time was a practical illustration of the historical truth of the organum.

out, we are unable to dissociate the name of Guido from the system of solmisation, as such a course would be in direct opposition to certain doctrines which it is well known emanated directly from the celebrated monk. Solmisation implied the substitution of the melodious syllables, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, for the first six tones of the scale *C, D, E, F, G, A*. The introduction of these syllables into musical practice arose from the setting of six phrases to a vocal exercise, the phrases being so arranged that the initial syllable of each, viz., *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, fell under the first six ascending tones of the scale. The text was a prayer to St. John entreating him to preserve the voices of the suppliant choristers from hoarseness. It was as follows:—



Fig. 136.—Guido of Arezzo.

No. 137.



By this means the pupil learned to fix the pitch of each tone in his memory. Tone and syllable were so closely associated with one another that he had but to remember the melody which he had learned by heart to enable him to read at sight any new chant which did not go beyond his acquired six tones. Guido, however, invented a system which did not

restrict the singer to the first six notes of C major scale, but starting from others of these notes as the basis, other scales could be raised upon them. The scale, according to Guido, consisted of twenty notes, which were divided into seven hexachords (six tones). It will be seen that the ground-tones or tonics of the seven hexachords consisted of C, F and G, the latter beginning three of these hexachords, and therefore the others two each.*

No. 138.

1. Hexachord. 2. H. 3. H. 4. H. 5. H. 6. H. 7. H.

ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la ut re mi fa sol la

F A B C D E F G a b c d e f g aa bb cc dd ee

It is to be remarked that in the Gregorian scale the B which follows the A in hexachords 3 and 6 was to be sung as *B rotundum*, i.e., our present B \flat , while in hexachords 1, 4, and 7 it represented *B quadratum*, or B \natural . "Solmisation" among the disciples of Guido meant the *sol-fa-ing* or *vocalisation* as now understood by us.†

The first note of every hexachord was supplied with the syllable *ut*, the remaining notes carrying in order the remaining syllables, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*. The notes of the scale were therefore re-named, the names which belonged to them under the Gregorian system being disregarded.‡ By

* Although the C occurs three times in the Guidonic system, yet as there were but seven hexachords, the highest of the three C's could not possibly begin a new hexachord.

† The expression "solmisation" is most properly used here, as Guido was one of the first tone-masters who imposed upon his pupils the necessity of *solfeggi*, i.e., the execution of vocal exercises, analogous to the *solfeggi* exercises of to-day. Both the word *solfeggi*, and its meaning, have remained unchanged since the eleventh century, *solmisation* and *ars solfandi*, i.e., the setting of well-sounding vowels to tonal phrases. The modern Italian school has retained the Guidonic syllables, with the exception that the open vowel sound *do* has been substituted for *ut*; their exercises are termed *solfeggi*, though, of course, they are executed in much quicker time than those of the disciples of Guido.

‡ The syllables, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*, did not, therefore, single out special notes, but were

this method the third and fourth of every hexachord always consisted of a semitone.

So long as the vocalist was restricted to the limits of a hexachord, his way was simple enough; even the veriest tyro could determine the semitone in the most unequivocal manner, as it was always marked *mi, fa*, enabling him to sing more readily at sight, and at the same time in tune, than was possible by any other method. Difficulties only presented themselves when the melody moved over a range of more than one hexachord. It was then necessary that the tones of the added hexachord should be re-named, care being taken that the *mi, fa* fell upon the semitone. In order to do this, it was necessary that in ascending passages the two highest tones of the lower hexachord should be named according to the lettering of the higher hexachord. If the melody descended, *i.e.*, involved the transition from the higher to the lower hexachord, the practice was reversed. This system of interchanging the syllables was called *mutation*; and as at this time there was such a poverty of tonal and technical resources, and the interchanging was so confusing to the memory, the practice of solmisation was looked upon by the choristers as their cross of tribulation, and was dubbed by their contemporaries, “*Crux et tormentum puerorum.*” In order to facilitate mutation for the boys as well as for advanced singers, and to aid the memory, the so-called hand-system of Guido was adopted.

It had already been observed that the number of the joints of the five fingers of the human hand, with the addition of the five tips, was the same as the number of tones in the Guidonic system, counting from the lowest G (marked by the Greek Γ , gamma) to the top D.*

The arrangement of the tones and syllables in connection with the Guidonian hand was as follows:—Starting from the tip of the thumb as the gamma, it descended through the two joints of the thumb across the lowest joints of the four fingers, ascending to the tip of the little finger; thence passing over the extremities of the ring, middle, and fore fingers, it descends to the second joint of the fore finger,

applied to more than one—*e.g.*, *re* also referred to G, A, D; and the *ut*, in addition to its own note, to F and G.

* As no space could be provided for the highest ϵ , Guido, in order to complete the seventh hexachord, assigned it a place above the tip of the middle finger.

terminating in a spiral curve above the middle finger. Such a scheme was of great assistance to the student, as he could, by glancing at his left hand, see the whole of the system in his mind's eye. The Guidonian hand was, therefore, not so useless as those who have but very imperfectly understood it endeavour to induce others to believe. It showed at a glance the extent of each hexachord, with their interchangeable notes, whether *ut* (according to its position in the hexachord) was to be sung as *re* or *mi*, &c., and in mutation the place of the semitone. The B, whether as B₂ or B₁, was also clearly indicated. At the present time such a complicated contrivance as the Guidonian hand would appear somewhat laboured and heavy, but for that period it must be deemed to have been of incalculable value.

However much or little credit one may be inclined to bestow on Guido as the inventor of the various artifices

attributable to him, there can be no doubt that in his century he was looked upon as a master well qualified to rule. He also wrote several works in connection with his beloved subject, and, amongst those known to be authentic, the "*Micrologus de Disciplina artis Musicae*," a theory of music, written in twenty chapters, may be considered the best. He is distinguished from Hucbald, who was more of a scientific speculator, by the vigorous defence of his principles, and as a master that dearly loved musical practice. To quote Guido's own words on this point, he

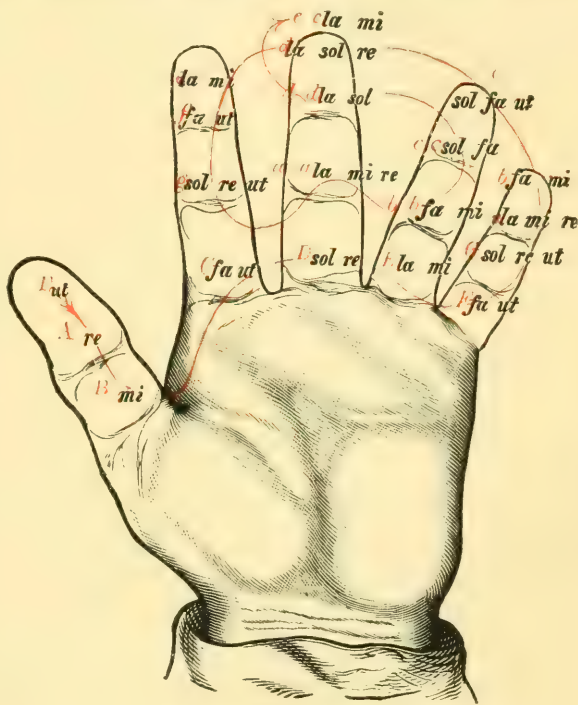


Fig. 139.—The Guidonian Hand.

says, "The way of the philosopher is not mine. I care only for that which is good for the Church, and tends to the advancement of our little ones."* Guido did not, like the greater number of his clerical predecessors, look upon music merely as a science, but felt it to be an art, as he says, "The musician must so arrange his song that it is but the reflection of the words. If the melody be for youths, there must be an exuberance of cheerfulness; if for old age, a fretful seriousness."† And, again, "funereal music" should be "depressed," and "festival music" of an "enlivening" character.

To the musical scientists of the eleventh century such golden truths, which, notwithstanding their simplicity of language, might well be adopted by many modern composers, may have seemed either the emancipation from an obsolete theory, or the departure from traditions still looked upon as sacred; at any rate they must be regarded as the dawn of a new era in music. Guido's thesis called forth as much enthusiastic praise as it did most bitter opposition, and the latter for a time was so acrimonious that he was temporarily compelled to resign his office in the monastery of Pomposa, near Ravenna. He was subsequently re-installed by Pope John XIX. (1024—1033), his vindication being all the more sincere, as Guido, to prove the practical utility of his method, taught the Pope to sing correctly at sight in one lesson. Taken all in all, we cannot fail to acknowledge in Guido one of those rare men whom the history of art denominates as reformers, and the Tuscans have not done too much in honour of their great countryman by erecting statues to him both at Florence and Arezzo.

When the practice of part-singing became more general it was found necessary to fix the value of the notes of the different parts, and although the strictly measured bars of our time with their bar-lines were not then adopted, a near approach was made in this direction. When, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *organum* and *diaphony* were chanted, the voices moved in the same direction, and it was then possible to sing in time without any special difficulty. But in the twelfth century a change took place, *diaphony* was merged into the *Discantus*‡ or *Biscantus*

* By "little ones" is meant the choristers.

† Our excellent Guido does not treat old age very reverentially.

‡ *Biscantus* and *Discantus* are identical, and, like *diphony* or *diaphony*, signify a two-voiced simultaneous part-song.

(French, *Déchant*), which was especially the case among the inhabitants of the north-east of France and the Netherlands. In these districts a practice—which almost developed itself into a mania—arose of embellishing the upper notes of the *Biscantus* with ornaments, called in France, *Fleurettes*, and in Italy, *Fioriture*. This practice was most remarkable on account of its after-effects. Under such circumstances, the melody of the upper voice gained a considerable accession of movement compared to that of the lower voice, the second voice singing the *cantus firmus*, and on this account it was called *Tenor*. Under these conditions, a further united singing of the two divergent voices was impossible, unless governed by some fixed rules of measure, *i.e.*, time.

Hence the invention of a new notation, or at least a re-modelling of the old system, had become a necessity. Before we glance at this music, now to be systematised into measured notes and bars, and known as the *Mensural* notation,* we will briefly scan the historical events preceding this change. It must be remarked that the practice of ornamenting the melody of the upper voice with *fioritura* (an artistic dexterity which was called *descanting*) led, in a very natural manner, to the acceptance of the term *descant* as applicable to the upper voice only, whereas previously it referred to the two voices. The practice of *descanting* was not confined only to the provinces between the rivers Seine and Scheldt, but it was known also at an early period in England, Holland, and Lower Germany, and especially the provinces bordering on the Lower Rhine. We are indebted for the oldest and most trustworthy information extant on this subject to the learned Franco of Cologne. The exact period at which this celebrated master lived is not known, but most probably it was during the latter end of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries. From his famous work, "*Musica et ars cantus mensurabilis*," it would appear that "*descanting*" and the singing of two voices in tones of different durations were both known before his time.

It is curious that even up to a very recent date, the personality of Franco of Cologne was surrounded with much mystery, a statement which will no doubt be deemed surprising considering the authenticated data which we possess relative to the much earlier Guido of Arezzo. It is owing to

* *Mensur* (L., *mensura*, measure) in music means the division of notes into tones of different durations, such as breves, semibreves, minims, &c.

the researches of the distinguished Belgian musical historian Coussemaker that we are in possession of more positive information. He proves that besides Franco of Cologne, another Franco (of Paris) existed, whose period was but little anterior to that of our Franco.* The Parisian Franco has been confounded with his namesake of Cologne down to our own time. A few historians, unable to reconcile the conflicting evidence concerning the two Francos, began to doubt the historical existence of the Cologne master. The confusion was increased by the discovery of a third Franco, a scholar and mathematician, who is said to have lived about the year 1060 in Liéges, and who, on account of the proximity of Liéges and Cologne, was confounded with the German Franco.†

The able researches of Coussemaker have set at rest any doubt concerning the historical personality of Franco of Cologne; neither is the German master's musical importance lessened, notwithstanding the proved existence of his Parisian namesake.

From the "Compendium de discantu," now in the Vatican, beginning with the words "Ego Franco de Colonia," it would appear that Franco was a native of Cologne.‡ The evidence of Coussemaker also points in the same direction, as he states that the Franco of Cologne was a native of the Rhenish provinces. The celebrated teacher zealously advocated the adoption of the Mensural song, which he greatly improved, making it acceptable to all. He also originated the *uneven* Tempo, or triple time, introducing it into Church music on the ground, which was entirely in keeping with the spirit of the mediæval ages, that the Holy Trinity teaches us to regard the number three as the symbol of perfection, and hence triple time was ever to be regarded





* Early musical historians connected Franco of Cologne with Paris, even calling him "Parisiensis magister," an error which we are now able to assert was the beginning of the historical confusion.

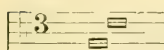
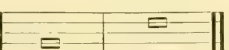
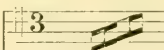
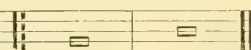
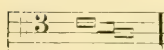
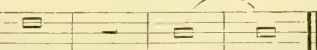
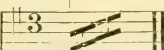
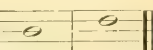
† According to Fétis, Franco of Cologne studied at Liéges. This assertion was made prior to that of Coussemaker's concerning the Parisian Franco. It is surprising to note the number of publications on the history of music which have appeared since the time of Coussemaker, all of which speak of one Franco only, and that one of Cologne, ignoring entirely any reference to others of the same name. A special article, entitled "Franco of Cologne" (Mendel's "Musical Encyclopædia," vol. iv., 1874), and published nine years after the valuable information of Coussemaker had been given to the world, not only ignores this author's able proofs, but bases his assertions on data furnished by Kiesewetter and Fétis which have subsequently been proved to be entirely erroneous.

‡ Kiesewetter's scruples concerning the authenticity of this work may now be looked upon as groundless.

as the *tempus perfectum*. His labours in the diffusion of the knowledge of musical harmony were also of the highest kind. In this he ran counter to the laws of Greek harmony, as he regarded the third as a *consonance*, although an *imperfect* one, and thereby adopted an interval which, notwithstanding its euphony, had been interdicted by the ancients and mistrusted by the Christians during the first Christian millenium.* He further prepared the way for our modern harmonic system by classifying the major and minor seventh, the second, and the augmented fourth, also called Tritonus, as the only real dissonances. The musical theorists of the Middle Ages had

stigmatised the Tritonus  as the *diabolus in musica*. The

laws of part-writing laid down by Franco of Cologne were, in their essential elements, the same as those which govern modern harmony. Consecutive fifths were rejected by him much as they had been a century before by Guido, but by his strong advocacy of the *motus contrarius*, i.e., a contrary motion of the different parts, he towers above all his predecessors, for the movement of parts in contrary directions, whether convergent or divergent, is the most harmonious that can be adopted. The germs of the new notation, forced into existence by the Mensural music, and which were to mark the varying durations of the tones of a melody, were known, however, previous to the time of Franco. He adopted therefore for his purpose the four following well-known characters, each representing a different value, viz., the *Longa* , the *Brevis* , the *Maxima* or *duplex longa* , and the *Semibrevis* . Certain signs of the Neume notation, representing a complete ornamented phrase, were replaced in the Mensural notation by the so-called Ligature sign. Examples of the latter follow, with their explanation:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|--|
| | | No. 140. | | | |
| Ligatura recta. | Deciphering. | Ligatura obliqua. | Deciphering. | | |
|  |  |  |  | | |
| | | | | | |
| Ligatura. | Deciphering. | Ligatura. | Deciphering. | | |
|  |  |  |  | | |

* It is probable that the major third was regarded as a discord in consequence of the Pythagorean tuning, which gave the ratio of that interval as $\frac{81}{64}$ instead of $\frac{5}{4}$.—F. A. G. O.

Dufay, "Je prends congé." Deciphering.

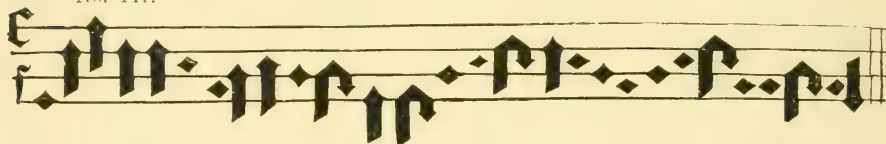
Je—prends—con - gé — Je ——— prends ——— con - gé

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is the original mensural notation for Dufay's 'Je prends congé.' It features square notes on a four-line staff with a C-clef and a 3/2 time signature. The bottom staff is the deciphered version, showing the same melody with modern note heads and stems, also on a four-line staff with a C-clef and a 3/2 time signature. The lyrics 'Je—prends—con - gé —' are written below the first staff, and 'Je ——— prends ——— con - gé' are written below the second staff.

It must, however, be remarked that the open chorale-note, like that in the three-part melody of Dufay beginning "Je prends congé," was not used until the fifteenth century. In Franco's time, as well as in the second half of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth centuries, the notes were almost exclusively black.

The notation of the Mensural music, which is easily recognised from the signs used, and called *Nota quadrata*, is one and the same with that known as the Chorale notation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was called the Franconian notation. That notation, which we have designated the "Engrossed," the characters of which are generally spoken of as the Gothic chorale notation, but which, as our example shows, would be more correctly termed the *horse-shoe* and *nail* notation,

No. 141.



is but little older than that of Franco, and this unmistakably contains the embryo of the Franconian system. In many places we may be sure that the Gothic and Franconian systems came into use simultaneously. Both notations have existed from the beginning of the twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, therefore for a period of about five hundred years. The square chorale note is used even to-day in many Roman Catholic mass-books and antiphonals, and instances also are not wanting of the use of the engrossed horse-shoe notation (the German Gothic chorale notation) by the inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and of Belgium. In this we see that the fundamental law of all organic and mental being is the gradual development of new life, according to certain unchangeable principles, which, though branching out in new directions, can still be traced to its origin; and this applies with great force to the gradual development of notation in the time of the Middle Ages.

In Italy *Mensural* music found a soil congenial to its growth and development, and the name of Marchetto da Padova will ever be remembered as that of one of the earliest propagators of the new system. In his musical lectures delivered at Naples, he, like many of his predecessors, was strongly opposed to the use of consecutive fifths. He was also one of the first to utter that fundamental law of all euphony—"That every dissonance should resolve itself into a consonance," a necessity founded on inborn musical feeling deeply rooted in all human nature.* The chief work of Marchetto was a treatise entitled "*Pomerium in Arte Musicæ Mensuratæ*," and bears the date 1307 A.D. We close this chapter with a copy of a bas-relief of the eleventh century, representing an instrumental concert, in which the whole of the performers appear to use different instruments.



Fig. 142.—An Orchestra of the Mediæval Ages. Eleventh Century.

(A Copy of a Bas-relief from the Church of St. George, at Boscherville, in Normandy.)

We first notice two *Rottas* or *Crouts* of different calibre, and which, according to the position of the performers, would lead us, in the nomenclature of a later time, to designate one as the *Rota da Gamba*, and the other as the *Rota da Braccio*. The *Organistrum*, it will be seen, required two performers, the first to turn the crank, and the second to make the instrument sound. The next figure appears to be provided with a wind instrument and also an instrument of percussion. Other performers are seen playing on sets of bells, psalteries, and harps, whilst the two remaining figures—viz., those at the extreme right of the picture—although very indistinct, yet sufficiently indicate, by their actions, a performance on bells with clappers. From such a strange combination it is difficult to decide whether the performance was secular or sacred.

* If the law, that a dissonance must be "prepared," had been known to Marchetto, and added by him to his own grand principle that discords must be resolved, his method would then have been complete.

To judge from the antics of the figure represented in the second half of the illustration as standing on his head, and also from the bell and drum performers, the performance would appear to be that of a secular concert. But notwithstanding the undevotional and irreverent attitude of one performer, and the apparently inappropriate instruments of others, we cannot positively assert that this was not a sacred concert, because the religious faith of the people, at the time to which our illustration refers, was not so weak that the exhibition of popular humour would either shock or give offence. Their simplicity of mind led them to accept many things which would be exceedingly distasteful to our notions of propriety and reverence at the present day. Indeed, the fact that this picture is a copy of a relief from a church, and also that nearly all the performers are crowned, intended probably to represent Kings David and Solomon, or even Constantine and Charlemagne, would seem to argue in favour of a sacred concert.

The first twelve centuries of the Christian era present to us the rise and gradual development of mediæval tonal art, due to the labours of prominent men of different European nations, whose individual exertions united and fitted in with each other. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, this working together ceased, and, in the place of collective labour, we find first one nation and then another of the great cultured people of Central Europe taking the lead.

But before we follow music, now so richly endowed, and existing as an entirely self-dependent art, we will briefly glance at the rise of "Folk-music" in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which, to so large an extent, emancipated itself from the scientific principles of systems. At the same time, we shall devote some attention to the study of the music of the courts and the nobility, which, owing to the peculiar method in which it developed itself, became capable, at a later period, of re-acting on Church music in an invigorating and vivifying manner. In our next chapter, therefore, we shall endeavour to give some idea of the manner in which music became the joy and ornament of life, how it was fostered, and the influence it exercised in the princely palace, the knightly castle, and great cities, in the village, the field, and the forest.

[The author has omitted to mention here what is unquestionably the oldest piece of polyphonic and canonical composition known to be in

existence—the old Northumbrian round, “Sumer is icumen in.” Of this most remarkable production it will be as well to give a short description in this place. Sir John Hawkins was, I believe, the first to draw attention to it in his “History of Music,” but he assigns to it an entirely erroneous date, in which, as usual, he has been followed by Dr. Burney and others. It has been reserved for Mr. William Chappell to prove the real antiquity of this celebrated composition. It exists in a manuscript now in the British Museum (Harl. MS. No. 978), and Mr. Chappell has conclusively shown that the handwriting is of the thirteenth century. It was copied by a monk of Reading, named John Fornsete. The latest date of his work, in the MS. No. 978, is 1228. This definitely settles the date of the copy; the work cannot then have been long composed. The author of the music gives the following curious directions for the performance of his piece (which he calls “Rota”):—“Hanc rotam cantare possunt quatuor socii. Paucioribus autem quam tribus aut saltem duobus non debet dici; præter eos qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem sic. Tacentibus ceteris, unus inchoat cum his qui tenent pedem. Et cum venerit ad primam notam post crucem, inchoat alius; et sic de ceteris. Singuli vero repaudent ad pausaciones scriptas, et non alibi, spatio unius longæ notæ.” It is therefore clearly a canon, four in one, with two additional parts forming a “Pes,” or ground-bass. The character of the melody is sweet and pastoral, and well adapted to the words. It must be regarded as the only piece in six real parts known to exist before the fifteenth century; it is fairly free from errors of harmony; it is a strict canon, and the earliest canon known; it also offers the earliest example of a *basso ostinato*, or ground-bass. On every account, then, it deserves to be considered as the most remarkable ancient musical composition in existence. As to the words, they are obviously Northumbrian, and it is probable that the music also was composed by a north-countryman, for we know from Giraldus Cambrensis that in his days vocal harmony was practised chiefly in the parts of England north of the Humber. The notation of the original manuscript is similar to that employed by Walter Odington, whose treatise on music was written about the year 1230, and is one of the very best works on music of that period. England may well be proud of her proficiency in music, both theoretical and practical, in those early days. We subjoin the canon, in score, together with the words.

SUMER IS ICMEN IN.

Musical score for the song "Sumer is Icmen in." The score is written for voice and piano. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has four vocal staves and two piano staves. The lyrics are: "Su - mer is i - cu - men in...., Lhu - de sing Cuc - cu." The second system has four vocal staves and two piano staves. The lyrics are: "Su - mer is i - cu - men" and "Sing Cuc - cu nu.... Sing Cuc - cu." The piano part is marked "PES." and includes the lyrics "Sing Cuc - cu." and "Sing Cuc - cu."

Continuation of the musical score for "Sumer is Icmen in." The third system has four vocal staves and two piano staves. The lyrics are: "Grow - eth sed, and blow - eth med, And springth the w - de" and "in....., Lhu - de sing Cuc - cu." The fourth system has four vocal staves and two piano staves. The lyrics are: "Su - mer is i - cu - men in....., Lhu - de sing Cuc -" and "Su - mer is i -" and "Sing Cuc - cu nu.... Sing Cuc -" and "nu.... Sing Cuc - cu." and "Sing Cuc -"

nu. Sing Cuc - cu. Aw - e
 blow - eth med, And springth the w - de nu. Sing
 - cu. Grow - eth sed, and blow - eth med, And springth the
 - cu - men in...., Lhu - de sing Cuc - cu. Grow - eth
 - cu. Sing Cuc - cu nu.... Sing
 - cu nu.... Sing Cuc - cu Sing

blet - eth af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu;
 Cuc - cu. Aw - e blet - eth af - ter lomb, Lhouth
 w - de nu. Sing Cuc - cu.
 sed, and blow - eth med, And springth the w - de nu.
 Cuc - cu. Sing Cuc - cu nu....
 Cuc - cu nu.... Sing Cuc - cu.

Bul - luc stert - eth, Buck - e vert - eth, Mu - rie sing Cuc -
 af - ter cal - ve cu; Bul - luc stert - eth,
 Aw - e blet - eth af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve
 Sing Cuc - cu. Aw - e blet - eth
 Sing Cuc - cu. Sing Cuc -
 Sing Cuc - cu nu..... Sing Cuc -

- cu. Cuc - cu, Cuc - cu....
 Buck - e vert - eth, Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu.
 cu; Bul - luc stert - eth, Buck - e vert - eth,
 af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu;
 - cu nu..... Sing Cuc - cu.
 - cu. Sing Cuc - cu nu....

Wel song - es thy Cuc - cu; Ne swik thu na - ver nu.
 Cuc - cu, Cuc - cu. Wel song - es thy Cuc - cu.
 Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu. Cuc - - cu.
 Bul - luc stert - eth, Buck - e vert - eth, Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu.
 Sing Cuc - cu nu.... Sing Cuc - cu.
 Sing Cuc - cu. Sing Cuc - cu.

The directions for the two lower parts, which sing the "Pes," are as follows:—

1. "Hoc repetit unus quoties opus est, faciens pausacionem in fine."
2. "Hoc dicit alius pausans in medio et non in fine, sed immediate repeters principium."

Under the old English words are written the following Latin ones, which would almost make it appear as if the piece were meant to be sung in church; or at some time or another the music may have been seized upon for adaptation to words for use in church:—

"Pespice chisticola
 Quæ dignatio
 Coëlicus agricola
 Pro vitis vitio.

Filio non parcens
 Exposuit mortis exitio
 Qui captivos
 Semivivos

À supplicio
 Vitæ donat
 Et secum coronat
 In cœli solio." *]

* See also p. 286.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOLK-MUSIC, OR THE MUSIC OF THE PEOPLE.
THE TROUBADOURS AND THE MINNESINGERS.

THE slow and tedious progress made by Church music in its striving after artistic form, even after the great reforms introduced into the liturgical song by Gregory, viz., from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, forms a strong contrast to the free and unembarrassed development of secular song amongst the people. The folk-songs, refrains, and roundelays which accompanied all the popular dances, the tales and sagas related in epic or song-form, and the ballads and serenades of the southern nations, although made by the people, and therefore entirely independent of scholastic theory, yet contained in themselves the germs of a rich development, which, coming into contact at a later period with the achievements of art, attained to the most gratifying results. In like manner the continuous improvements which were made in the mechanism of the organ—that sole and favoured instrument of the Church from the ninth century—improvements which we will follow as far as the sixteenth century, are in great contrast to the invention of a number of “profane” or secular instruments, either of foreign origin or the outgrowth of instruments of the most primitive nature.

Certain fragmentary specimens of secular song dating from the sixth century are still extant, *e.g.*, one of the time of Clothair II. (584—628 A.D.), of which, however, we possess the words only, the melody unfortunately being lost to us. Even the notation of the celebrated “Roland’s Song” of Charlemagne’s time cannot be traced, although it is recorded that it was sung as late as 1356 A.D., at the battle of Poitiers. It will be remembered, however, that the melody of the “Lament,” composed in commemoration of the death of the great emperor, has, curiously enough, been preserved to us (*vide* No. 126). Besides the love-ditties composed during the reign of Charlemagne, there were others of a licentious and satirical character which were forbidden to be sung in the precincts of the church, and also mournful songs chanted in the night over the graves of the departed supplicating the delivery of the soul of the dead from the power of the Evil One. Lastly, there were

hymns of praise and battle-songs, and amongst these the famed "A King do I know named Ludwig the Sire." It is a matter of regret that of all these songs the words only have been preserved, and we are, therefore, not in a position to judge how far the melodies departed from the *cantus planus*. Even after a careful study of the melodic fragments of the old folk-songs used by Flemish composers of the fifteenth century as the tenor of their contrapuntal parts, we should fail to gain any positive information as to the nature of the early folk-song, for at most these fragments carry us back only to the thirteenth century. The songs of a much later period naturally fail to furnish us with any reliable information whatsoever; besides, the necessity of confining the folk-song to the metrical canon form entirely obliterated all trace of their original popular rhythm. Only in the Lochheimer song-book do we find one of those invaluable collections which enable us to obtain some notion of the musical form of the secular song of the Middle Ages. But even with such a collection at our command, we can only speak conditionally, for, notwithstanding that the book contains no less than forty-four songs noted down at the latest during the fifteenth century, yet it shows us the folk-song already influenced by theoretical doctrine, and, moreover, the collection has reference to Germany only.*

But in order to gain a more general understanding of European mediæval folk-lore and its musical setting during the time of its gradual dissemination, we must devote our attention to a study of the songs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are really the melodies of the troubadours and minstrels, and are, therefore, much more fitted for our purpose than the lays of the Lochheimer song-book; for although the former are really the reflections of court poetry, yet there was always a mental connection, as well as an external union, between the songs of chivalry and those of the people that was never entirely severed, and these songs, the outgrowth of such an alliance, remained for centuries.

Specimens of the oldest secular mediæval folk-music, whether in the romances of the South, or among the popular ditties of the Northern

* The lays of the Lochheimer song-book are occasionally of great melodic beauty, the rhythm and musical structure showing a considerably advanced development. The composers evince a delicate sense of poetical feeling, and the songs not unfrequently possess a considerable power of musical expression, affecting the hearer as much by their noble simplicity as by their purity of sentiment.

Germans, are to be found in the songs of mountebanks, adventurers, itinerant jugglers, and strolling players, all of whom accompanied their songs on various musical instruments. In Germany these wandering musicians were generally tramps and vagrants, a class of humanity very characteristic of the Middle Ages. In Italy they were chiefly recruited from strolling players, from showmen who traversed the country exhibiting camels, monkeys, and dancing bears, from tricksters and vendors of molasses, the latter of whom were known as the *Ceretani*. In France, more especially in Provence and Normandy, they were represented by the *Jongleurs* and *Ménestriers*, men who were indifferently buffoons, rope-dancers, or musicians, and also by *Fableors* and *Contaires*, i.e., professional story-tellers, who sometimes accompanied their recitals by music. In England they were known under the name of minstrels.* It must be distinctly understood that the undeniably beautiful melodies of Germany, Gaul, and Italy, sung by the wandering minstrels, were not their own original productions, but were the outpourings of the heartfelt emotions of the people themselves. The minstrels were but hawkers and disseminators of the tunes, carrying the themes and a knowledge of the musical elements from one people to another. But to their credit it must be said that it was owing to their skilful pipe and rota playing that a more lively style and many an original and singular rhythm were introduced, while the comical vein of their quaint, humorous songs stimulated others to new and bolder attempts in musical contrivance.

Notwithstanding the great favour with which these wanderers were regarded by the people, and their own endeavours to establish the fact that their art was inherited, yet they never achieved any social distinction or attained any civil rights. True it is that their existence was tolerated, but all real protection of the law was withheld from them. Indeed, to such an extent was this carried, that a strolling player might suffer bodily injury, even by the sword of his assailant, and yet have no claim

* The suppositions of Freytag and others, that these strollers were the descendants of the old Roman gladiators and comedians, seem to us to be conclusively proved. The fall of Rome, and the subsequent migration of nations, compelled this despised community to seek their bread among the "barbarians," and, as they had stood of yore in the Roman market-place and circus, so now they played and piped before the homesteads of Frankish chiefs those strange lays "which mayhap had been introduced into Rome with the adopted orgies held in honour of Asiatic deities."

to compensation. The farcical performance of striking at the *shadow* of his wanton aggressor a blow similar to that which he himself had received was the only protection the law afforded him. Thus this remarkable people, unwittingly possessed of a romantic spirit, remained throughout the Middle Ages honourless and homeless outcasts. Even the Church withheld its sympathy and denied them the right to partake of the Christian sacrament.*

These drawbacks, however, did not prevent their congregating in hundreds at court festivals and fairs, on great market-days, and when celebrated pilgrimages were to be made; their rewards, either in money, food, or raiment, being usually very great. Their performances consisted of heroic and amorous songs, laments and jocular ditties, such as were usually sung by them during their roving from place to place, and satirical, denunciatory songs deriding those who had ill-treated or insufficiently rewarded them. The latter were frequently so pointed in their sarcastic allusions that it was often found more expedient to purchase the goodwill of the songsters by sumptuous feasts and gifts than to run the gauntlet of their dangerous satire. The strolling player, besides exercising his public calling, frequently acted in numerous other capacities; thus, he was the secret messenger of princes and nobles, the *courier d'amour* of lovers, the agent of merchants, and the bearer of news to the peasant from distant relatives. When the players moved about in companies, women and children formed part of the troupe, the former taking part in the performances as dancers and singers. Amongst those companies that roved through the South, we find women and children skilfully using the well-known Oriental tambourine and Egyptian clapper in their wanton dances. Their rambling, dissolute life induced a certain moral laxity that brought upon them public censure, so that in the year 554 A.D. Childebert promulgated very stringent laws for the suppression of their licentiousness.

The great mental elasticity of these adventurers, united to a certain inborn shrewdness, enabled them to adapt themselves to all circumstances

* This can scarcely surprise us when we remember that even in the eighteenth century actors and operatic singers (in whom, after all, we can trace a faint connection with the "wanderers") were regarded as without the pale of ordinary citizenship, and (is it not painful to add?) even to-day among some religious bodies the ordinary burial rites are refused to actors, and the use of consecrated ground prohibited.

and to take part in every new phase of mental activity. This was especially the case with regard to the great revolution that took place in the minds of the people in the ninth and tenth centuries. Up to this time all traditions, institutions, customs, and sagas of classical heathenism had remained unattacked, and the same may be said of home traditions, which in many countries dated from a time prior to the Christian era. Even Charlemagne had collected, with unbiassed poetical feelings, the heroic songs and sagas of the heathen Germans, for which, however, his son Lewis the Pious exhibited the most undisguised contempt. It will not be difficult to obtain a clear conception of the moral and intellectual condition of the mass of the people at this time, if we remember the ever-growing influence of their tutors, the fanatical ignorant priesthood, who, however, must not be confounded with the educated monastic friars. The woodcut at the head of our Second Book, representing Venus and Tannhäuser, will afford the reader some indication of the impending mental revolution. As early as the tenth century, Venus, the Roman goddess of beauty, had been transformed into a female demon, whose office was to lure the souls of pious Christians into perdition; whilst Tannhäuser, who only for a time had yielded to her influence, was regarded as eternally lost, even a pilgrimage to Rome failing to bring him salvation. Paganism and Christianity had hitherto existed for centuries side by side without causing dissension or exciting provocation, but now they became implacable enemies. All that heathen art had transmitted to Christianity underwent a complete metamorphosis. And now the wandering minstrels, the social outcasts and the rejected of the Church, acted as interpreters, disseminators, and singers of the new cycle of sagas that grew out of the rupture between idolatry and Christianity. But our vagrants obtained even still greater distinction by their performances of sacred plays. At first they were allowed to perform only in the adjacent grounds of the church, but after a time permission was extended to them to play in the porches, and finally even in the interiors—a striking proof of the cleverness whereby this despised race ingratiated itself into the favour of the very Church which had formerly treated them with such extreme severity. At first, viz., in the former half of the twelfth century, the sacred plays, known in Germany as the Easter and Passion plays and in France as

the Mysteries, were performed solely by the clergy, as the text of all plays was then in the Latin tongue. But in the latter half of the twelfth century, and more specially in the thirteenth, when the native vernacular forced itself into the Passion plays, both mountebanks and minstrels were to be found taking part in the performances, infusing a vein of humour into their parts highly agreeable to the people.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries mountebanks and strolling minstrels were engaged in the service of Troubadours and Minnesingers, a circumstance that contributed greatly to the development of secular mediæval music. At first their office was only that of instrumental accompanists to the poetising nobles and knights, as the latter were either incapable of accompanying themselves, or considered such performances unbecoming their exalted station. Later on they were intrusted with the task of disseminating a knowledge of the songs and canzonets of their lordly masters; and so great was their success that the courtly Troubadours, stimulated by the skill with which the strollers manipulated the Rota and the Rebeck, and their dexterous performance on the lute and fife, strove anxiously to acquire so effective an accomplishment, and from this time they numbered in their ranks many excellent instrumentalists. Moreover, the strolling minstrels, who after all were the only true representatives of folk-music, infused into the canzonets of their noble masters an ever-refreshing and invigorating element which, besides preserving them from a one-sided development, saved them from an early death.

The honour of having been the pioneers of courtly poetry and song belongs to the nobles of South-eastern France. It was there, in that corner of the French kingdom bounded by the Rhone, the Alps, and the Mediterranean, under the deep blue sky of Provence, that the romantic element, after the fall of Rome, had remained comparatively pure, without mingling with that which was foreign in the same degree as did the romanticism of more Northern France. The homely poetry and song of a contented people, gifted with the love of adventure and possessed of a cheerful, sensuous conception of the world, so excited the admiration and enthusiasm of the nobles, that they created for themselves a song akin to that of the peasant, giving to it, however, the stamp of their own individuality. The result was that their song was distinguished by a

more compact form, more refined versification, nobler language, and a somewhat improved melody; and, altogether, was superior to the Provençal lay, exercising a refining influence on the mind and morals of Christian mediæval chivalry. The Troubadours did not disdain to accept gifts from those princes and noble ladies who formed the laudatory burden of their lays. Their poetising and song did not, however, descend, as with



Fig. 143.—The Minstrel "Adenès li Rois" before Mary, Queen of France.

(From a MS. of the Thirteenth Century, in the Arsenal Library at Paris.)

the Jongleurs, to a mercenary profession, but, practised and loved solely for itself, it rose to a self-dependent art.

Prominent amongst the Troubadours of this time stands the name of Count Wilhelm of Poitiers (1087—1127 A.D.). The *Love-songs* which were composed by him and his followers, and addressed to courtly dames, were termed *Canzonets*, corresponding to the French *chanson*. To these belong the *Serenade*, i.e., the Evening song, and another known as the Day song, or *Aubade*, the versification of the former not unfrequently reminding one of Romeo's reply to Juliet when she earnestly entreats him to begone now that "jocund day stands misty on the mountain tops."

In complete contrast to these were the *Servantes*, written to extol the goodness of princes, or else indifferently praising or condemning some public event. There were also the *Tenzone*, quarrelsome or contentious songs; *Roundelays*, that terminated ever with the same refrain; and finally *Dance* songs, among which the round-dance, accompanied by song and ballad, was the most favoured.

Although, as regards melodic beauty and expressive rhythmical form, the Provençal songs were, as a rule, inferior to the best German songs of the Minnesingers, yet they contained in themselves sufficient tonal merit to prove the existence of an inborn musical gift. The oldest of these melodies are attributed to the pen of Châtelain de Coucy (1180 A.D.), so greatly extolled by tradition; the *Servantes* to Bertrand de Born, the burden of whose laudatory songs was the beauty of Helen, the sister of Richard Cœur de Lion (1189—1199 A.D.).

Another class of song, descriptive of Arcadian love in idyllic nature, was the *Pastourelle*, although the sentiment expressed savoured more of knights and courtly dames, under the guise of shepherds, than of the veritable herdsman himself.*

The poetry and song of the Provençals was gradually disseminated throughout France, and towards the latter end of the twelfth century we find the Troubadours flourishing in the North under the name of *Chansonniers*, amongst whom the name of Count Thibaut of Champagne (1201—1253 A.D.), King of Navarre, is the most celebrated. His songs bear as much reference to religious as to secular subjects. Among the former are hymns addressed to the Holy Virgin, and, among the latter, amorous songs addressed to his Queen Blanca. Lays partaking of the character of the Pastourelle have been preserved, the following number, beginning "L'autrier par la matinée," which we have endeavoured to harmonise according to the spirit of its naïve and characteristic expression, being one of the prettiest.

* It appears to us necessary to point out that the close relation supposed to have existed between the *Cours d'Amour* and the Troubadours is, according to the judgment of many, entirely fictitious. Well-qualified judges have asserted that the *Cours d'Amour* were not "tournaments of song," presided over by noble dames, but courts held in honour of the god Amor, the king of love, a Court and Parliament being appointed to decide on all matters affecting the tender passion, and that these dramatic musical representations were performed publicly in various French cities, more especially towards the end of the Middle Ages.

No. 144.

A SONG OF KING THIBAUT OF NAVARRE (1201—1253 A.D.).

Light and rather lively.

L'au-trier par la ma-ti-né-e entr'un bcs et un ver-gier

une pas-to-re ai tro-vé-e chan-tant pour son en-voi-sier

et di-sait un son pre-mier chi mi tient li mais d'a-mour.

Tan-tost cel-le par en-tor ka je loi de frai-nier

si li dis sans de-lai-er: Bel-le, diex vous doint bon jour.

Besides the charm of the ditty itself, this specimen possesses most interesting matter for reflection. First, we notice that not only the songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères, but also many of the songs of the German Minnesingers move no longer according to the old Church modes, but are written in our own modern major and minor key; *e.g.*, the above melody moves entirely in the key of G major. Another song of the same period, viz., the “Lament on the Death of Richard the King,” is written in D minor and its relative, F major. It becomes clear, on a study of these songs, that the people, whether high or low, composed their melodies unrestrained by any theoretical law, our present diatonic scale appearing to have been the basis on which they intuitively built their lays. Thus, it is self-evident that the *chansons* of the Troubadours and the songs of the Minnesingers were the precursors of the great change which took place in the middle of the seventeenth century, when art-music seceded from the hitherto-used Church modes, to adopt the system of scales and keys now in common use.

Besides the celebrated Thibaut, Adam de la Halle of Arras, in Picardy (1240—1286 A.D.), deserves mention as one of the most noted Trouvères. He was appointed “singer” to the Count of Artois, and travelled with that prince to Naples. The favoured Chansonnier of Picardy is considered to have been the first to re-model the Pastourelle into a complete musical drama, and his “Jus de Robin et Marion” has often been sportively referred to as the first comic opera of France. But he is chiefly to be remembered by reason of the efforts which he made in part-writing; and in our next chapter we shall notice a chanson written by him, and first brought to light by Fétis. Yet De la Halle was not alone in his endeavours to establish polyphony, for the Troubadours of Provence, and the Trouvères of Artois and Picardy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were not only melodists, but relatively harmonists and contrapuntists; and on this point, as also on the development of music generally during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we are indebted to Coussemaker for much valuable information.* The causes that led to such advanced musical knowledge

* In referring to this, Coussemaker observes in his “L’Art Harmonique au xii. et xiii. siècles, Paris, 1865”:—“Quant aux trouvères, on admettait généralement qu’ils étaient mélodistes, c’est-à-dire, inventeurs de mélodies, notamment de celles qui accompagnent leurs poésies; mais on ne les regardait pas comme harmonistes, c’est-à-dire, comme auteurs de compositions à plusieurs parties; cette qualité leur était même refusée. Nous établissons que les trouvères

will be discussed in the next chapter, and also the fact that amongst their European neighbours the French were the only people who had established an almost exclusively national School of Music. The notation of the French Trouvères of the thirteenth century was the square note on the four lines, a specimen of which is given below.



No. 145.—Notation of the French Trouvères.

The beautifully-coloured and ornamented initial letters with which the chansons are prefaced are characteristic of the monastic manuscripts of that age.

The rise of a Northern French School of knightly singers, founded, towards the end of the twelfth century, on that of the Provençal Troubadours, has already been noticed. Both schools endeavoured to disseminate a knowledge of their own peculiar song among the inhabitants of the neighbouring lands, and Eastern Spain and Northern Italy soon adopted Provençal poetry and song. In Spain the *Trobadores* were chiefly to be found at the courts of Arragon and Castile, their melodies forcibly reminding one of their Provençal origin. Even their notation

étaient véritablement harmonistes, et que quelques-uns n'étaient pas inférieurs dans l'art d'écrire aux déchanters et aux didacticiens de l'époque."

bears the undeniable stamp of its source, as the following example clearly shows.

The Jongleurs were also known in Spain under the name of *Joglures*; and Estevan de Terreros also speaks of *Jogluresas*—i.e., women who roamed the country with the *Joglares*, taking part in their performances as lute and mandoline players.



No. 146.—Notation of the Spanish "Trobadores."

Poetry and song were introduced into England from Northern France,* and here the knightly songsters, who, like the Troubadours, fostered the love for national poetry and secular song, were known as Ménestrels or Minstrels. In Italy the Provençal lay did not strike deep root. Although Carl of Anjou and Azzo of Este, the latter of whom was himself a distinguished

* The author is hardly correct in this statement. There is every reason, indeed, to believe that among the ancient Britons an independent and peculiar style of national melody was cultivated, and that traces of this music have survived in some of the oldest traditional melodies of Wales. Nor was music neglected by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The well-known story of the expedition of King Alfred into the heart of the Danish camp disguised as a minstrel would alone suffice to prove this point. It is, of course, indubitable that after the Norman Conquest a new and different kind of music was imported from France and Normandy; but the old Saxon gleemen still plied their trade, and bore their share in the gradual formation of a truly English school of art. In Ireland and Scotland also there were traditional melodies, the origin of which is lost in antiquity. Nor are indications wanting of the existence of a rude kind of harmony in these countries, and possibly in England and Wales also, long before Norman influence was brought to bear on native art.—F. A. G. O.

“Trovatore,” appear to have been friendly to the introduction of the foreign melodies, they were destined to exist but for a short time, and then to fade entirely away. It is difficult to account for the non-success of the Provençal song among the Northern Italians, unless, indeed, the powerful and original genius of Dante may have absorbed all the poetical interest of his nation, and thus have greatly contributed to its extinction.

The movement of the Crusades, which convulsed the whole of the chivalric knighthood of Europe, naturally drew Germany into the vortex of its religious enthusiasm. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, we doubtless owe to it some of the noblest fruits of progressive civilisation: such as refinement of manner, an improved social morality, and, not least as regards art, the growth of that class of melodies specially belonging to the nobles, and also the first independent development of secular song. It was, however, but a part of Germany only that was at all influenced by this movement, for if we examine the lays of the Minnesingers of Southern Germany—Suabia, Bavaria, Tyrol, and Upper Austria—we shall find that in the majority of cases they are of an entirely different character to those of the Troubadours. Indeed, we may say that they were almost entirely independent of the Provençal influence, although the Northern German provinces, *i.e.*, Suabia, Bavaria, &c., naturally felt, though in a very slight degree, the effects of the mental thrill which then electrified the whole of European chivalry. The case was different, however, with the Minnesingers of Lower and Central Germany. They, evidently, were first acted upon by the song of the Trouvères of Northern France, and more especially by that of the second-rate nobles, which was probably introduced into Germany by way of Burgundy, Flanders, and the Lower Rhine. The Lower German School, therefore, before it came into contact with, or was influenced by, that of Upper Germany, betrayed all the characteristics of its courtly origin, whilst throughout all ages the songs of Upper Germany preserved the stamp of their popular source, as true folk-music.

The differences between the two schools were, however, not so great that, at the time when middle-high German became the general language of court poetry, and the melodies of the Upper German School, so closely connected with the construction of the strophe, became the common property of the Minnesingers, they would admit of no recon-

ciliation. And accordingly in the thirteenth century we find everywhere the same poetical form, as well as a corresponding musical construction.

We may date the commencement of the German Minnesong from the time of Frederick the Red (1152—1190 A.D.), and among the prominent names stands that of Heinrich of Beldeke (1184—1188), a poet who is known to have insisted on correct versification and purity of song. He cannot, however, be termed a Minnesinger in the proper sense of the word, since his poetry was chiefly of an epic character, as in his “Aeneïde.” Yet we must always regard him as one of the institutors of courtly poetry, for although his great poem treats of a classical subject, yet there breathes through it the very same spirit that is so characteristic of the Minnesongs of mediæval chivalry. Kürenburger, of the middle of the twelfth century, and his contemporary Dietmar von Aist, and Spervogel (1150—1175 A.D.), should all be mentioned as in every respect true representatives of the Minnesingers. The latter is represented in a Parisian manuscript in the Manesse collection with a spear (sper) in one hand, on which a number of birds (vogel) are transfixed. From the instructive character of the Proverbs and Sacred Songs written by Spervogel, we must class him with the courtly singers of the twelfth century. In the following beautiful Proverb, praising modest womanhood, he shows in how refined and tender a manner he can express himself both in tone and verse :—*

FRAUENSCHÖNE. SPRUCH VON SPERVOGEL.

THE LOVELINESS OF WOMAN. A Proverb. By SPERVOGEL.

No. 147.

(The middle of the Twelfth Century.)

*Rather lively and lightly,**rit.*

Tritt ein rei-nes Weib da - her im schlich-ten Kleid, so klei-det doch so

* The modern German rendering of the exquisitely touching poem, No. 147, is by R. Von Liliencron; the harmony by W. Stade. (Published by C. F. Kahnt, Leipzig.)

lieb-lich sie die Sitt-sam-keit, dasz ihr an Glanz die Blu-me weicht, dasz
 sie der gold-nen Son-ne gleicht, die an dem frü-hen Mai-en-tag hin -
 - strah-let auf die Lan-de, kein Aug' er-freut das fal-sche Weib im
 stol-zen Prunk-ge - wan - de.

Reference has been made to the fact that the formation of the melodies of the Minnesongs is dependent on the metre and poetical construction of the strophe. In order to gain, therefore, a clear understanding of the Minnesong, it will be necessary to glance at the structure of those in common use at that period. Of these, three principal kinds present themselves to our notice, viz., the Song (*Lied*), Lay (*Leich*), and Proverb (*Spruch*). According to the character of the Lay, its melody was constructed either out of the

well-known Church sequences, or of selections from the oldest dance tunes. If the latter were the case, the Lay was then composed of differently-constructed strophes, each of them naturally with a different melody. As a rule, the Lay was composed of more than one strophe, whilst the Song very rarely exceeded that number. The Proverb was composed of one entire strophe; should the poet, however, subsequently write other strophes, they could be all sung to the same tune. This is the one important musical difference between the Proverb and the Song, for every Song, notwithstanding a similarity in metrical structure, required in each case a special melody.

With few exceptions, the strophe of the Song was divided into three parts. The first and second sections were of the same metre, and were called *Stollen*, the third part being built on an entirely different measure. The Song consisted of several of such strophes, and therefore one melody sufficed for them all; whilst the Lay, composed of dissimilar metrical strophes, could not be set to one and the same melody, but required a series of entirely different musical phrases.

It must be here remarked that the term *tone*, or *tone of a song*, so frequently employed by the Minnesingers, did not in any way whatever indicate the use of special melodies or keys—an error which one might easily have committed when we remember that the old Church keys were commonly referred to in the singular as “tone.” The *tone of a song*, in the sense that it was employed by the Minnesingers, was synonymous with the word *metre*, and referred solely to the metrical structure of the strophe. The musical part of the song was called the *melody*. Subsequently the tone (metre) and the melody were brought into closer union with the *word*. Sometimes, however, the *word* was united to the melody only as embodying both (tone) metre and tune.



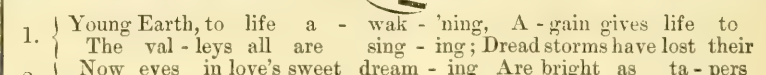
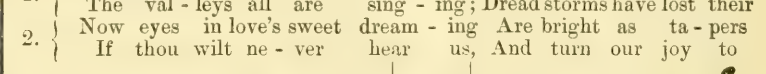
The Minnesong (Lied) consisted of one strophe, which was divided into three sections, the first two of which were called the *Aufgesang*, or *Stollen*. The third section, being of a different metrical construction, required an entirely new melody. If the metre of the end of the third section was similar to the beginning of the first section, then the melody was made to lead back to the opening motivo. We append two Minnesongs, very cleverly harmonised by Wilhelm Stade, which will clearly enable the reader to follow the construction of the Lied.*

* Taken from a collection of songs by Liliencron and Stade.


TO FRAU MINNE (A LOVE SONG), BY PRINCE WITZLAV.


No. 148.

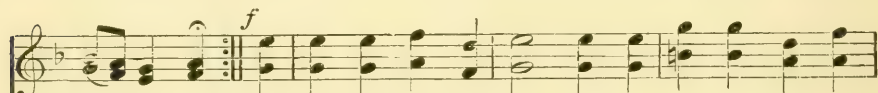
Lively.


SOPRANO. 
 ALTO. 
 TENOR. 
 BASS. 


1. } Young Earth, to life a - wak - 'ning, A - gain gives life to
 The val - leys all are sing - ing; Dread storms have lost their
 2. } Now eyes in love's sweet dream - ing Are bright as ta - pers
 If thou wilt ne - ver hear us, And turn our joy to



 flow - 'rets; A - round us sweet - est o - dours Load with scent the
 ter - ror; Birds ju - bi - lant as - cend - ing, Sing on high their
 gleam - ing; With love all hearts are brim - ming— God - dess, grant to
 sor - row, Will a - ny give thee wor - ship? God - dess proud, be -




 tran-*qu*il air.
 songs of joy. 3. } Drear win - ter's cold has van - ished, The young May - days are
 us a share. } Let love's sweet joy re - ward him, Who true to thy fond
 - ware! be - ware!




 with us, Bright in their beau - ty smil - ing: Go, stern win - ter,
 bid - ding, Glad - ly thy chains doth car - ry. Maid, of all maids



rit.



hide thee Be - fore the sun's bright ra - - - diance.
fair - est, To thee I vow al - le - - - giance.

BROKEN FAITH.

Poetry by Heinrich von Morungen. Melody by Prince Witzlar.

No. 149.

With deep feeling.


SOPRANO. *p* *f*

ALTO.

1. Fool - ish spi - rit, wilt thou ne - ver wea - ry Of
2. Faith - ful e - ver, my heart's true e - mo - tion, Yet
3. Long for faith - ful love I've sought and wait - ed, But

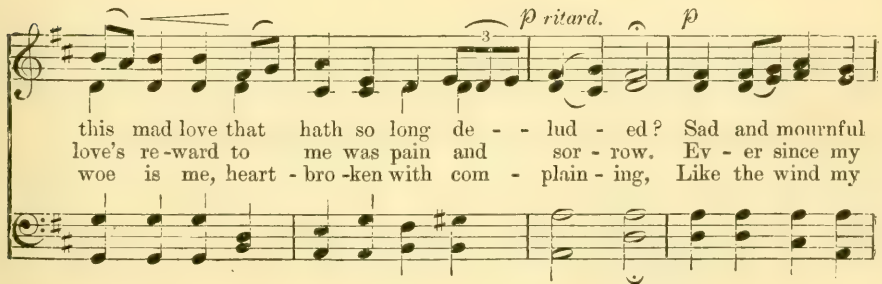
TENOR.

BASS.



p ritard. *p*

this mad love that hath so long de - - lud - ed? Sad and mournful
love's re - ward to me was pain and sor - row. Ev - er since my
woe is me, heart - bro - ken with com - plain - ing, Like the wind my

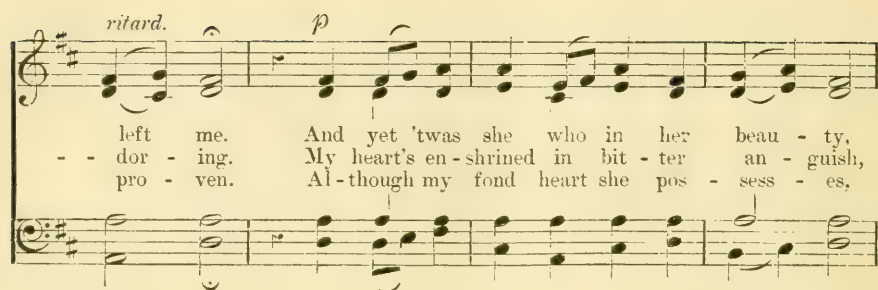


f

I must part for e - ver, Be - trayed by love all hope and faith have
child - hood have I wor - shipped Thine i - mage fair, in true love still a -
yearn - ing cry de - part - ed, And heart - less, faith - less, love to me hath



ritard. *p*



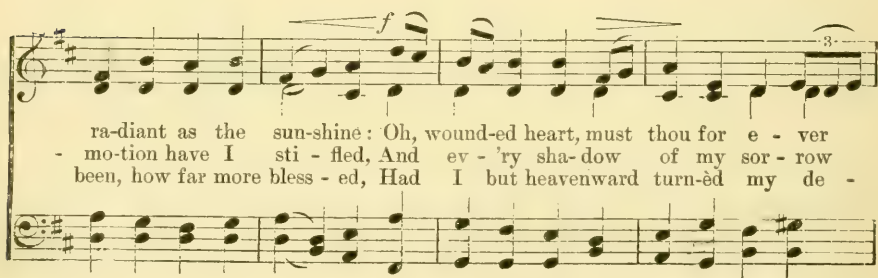
left me. And yet 'twas she who in her beau - ty,
 - - dor - ing. My heart's en - shrined in bit - ter an - guish,
 pro - ven. Al - though my fond heart she pos - sess - es,

p



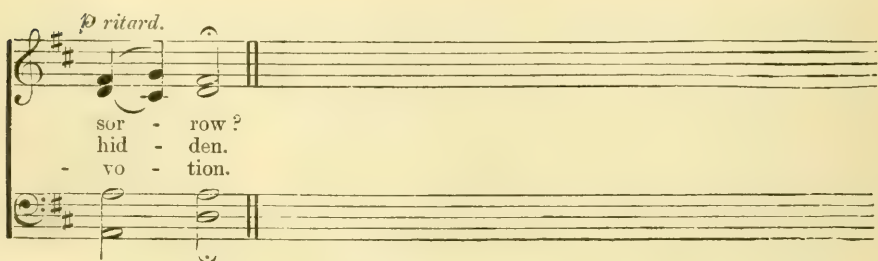
As white as li - lies, red as ro - ses, Stood be - fore me,
 Yet ne - ver cry from me has reached you: My heart's deep e -
 In vain I look for her re - spond - ing. Bless - ed had I

f



ra - dant as the sun - shine: Oh, wound - ed heart, must thou for e - ver
 - mo - tion have I sti - fled, And ev - 'ry sha - dow of my sor - row
 been, how far more bless - ed, Had I but heavenward turn - ed my de -

p ritard.



sor - row?
 hid - den.
 - vo - tion.

The sympathetic expression of the above ditties bears such a resemblance to that which our modern song-writers endeavour to produce, that notwithstanding the antiquity of Prince Witzlav's melodies, one might easily suppose them to have emanated from the pen of Schumann or Mendelssohn. The zealous and profound studies of Stade in this special branch of mediæval minstrelsy have enabled him to extract the treasure of their innermost meaning and present them to us in their modern form, without, however, altering one note of the original tunes. He has not only divided them into bars, but has harmonised them in a manner as entirely different from anything that had hitherto been attempted, as it is successful. Many essays at deciphering and arranging these melodies have been made by learned investigators, but all such attempts have proved abortive. Whilst one essayist, Kugler, asserts the impossibility of successfully resuscitating such mediæval melodies, another, Kretschmar, contemptuously designates them "barbaric" music. We have not far to seek for the reason of such condemnatory language. It is that neither of these investigators has discovered the true interpretation of the rhythmical structure of the melodies which they had undertaken to decipher. After the exhaustive explanations, however, given by Lilieneron and Stade, the possibility of an erroneous interpretation of the musical technique of mediæval song would now seem to be entirely precluded.*

The early representatives of middle-high German poetry are Spervogel, Dietmar, Kürenberg, and others; whilst those of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries, when courtly poetry and popular song were at their highest state of perfection, may be represented by Heinrich von Morungen, Reinmar Hagenau (also called Reinmar the Elder), Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von Ane, and Walther von der Vogelweide. With the opening of the thirteenth century German Minnesong may be said to have entered upon its third and last epoch, its principal exponents being Nithart von Reuenthal, Reinmar von Zweter, Ulrich von Lichenstein (died 1275 A.D.), and Konrad von Würzburg (died 1287). Although a few important works were produced

* It will be interesting to peruse the promised work of Jacobsthal on this point. In any case the musician of the present day who endeavours to harmonise the melodies of the Meistersingers can base his use of the modern instead of the Church mode on the fact that the melodies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were constructed on scales which undeniably have actually anticipated our modern system of keys.

during this period, yet the traces of the degeneration and declension of the Minnesong were unmistakable, and, indeed, by the middle of the fourteenth century it had ceased to exist.

If, as Vidal supposes, the illustration below refers to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, then it represents Reinmar, surnamed the Elder, to distinguish him from Reinmar von Zweter.

Although we have stated that the Minnesingers never slavishly



Fig. 150.—Reinmar, the Minnesinger.

(From a MS. of the Thirteenth Century, in the National Library at Paris.)

imitated the courtly poetry of the romantic South, yet this statement must not be taken too literally. Certain it is, however, that the song-forms which they adopted were so entirely changed, and indeed re-created, as to eventually become truly national forms. One important point of difference, and one which cannot too strongly be noticed, is that the Minnesingers infused into their melodies a feeling that savoured less of the courtly and more of the popular element than did the songs of the Trouvères. They also strove to free

them from the French conventional manner of expression, and in doing so elevated the poetical art to a much higher standard than it had enjoyed under the Trouvères. The sentiment of the following verses of Walther von der Vogelweide is much more elevated and serious than that of most of the songs of the Provençal Trouvères:—

“ Love is neither man nor woman,
Soul it hath not, nor yet body,
And no earthly sign or token;
Though the tongue of man hath named it,
Never mortal eye hath seen it.
Yet without it can no creature
Win Heaven’s pitying grace and favour;

Nor where love is will there linger
 Aught of fraud or baseness ever ;
 To the traitor, the false-hearted,
 Love hath come not, cometh never."

If the melody of this poem was but in keeping with its graceful simplicity (which we have in vain tried to preserve in the translation), then might we well deplore that it has not been preserved. It is with regret also that we are compelled to admit our inability to supply the original melodies to the two following naïve stanzas:—

" Underneath the linden shadows,
 On the wood's enamelled meadows,
 Where with my true love I lay,
 You may find among the heather
 How we plucked the flowers together,
 E'en as lovers do in play.
 By the woodland in the vale,
 Tra-lira-la !
 Sweetly sang the nightingale.

With foot hurrying and heart beating,
 Swift I hastened to the meeting,
 Found my lover waiting there !
 My true love was there before me,
 And he clasped me, and bent o'er me,
 Till I thrilled with joy and fear.
 Did my lover kiss, you said,
 Tra-lira-la !
 Nay, why are my lips so red ? " *

The songs of the Minnesingers did not, like the greater number of the courtly chansons of France, Spain, and Italy, treat of the tender passion only. They embraced moral, religious, and even political topics of the period. Fealty to God, to the king, and to women formed, however, the principal themes of the lays of the knightly poets. Chief among the Minnesingers must be singled out for special mention the name of Walther von der Vogelweide. As a rule the Minnesingers were not attended by bards like the Jongleurs or the Troubadours, but sang their own lays, often improvising words and music together. Those who were able to accomplish

* That the latter part of the Minnesingers' period was not wanting in *melodies* of an equally spontaneous character may be seen from the two songs which we have given, written by Prince Witzlav, besides another entitled "Wood and Meadow," the manuscript of which is in the museum at Jena.

this were subsequently designated "Mastersingers." He who was found to have plagiarised either words or melody was dubbed a "tone-thief." *

The name of Heinrich von Meissen has attached to it a special significance in connection with the history of music. The last of the Minne-singers, he was born in 1260 A.D. at Meissen, and died in 1318 A.D. at Mayence. So constant and successful were his praises of woman that by common acclamation he was named "Frauenlob," *i.e.*, woman's praise. He was fond of using the word "Frau" (woman) instead of the older word "Weib" (our "wife") employed by Schmit Regenbogen and Walther von der Vogelweide. In an old chronicle of the period we read how the women of Mayence, when their favoured minstrel died, bore him to his tomb, which they moistened with their tears and bedewed with the costliest wines of the Rhineland.

In the Manesse collection of manuscripts at Paris there is an illustration (a copy of which is given below) depicting Frauenlob conducting a band of musicians, from which we may infer that Heinrich von Meissen was not only a singer, but also a musician in a more comprehensive sense. Although, from the attitude of some of the figures, we might take them as intended to represent singers, yet, from the fact that the greater number are depicted with either wood or string instruments in their hands, we can see that the drawing is evidently intended to represent an instrumental orchestra. All the performers appear to have ceased playing, in order to listen to the violinist in the centre of the picture, and it may be observed that not only is Frauenlob conducting from his elevated platform with bâton and

* It may be here remarked that there exists no evidence whatever to prove that the contest at the castle of the Wartburg, always spoken of as the "singer-contest," was, in fact, a musical contest at all. Indeed, all German historians are agreed that unless the whole story is a myth, any such gathering must have been for poetical contention only. Tradition affirms that Hermann of Thuringia caused a tournament of song to be held in the year 1207 A.D. The chief object of the contest is said to have been to laud the virtues of princes, each singer sounding the praises of a prince other than his own; *e.g.*, Ofterdingen is said to have praised Leopold of Austria; Wolfram, the Landgrave of Thuringia; Walther, the King of France. The Manesse manuscripts, which are supposed to illustrate these contests very fully, curiously enough neither show the contending singers with any musical instruments in their hands, nor represent them as singing. They are depicted more in the attitude of reflection, or as scanning verses. Nowhere are we able to discover any authority which will support the theory that the contest at Wartburg was a musical one. Lately, however, the erroneous belief that such a contest was musical has gained ground through Wagner's opera of *Tannhäuser*, in which the tournament of song at the Wartburg is introduced.

finger, but also that two of the figures at the side of the solo-player seem to be beating time. The representations of the stringed instrument should be noted. Bearing in mind the time at which Rüdiger von Manesse wrote his famous manuscripts, viz., the fourteenth century, and from the general appearance of these instruments, we place them in the same category as the German *Rotte* and the Northern *Crout* or *Crwth*, rather than class them with the *Rebec*, the *Gigue*, and the *Vielle* of the romantic South. Each of the former group, although starting from very crude forms, even as early as the

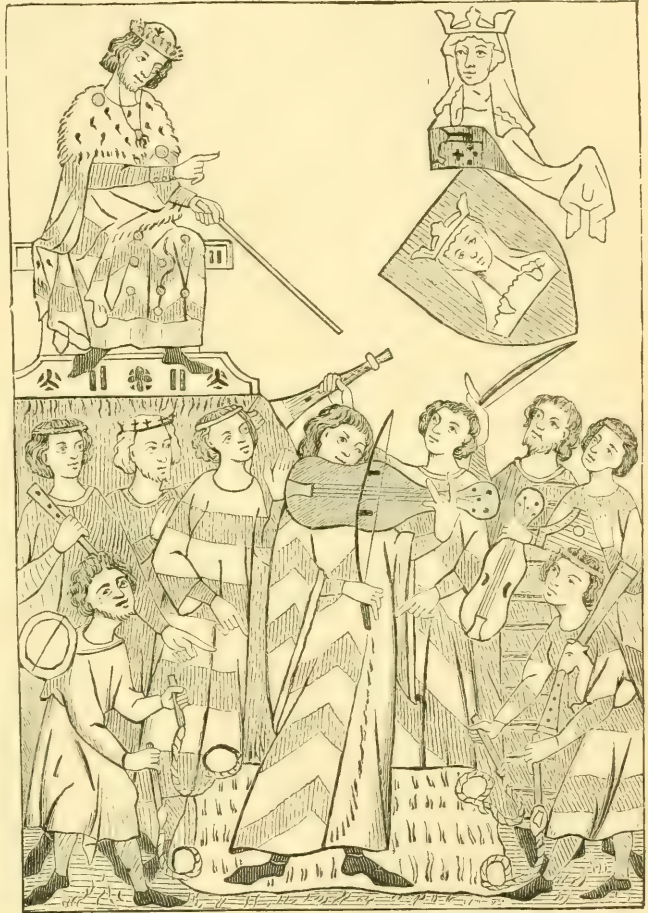


Fig 151.—Master Heinrich Frauenlob.

(From a Parisian [Manesse] MS.)

twelfth century, show a remarkable similarity to our modern violin. In the course of the development of these various instruments, both names and shapes were so often changed as to lead to great confusion. Thus in the fourteenth century the Germans adopted the French names of *Vielle* and *Gigue* for instruments almost identical in construction, modifying

them, however, into Fiddle and Geige (violin). Of the remaining instruments in Fig. 151, there is one to the right of the spectator of the nature of something between a dwarfed harp and a psaltery. There are also four wind instruments, in three of which the ventages are clearly discernible. Two figures to the right of the soloist, represented without instruments, appear to be beating time, and we may therefore conclude that these are singers. Lastly, the figure to the left of the solo-player, represented with a wind instrument raised in the air, would appear to be a woman. That a female may have been among the performers is very probable, as it is an ascertained fact that women were instructed in the art of playing the Vielle and other instruments in the time of the Troubadours and Minnesingers.

The name of Frauenlob stands out prominently in the history of the general development of art, not only as the last of the Minnesingers, but also as the connecting link between the dying courtly minstrelsy and the germinating civic Meistersong. Hitherto we have confined ourselves to the history of minstrelsy up to the fourteenth century. We now propose, however, to treat of the Meistersingers (Mastersingers), notwithstanding that such a consideration will carry us as far as the sixteenth century, as it will be found more convenient to deal with them here than in chronological sequence.

The German Meistersong seems to have originated at Mayence, from whence it became disseminated throughout the German lands. This city of the Rhine retained its supremacy in the Meistersong during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notwithstanding that Strasburg, Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg, the city of the celebrated Meistersinger Hans Sachs (1494—1576 A.D.), all attained celebrity as centres for its propagation. The rise of the Meistersong followed immediately upon the decay of the Minnesong, the exponents of the former adopting, especially in lyric song, the forms of the latter. The *Lied*, or song, was called *Bar*, and like the song of the Minnesingers consisted of three or more *Gesätze* (strophes). Each strophe consisted of two shorter stanzas called *Stollen*, which, being of the same metre, were sung to the same tune. The first *Gesätz*, called *Aufgesang* (opening song), was followed by the *Abgesang* (after song), which had an entirely new melodic motivo. The *Abgesang* was sometimes succeeded by a third *Gesätz*, which generally, however, consisted of a single *Stollen*.

only, the melody of this usually leading back to the melody of the opening strophe.

Yet the connection between the Minnesingers and Meistersingers was more apparent than real. Indeed, it could not well have been otherwise, for since princes, nobles, and even the clergy, who were formerly the real conservators of poetry and song, degenerated into freebooters, living in a continual state of mutual feuds and disquietude, music and poetry passed from their hands into those of a people who lived in quiet and safety behind their city walls. This cannot be regarded otherwise than as an undoubted gain to both arts. Instead of music and poetry being the exclusive property of an aristocratic class, they now awakened to a new and freer existence among the city burghers. And yet a slight deterioration did manifest itself in the transfer of the sister arts from a chivalric knighthood to an opulent, self-sufficient, and prosaic civic body. Guilds were formed for the cultivation of music, the members of which were bound by laws the same as those of other corporate bodies. Hence, the tonal art now became impregnated with a good deal of the formality of the master-artificer, weakened in imagery, and tied and bound by conventionalities. The honest citizen's strict obedience to cast-iron rules in his daily avocations showed itself forcibly in his music. The pedantic observance of the external form was more to him than truthful expression. The shell was more to him than the kernel. Depth of feeling, truthfulness, and freedom of expression were regarded as of secondary importance only. All this will be made clear to us on a study of the rules by which the contests of the Meistersingers were governed. These contests generally took place in churches,* the people being invited to them by placards posted on the walls of the city. At these trials, where sacred song predominated, there were usually four judges, called Markers, who sat at a table near the altar, screened from the public gaze by a curtain. The duty of the Markers consisted, first, in noting that the text of the singers did not depart from Holy Writ; secondly, that the rhyme and rhythm were perfect, every syllable being counted; and thirdly, that the melodies of the aspirants were original and written strictly according to the precepts of the Meistersinger law (*tabulatur*). The candidate had carefully to guard himself against the use of any of the prohibited *transitions* and

* At Nuremberg, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these contests were held in the church of St. Katherine.

ornaments. Should he fail in any one of the rules, the Markers declared him "versungen und verthau," i.e., unsuccessful.* The contending singers consisted of apprentices and masters, the title of *Meistersinger* (master-

singer) being awarded to him only who invented both melody and verse. Those who were possessed of a good voice and suitable delivery were termed *Singers*.

The melodies invented by the Meistersingers may well be compared to their psalmodic recitations — dry and monotonous, notwithstanding that permission was sometimes granted allowing the introduction of *fioritura*. It is strange to note the poetical names that were

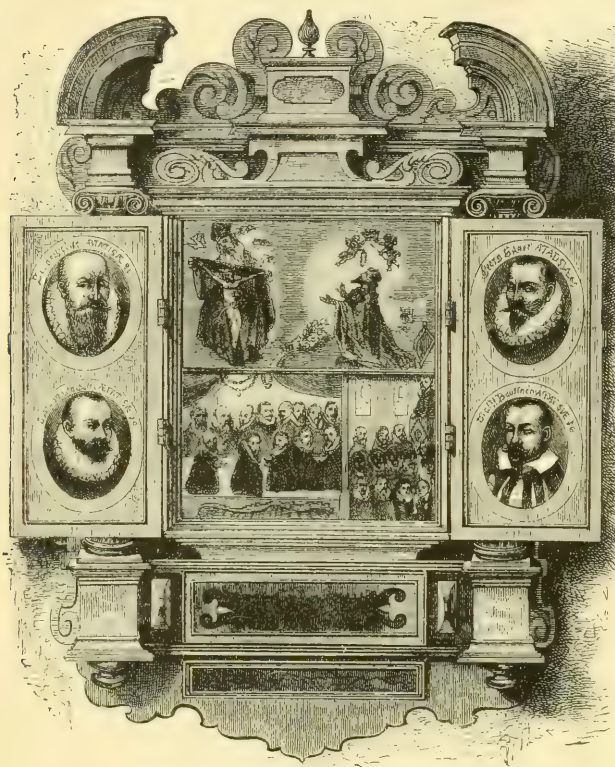


Fig. 152.—Cabinet of the Meistersingers.
(From the Original in St. Katherine's Church at Nuremberg.)

given to melodies so hedged-in by trades-union rules; e.g., "Maidenly Grace," "The Nightingale," "The Blue Corn-flower," "The Wall-flower," "A Melody of Roses," besides some peculiarly odd ones, as "The Glutton," "A Monkey Tune," "The Pointed Arrow," "A Weaver's Song."

The Meistersong flourished for a period of nearly four centuries, and

* Richard Wagner, in his opera *The Meistersingers of Nuremberg*, has re-awakened the general interest in the history of the Meistersingers.

may be roughly said to be represented by the celebrated Hans Sachs, Muskablüt, Behaim, Folz, Rosenplüt, Puschmann, and Hadlaub. In the sixteenth century, schools for its propagation are known to have existed as far north as the Baltic Sea. Besides the celebrated school at Nuremberg, others were founded at Frankfort, Ulm, Ratisbon, Heilbronn, Görlitz, Breslau, Danzig, and many smaller cities. In Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Saxony, however, the attempt to disseminate

the Meistersong met with little or no success. In the seventeenth century the Meistersong, practised according to strict guild law, began to decay; one school, however, survived at Ulm as late as 1839 A.D.*

We will now turn to a survey of the musical instruments in use from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Some have already received a passing glance, but there are others—very important ones too—of which no mention has yet been made.

The first and most important of the stringed instruments on which the Trouvères, Minne and Meister singers used to accompany themselves are our old Eastern friends the lute and harp.



Fig. 153.—A Ménéstrel Harp of the Fifteenth Century.
(From an Old MS.)



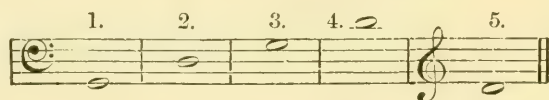
Fig. 154.—A Five-stringed Lute of the Thirteenth Century.
(From a MS. in the National Library at Paris.)

Both, as may be expected, had undergone considerable changes during the long lapse of years between the decay of ancient pagan art and the regeneration of artistic culture in Western Christendom. Neither must we forget the immense tract of country, with its various peoples, over which these instruments had to pass before they finally came into the hands of the Western European nations. Their general outline, build, and mechanism were almost entirely changed. This will be at once evident to the reader if he will compare illustrations of ancient Oriental harps and lutes with the two subjoined. One is a portable

* We have purposely omitted all reference to the ephemeral schools of East and West Friesland. The well-known mediæval adage, *Frisia non Cantat* (Frieslanders do not sing), would seem to imply a good deal of indifference to the vocal art in those provinces.

harp of the Ménestrels of the fifteenth century, and the other a lute of the Trouvères of the thirteenth century. The practice of the harp was cultivated by Norman, Scottish, and Irish nobles, and also by the courtly singers of the north of France. The Trovatores of Italy and Trobadors of Spain favoured the guitar, an instrument which very soon attained its present development in both those countries. From the fourteenth century to the present day, no modification of the lute and guitar has been made of any importance. Even the Mandoline and Theorboe are but offshoots of the lute, and gained but a transient and local popularity.* The story of King Alfred's harp-playing in the tents of his Danish enemy will at once present itself to every student's mind, as illustrative of the love of the Saxons for the harp long anterior to the era of English minstrelsy.

We have before stated that the favourite instrument of the Trouvères was the *Vielle*, and it is to the consideration of the mechanism and manner of playing that instrument that we now turn. The range of the Vielle was somewhat analogous to that of the modern viola, though extending from a lower bass to a lesser altitude. It possessed five strings, which were tuned as follows:—



The two lowest, and sometimes the third and fourth strings, were made to vibrate so as to produce a kind of pedal-bass, the melody being played either upon the third, fourth, and fifth strings, or upon the fifth string alone, as the case might be.

Such a sustained pedal-bass, reminding one of the incessantly sounding fifth of the bagpipes, was called in France *Bourdon*. It will be observed that the D is repeated no less than three times on an instrument possessing only five strings. This fact cannot be too strongly noted, for this repetition of the tonic and fifth leads me strongly to conclude that at that time there was an incipient yearning after harmony, which appeared to spread over Central Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.†

* The mandoline may as well be regarded as an outgrowth of the lute as of the guitar, whereas its sharp and piercing tones distinguish it again from both those instruments.

† We have already pointed out that some barbaric nations, *e.g.*, the Nubians, possessed

We have before referred to the bewildering confusion that existed during the Middle Ages concerning the names and structure of the various string instruments then in use. Two illustrations are subjoined, which, although representing the same instrument, show a wide dissimilarity in construction and general appearance. A careful research of the works of German and



Fig. 155.—A Female Playing on the Vielle. Thirteenth Century.
(From an Enamelled Dish at Soissons.)

French savants, treating of the history of music, has exhibited the Vielle to us under forms the most dissimilar. That represented in Fig. 155 bears a close resemblance to two that are depicted on a monumental tombstone at Schwerin, one of which is played by an angel and the other by a crowned old man. The oval-shaped Vielle in the



Fig. 156.—Satan Playing upon an Oval Three-stringed Vielle. Thirteenth Century.

(Copied from a piece of Sculpture in the Cathedral at Amiens.)

hands of the female (Fig. 155) is, in our opinion, on account of its shape and short neck, the oldest of its class. That in Fig. 156 is of a later date, the neck showing signs of development. Both these instruments, we take it,

instruments which contained certain notes that were always used for basses, and which droned the whole of the time the melody was being played. This bass note also existed on most primitive lyres. It is even now to be found in the Oriental bagpipes and hurdy-gurdies. But, in our opinion, this bass note cannot be regarded as showing a leaning on the part of the Orientals to polyphony, but as an introduction solely to please the ear. The continuous sounding, however, of the perfect fifth on so comparatively a highly-developed instrument as the Vielle, and the simultaneous growth of the Mensural song, would seem to conclusively prove a striving after polyphonic effect throughout the Middle Ages. If we can imagine several performers on the Vielle meeting together, some taking the lowest of the three strings as a pedal bass, and others the remaining strings on which to play the melody, we might well take it that, in the primitive contrapuntal fashion of the time, a kind of three-part harmony was attempted.

are closely related to the German *Rotte* and the Italian *Rota*, and it would have been more correct to have designated them such, rather than Vielles or Fiddles, the precursors of which were the Rebab and Rebec. We are disposed to agree with Lacroix that the instrument which Fig. 157 is intended to illustrate belongs to the Gigue class. From its structure it is nearly related to the Oriental Rebec. Although the four-stringed instrument played by the Jongleur (Fig. 158) is, by the Parisian manuscript, designated a Vielle, we should be more inclined to place it in that category of instruments which grew out of the fusion of the *Rotte* and the *Rebec*, and which were the immediate precursors of the modern violin.*

* We are greatly strengthened in this opinion by a study of many hundreds of drawings, manuscripts, and actual instruments which we have seen in various Continental museums. It may be of interest to note in chronological order the precursors of this, the most important of all stringed instruments, giving the various names by which it has been known in the three most musical countries of the earth, viz., France, Germany, and Italy. As this is the first attempt that has ever been made, as far as we are aware, at giving the pedigree of the queen of musical instruments, we do not assert that it is altogether incapable of improvement:—

| <i>France.</i> | <i>Germany.</i> | <i>Italy.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Crout. | Kruth. | Ribeca. |
| Rote. | Rotte. | Ribeba. |
| Vielle. | Viedel. | Viola. |
| Gigue. | Geige. | Guigna. |
| Violon. | Violine. | Violino. |

In Germany the word Viedel was not unfrequently written with an F, thus:—Fiedel or Fiddel. Gottfried of Strasburg writes it Videl. In Italy, Guigna was often written Giga, and Ribecchino appears to have grown out of Ribeca. The countless changes in the structure of the violin and its family we reserve for future consideration.

From the above table it will be seen that the development of the violin in France and Germany was somewhat coincident. But in Italy, and more particularly in the early days of the growth of the violin, it had an entirely independent development, following the form and structure of the Rebec, the descendant of the old Arabian Rebab. In France and Germany the earliest violins were most closely related to the Crwth or Cruth, a stringed instrument, the origin of which is not clearly known, although it is an ascertained fact that it was used among the people of Ireland and Wales. The French and Germans were not long before they imitated the Italian Ribeba, the outcome of which was the Rubebe and Rebec. The Italians also, in their turn, copied the Northern Crotta and Rota. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, instruments which formerly had been easy of distinction, both by structure and name, now began to assume similarity of form, and, retaining their original names, caused the most mystifying confusion. Instruments externally the same had entirely different names, whilst those of a very dissimilar build had the same names. This age of confused terminology, however, should be especially remembered as that during which the *Rotte* and *Rebec* were fused. It is greatly to be regretted that no definite name was given to the outgrowth of such an amalgamation, as the many appellations by which it was called led to endless confusion, presenting to the investigator the most perplexing difficulties. Sometimes it was

Our illustrations, which are taken from old manuscripts and chronicles, from monuments in stone and metal, have an interest for us beyond that of merely illustrating the instruments to which they refer. They are of importance in that they speak to us of the general interest that was taken in the progress of music during the Middle Ages, and of a strong mental



Fig. 157.—An Angel Playing upon a Three-stringed Gigue. Thirteenth Century. (From a piece of Sculpture in the Cathedral at Amiens.)

bent which cannot be regarded other than as a musical one. The popular humour of the period even found vent musically, and that in a curiously characteristic manner. We would but refer to the naïvely comic drawing of a monument (Fig. 156), which, oddly enough, is enthroned on the dome of a Christian cathedral. The picture of the Jongleur (Fig. 158) clearly establishes the fact that the accompaniment to the chansons of the Trouvères was played on a stringed instrument. The two illustrations, Figs. 155 and 157, depicting a maiden and an angel performing on stringed



Fig. 158.—Jongleur Playing a Vielle. Fifteenth Century. (From a MS. in the Arsenal Library at Paris.)

instruments, and also Figs. 159 and 160, remind us of the Troubadour days, when women assisted at the instrumental performances.

The daughters of Provençal and the French nobles beyond the Vosges mountains were instructed in the art of playing musical instruments, both those that were struck with the plectrum and those that were pulled with the

called, subject to slight variations, after the *Rotte*, and sometimes after the other of its precursors. Entirely new names were also given to it by the Germans, and, indeed, every country adopted their own nomenclature, adding more and more to the general confusion which already existed. Even now it is an open question what instrument really was the forerunner of the *Geige*. The modern French historians, Vidal and Lacroix, are of opinion that the *Gigue* is of German origin. Lacroix says, “*L’Allemagne créa la Gigue.*” On the other hand, Ambros, Dommer, and the writer of the article on the “*Geige*” in *Mendel’s Lexicon*, are of opinion that it originated among the Romans. These three investigators presume that the word *Geige* is derived from *Gigot*, *Gigue*, or *Guigna*, the French and Italian words for leg of mutton. Wigand, however, supposes it to be derived from either the old Northern *Geiga*, i.e., trembling, or from *Gigel*, to quiver.

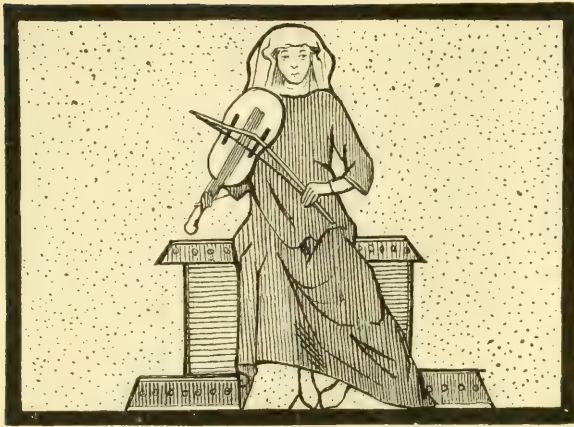


Fig. 159.—A Vielle.

(From a Latin Psalter of the end of the Thirteenth or the beginning of the Fourteenth Century, in the National Library at Paris.)

fingers, such as the Organistrum, Chifonie, Salteire (psaltery), and the Sambut (Sambuque), a stringed instrument somewhat like the zither. They also learned such as required the use of a bow—*e.g.*, the Vielle, Gigue, and Rote. From well-established facts such as these we might with safety

infer that the cluster of angels playing stringed instruments, which are always seen surrounding the Madonna in the pictures of Italian painters of the Middle Ages, were not merely the ideal creations of the artists, but actual delineations of maidens of noble families of the period.

Among the stringed instruments of the Trouvères there is one that deserves special mention, *viz.*, the *Rubebe*. It had a long narrow body which is strangely contrasted with the large oval-shaped Vielle. It is, as its name would seem to indicate, a descendant of the *Rebab*. It was known to the Italians, before its adoption by the Trouvères, under the names of *Ribeca* and *Rubeba*, and one of its offshoots, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, was the *Ribecchino*, the clever usage of which was well understood by Monteverde. The



Fig. 160.—A Rebek.

(From an Italian Painting of the Thirteenth Century.)

tone of the Rubebe was similar to that of the lower register of the modern viola. As it possessed but two strings, however, its range was necessarily a restricted one. Its limited extent of notes, which may be compared to the small compass of a bass singer, would seem to suggest that the Trouvères used the Rubebe solely to strengthen their melodies.

The German Minnesingers used much the same instruments in their accompaniments as their French *confrères*, but, as we know, designated them differently. Such were the Rotte, Fiedel, Geige, Harfe, Psaltery, Zither, and Sambuke, or (according to the modifications of the German language) Sambut and Sambiut. Gottfried von Strasburg says, in his grand poem of "Tristan," that "so sweetly did Tristan play on his harp that the heart of Isolde was touched." The poet further makes Tristan say that he is master of the "Lyre and Gigue, the Harp and Rotte, the Videl and the Symphoneia." * When King Marke questions Tristan in reference to the *Sambiut*, the knight replies that he loves to play on that more than on any other instrument.† The daughters and wives of the princes and nobles of Germany were all taught to play on stringed instruments; and an old chronicle speaks of the beautiful Agnes playing on the violin and singing before Wenzel II., King of Bohemia.

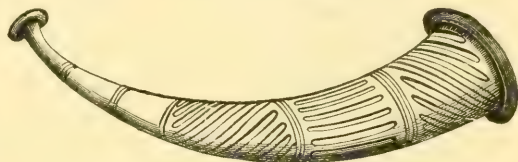


Fig. 161. — The Roland or Olifant Horn.
Fourteenth Century.

(From Willemin's "Les Monuments Français.")

Turning now to the wind instruments that were in use among the poet-knights, we find that the earliest were trumpets, drums, kettle-drums, and horns, all of which were imported into Europe by the returning Crusaders. One of the most ancient of the horn kind was the Olifant or Roland's horn.

It is stated that Roland, at the ill-fated battle of Roncesvalles, blew three mighty blasts on his horn to call Charlemagne to his help. This establishes the fact that the horn was known to the Franks in 778 A.D., and it is presumable that it was known even prior to that date, as it was,

* "Tristan," verses 3674-5 and 7568-9.

† Soon after the time of Gottfried, the Lyre, *i.e.*, not merely the peasant-lyre and Organistrum, but the Lyre and its offshoots generally, came to be regarded as unfit for a Minnesinger. It then descended into the hands of the blind, and was considered their special property.

in all probability, adopted from the infidels. Horns of various shapes, some like the Olifant, were in use throughout the Middle Ages and during the early part of the seventeenth century. In the second volume (table xxii.) of the "*Syntagma Musicum*," by M. Prætorius (1619 A.D.), there are several illustrations of drinking-horns very similar in appearance to the Olifant. These, however, are designated by Prætorius "hunting-horns." For general use the hunting-horn was made of the horn of a steer or buffalo, whilst those carried by the nobles were made of brass, richly ornamented with silver and gold. Horns of a smaller size were also worn by ladies when following the chase.*

It need scarcely be remarked that the various kinds of horns, trumpets, drums, and kettle-drums were used only as martial instruments, and never to accompany chansons. The flute and Schallmey were also but sparingly used, and even then only by the *Jongleurs*, as the *Trouvères* could not blow and sing at the same time. The favoured instruments of the *Minne* and *Meister* singers were the same (with of course certain modifications) as those used by the *Trouvères*, to which we have already devoted our attention.

We will now discuss more fully the popular instruments used by the wayfaring wandering musicians, to which we but cursorily referred in the early part of this chapter.

From time immemorial the *Sackpfeife* (bagpipe) and *Schallmey* (shepherd's pipe) seem to have been intimately associated with the wandering minstrel of Germany. The *Sackpfeife*, although modified with the course of time, under the name of *Dudey* and *Dudelsack*, is still well known to the German peasant. The *Schallmey*, the descendant of the *Calamus* (the Roman Reedpipe), is known in France as the *Chalumeau*.† In the eighth century the *Sackpfeife* and *Schallmey* were very popular with the people of Thuringia and Saxony, who, be it remembered, at that time were heathens. Gustave Freytag carries us back even to a much earlier

* The hunting-horns were called *Hufthörner* or *Hifthörner* (hip-horn), from being worn at the hip, or from *hiefe* or *hiefte*, i.e., a German hunting cry.

† The Roman *Pifferari* and Italian shepherds use to-day similar wind instruments. But the *Schallmey* is to be found in its most primitive form among the peasants of the Lower Rhine, where it is known as the *Mayflute*. It is made by youths in the spring of green reeds or of the soft bark of trees, and possesses a soft dreamy tone not unlike the *Schallmey* register of the clarinet.

date. In that volume of his celebrated historical novels, "Die Ahnen," which refers to the year 357 A.D., he speaks of a wayfaring Jongleur who "one day appeared in the village carrying his *box*, and played so well in the courtyard of the prince that all the villagers came rushing to listen to the performance."* As we are unable to supply the reader with any authentic illustration of the Sackpfeife and Schallmey of this period, we append two tables of instruments taken from the work of M. Prætorius (A.D. 1619), which illustrate either these or nearly related instruments in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These tables will enable us to form a tolerably accurate conception of what the old Sackpfeife and Schallmey might have been, as it is a well-ascertained fact that instruments made and used by the people always, or very nearly so, retain their original shape.†

Another popular instrument with the people from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries was the *Trumscheit*, called by the theorists of the romantic south the *Monochord*. It consisted of a long narrow box made out of three planks, and tapering towards the top. When standing upright it was taller than a man.

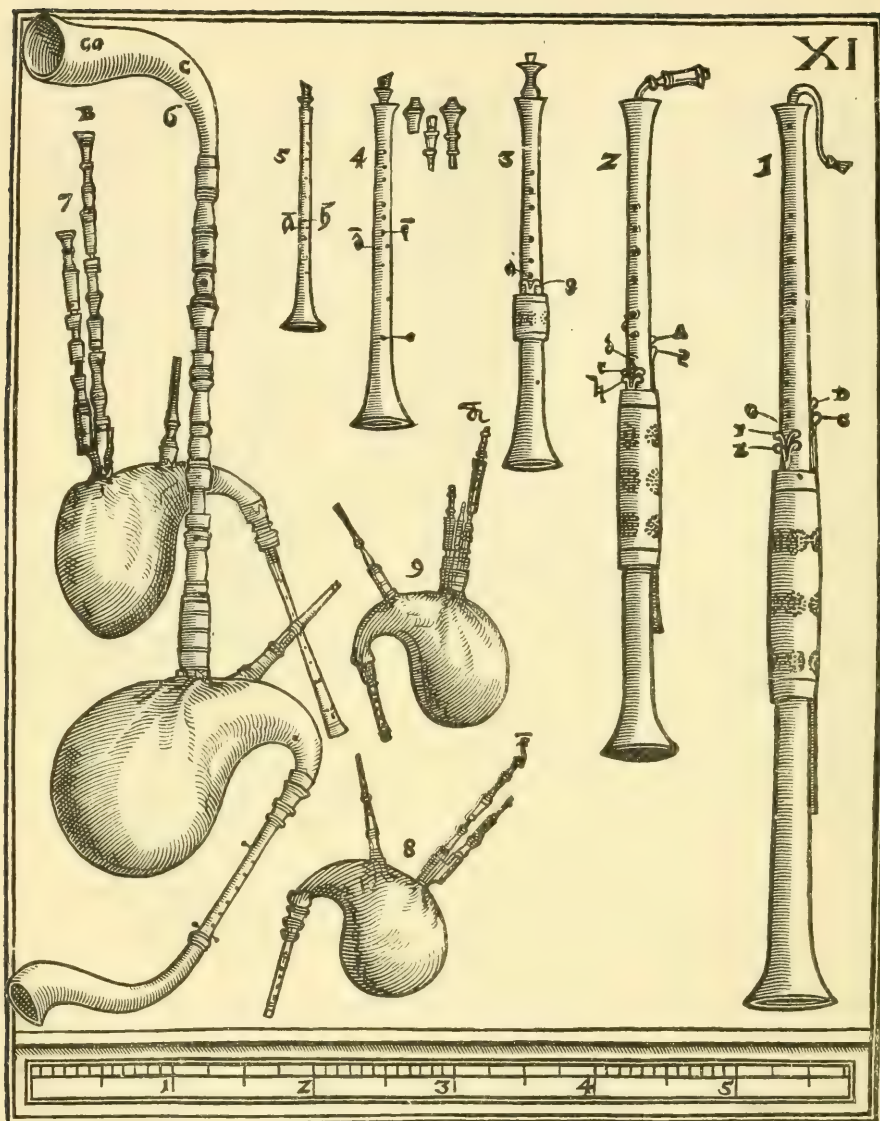
One of the planks acted as a sounding-board, one strong string of gut extending the whole length of the box. The *Monochord* was played with a well-resined bow made of horsehair. Sometimes a string, half the length of the original one, was added for the production of the octave.



Fig. 162.—A Performer on the
Trumscheit.
(From a MS. in the National Library at Paris.)

* Vide Freytag's "Ingo," p. 89.

† These tables introduce to our notice an instrument in very common use among the Germans at the end of the sixteenth century, viz., the *Pommer*, also called the *Bombart*, *Bommert*, and *Bombazet*. It was a direct descendant of the Schallmey, and the immediate precursor of the Italian *Fagotto*. The *Discant-Schallmey*, No. 4, table xi., was the predecessor of the oboe; and we may remark, in passing, that the term Schallmey, or Chalumeau, is still applied to the lower register of the clarinet. The Schallmey is, perhaps, the oldest of all instruments, and therefore the parent of all the reed instruments of our modern orchestra.

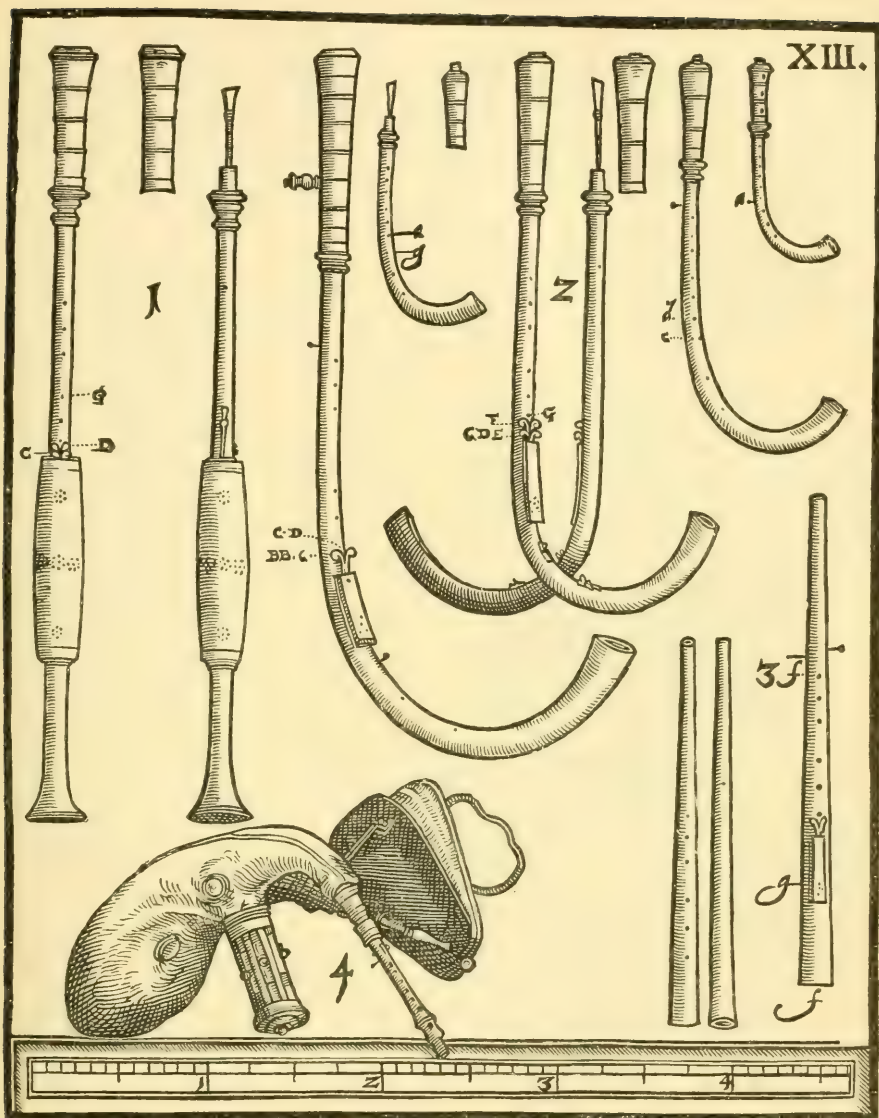


1. Bas Pommer. 2. Basset oder Tenor Pommer. 3. Alt Pommer.
 4. Discant Schalmei. 5. Klein Schalmei. 6. Grosser Bock.
 7. Schaper Pfeiff. 8. Hämmschen. 9. Duden.

1. Bass Bombazet. 2. Basset, or Tenor Bombazet. 3. Alto Bombazet. 4. Schalmei, or Treble Pipe. 5. Smaller Schalmei. 6. Large Bagpipe. 7. Shepherd's Pipe. 8. Smaller Shepherd's Pipe. 9. Duden, or Hornpipe.

OLD GERMAN WIND-INSTRUMENTS.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius, 1619 A.D.)



1. Bassett: Nicolo. 2. Krumbhorner. 3. Cornetti muti: stille Zincken.
4. Sackpfeiff mit dem Blashalg.

B iii

1. Bassoon. 2. Curved Horns. 3. Cornets. 4. Bagpipe with Bellows.

OLD GERMAN WIND-INSTRUMENTS.

(From the "Synagoga Musicum," by Michael Praetorius, 1619 A.D.)

It is very presumable that an incessant droning bass was all that could be produced from the Monochord, or at the very outside the tonic and dominant.* An illustration and description of the Monochord by Prætorius will be given later on in the work, and will show that even such a rude instrument underwent a kind of development.

We have seen how by degrees the art of the Minnesingers became merged into that of the Meistersingers, and how the latter survived up to the nineteenth century; and it will not be less interesting to trace the



Fig. 163.—The Seal of the "Confrérie de St. Julien des Ménestriers," Paris, 1330 A.D.

history of the German roadside minstrel and his popular ballad.

In the thirteenth century way-faring musicians, who had hitherto roamed the country, began to flock to the cities and towns, forming guilds among themselves or entering such as may have already existed in any particular town. They then received a kind of public recognition, and were dubbed town pipers. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries their social status was raised a little, and they were appointed town and corporation trumpeters;

and it is not uninteresting to note that those who formerly had been regarded as the pariahs of society now began to acquire, although in a limited sense, a social standing and the rights of citizenship. The formation of these guilds may be regarded as the precursors of the modern Continental town orchestras. Similar guilds were also established in France and England.

One of the earliest of these guilds was that founded in Vienna in 1288 A.D., known as the Brotherhood of St. Nicolas. From 1354 to 1376 A.D. the guild was placed under the supervision of the Imperial Chamberlain Peter von Eberstorff. This officer gradually came to be looked upon as the Patron of Music, and subsequently, by Imperial decree,

* We think it is not improbable that this short string may sometimes have been two-thirds of the length of the original string.

was appointed chief of a Board of Control, under the jurisdiction of which all Austrian guilds were placed. In 1777 A.D. Maria Theresa endeavoured to re-model and consolidate its then weakened constitution, but her efforts proved futile, and five years later the court was entirely abolished by the Emperor Joseph II. Such

guilds as were formed outside Austrian territory did not come within the jurisdiction of the court. These either selected their own patron or placed themselves under the nominee of the reigning prince. The appointed patrons in their turn singled out a player from each guild to act as "Piper-king," or, as they were then called, "Vicarius" and "Locum tenens." The duty of the Piper-king was to take care that "no player, whether he be piper, drummer, fiddler, trumpeter, or performer on any instrument, be allowed to accept engagements of any kind, whether in towns, villages, or hamlets, unless he had previously enrolled himself a member of the guild." From time to time a general meeting

of town-pipers was convened, and a court was constituted consisting of a mayor, four masters, twelve ordinary members, and a beadle. The chief purpose for which the court was formed was for the punishment of offending members of the various guilds, and in order to effect reconciliations between contending parties. The last surviving member of one of these piper guilds was Lorenz Chappuy (1838 A.D.), violin-player and orchestral conductor at Strasburg. The last courts, however, were held

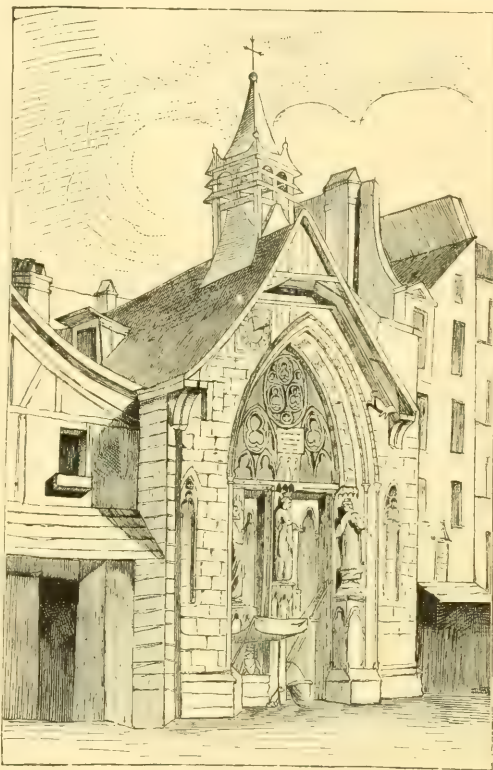


Fig. 164.—The Chapel of St. Julien des Ménestriers in Paris. Fourteenth Century.

(From Müllin's "*Antiquités Nationales*.")

about the year 1700 A.D., in the Alsatian towns of Rappoltsweiler, Altenhann, and Bischweiler.

Contemporary with the formation of the German guilds were similar confraternities founded in France, especially in the north, under the name of *Ménestriers* or *Ménestrieux*. The most important of these was the "*Confrérie de St. Julien des Ménestriers*," established in Paris 1330 A.D. It consisted chiefly of players on the *Vielle*, the *Gigue*, and the



Fig. 165.—Jean Pierre Guignon (1741 A.D.).
Roy des Violons.
(From Van Loo.)

Rubebe. From the year 1401 A.D., when the guild was re-modelled under Charles VI., the members adopted the title of "*Joueurs d'instrumens tant haut que bas*." The brotherhood possessed a handsome chapel, which they named the "*Chapelle St. Julien des Ménestriers*." Adjoining the chapel was the dwelling-house of the guild. The street in which the buildings were situated was, up to the latter part of the last century, known as *Rue St. Julien des Ménestriers*. The code of laws by which the members were governed was exceedingly odd. In the early days of the guild the chief was called "*Le Roy des Ménestriers*," and later on

"*Roy des Violons*." The crowning of a violin-king was a ceremony of great solemnity. The guild adopted the titular nomenclature of royal princes—*e.g.*, *Dumanoir, Roy des Violons* (1630 A.D.), was succeeded by his son *Dumanoir*, surnamed the Second, &c.; and it is recorded that in 1741 A.D. Louis XV. confirmed the celebrated Jean Pierre Guignon in his title as "*Le Roy des Violons*."*

* We are indebted to Vidal for some interesting information concerning the end of this corporation. He says: "In 1789 A.D. the affairs of the Corporation of *St. Julien des Ménestriers* were examined into by order of the French Convention. The result was that their buildings, &c., which were rated at 18,025 francs, were purchased by the State, and demolished to make room for new constructions. Thus was razed to the ground the chapel



Fig. 166.—A Banquet with Accompaniment of Music, known in Germany as *Tafelmusik*. Fifteenth Century.
(From a MS. in the National Library at Paris.)

But not all, however, of the wayfaring class of minstrels joined guilds. The more robust entered military bands as drummers, trumpeters, and horn-players. Others, especially the skilful performers on the more highly-developed instruments, entered the service of princes, as solo performers and orchestral players at court festivals. Later on they were permitted to aid in the performance of sacred music in churches. Such a privilege was not likely, however, to have been granted anywhere before the middle of the seventeenth century, and when it was conceded it was not restricted to the musicians attached to the households of princes. It was also accorded to the town pipers of the free German cities, although at first, and especially in Protestant Germany, their chief duty had consisted in playing a simple chorale from church towers to usher in the festivals of Christmas, the New Year, Easter, and Pentecost.*

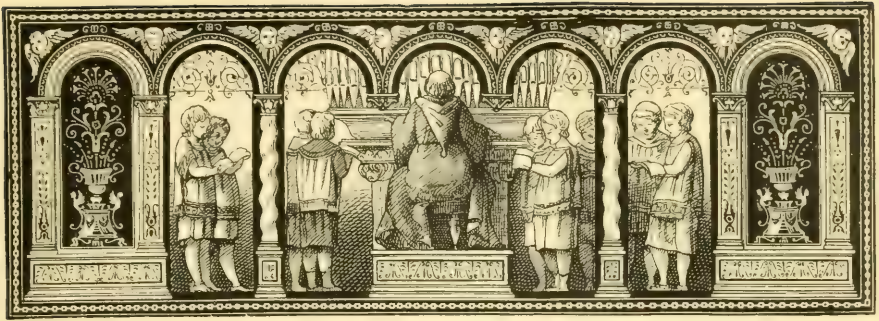
Our next illustration, representing a state banquet, depicts the musicians who were attached to the houses of great nobles playing during the progress of the feast. These players of the lute, violin, trumpet, and schallmey may be regarded as the immediate precursors of our modern chamber musicians. The picture is interesting in its simplicity, and shows, we must regretfully add, that we have not improved upon the custom of the fifteenth century, viz., that the playing of the orchestra was the signal for general con-

in which for several centuries the 'Joueurs d'instrumens tant haut que bas' had worshipped. Even the statuettes which had adorned the façade from 1335 A.D. were also destroyed."

* A most impressive custom still in vogue in many old German cities.

versation. They treated music merely as a sensuous pastime, or, as Burney says, "an innocent amusement."

The wayfaring musicians and the members of the *piper-guilds* of the Middle Ages must ever be regarded with special interest, as they were the only people who cultivated and perpetuated the art of instrumental playing, even during the time of the Reformation. With the exception of the organist (whose ranks were recruited from the cloisters and from musical theorists and contrapuntists), these guilds, together with the principal choral bodies then established, were the pioneers of that splendid era of instrumental music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which Germany took the first place among European nations.



THE GROWTH OF POLYPHONY FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



THE last chapter dealt with the history of music up to the fourteenth century, treating chiefly of courtly poetry and popular song. In tracing the rise and progress of Minnesong and its subsequent transmutation into the Meistersong, we were led as far as the fifteenth century, and even somewhat later. But with the consideration of the growth of polyphony, we must return to the twelfth century—to that period during which art-music developed itself from the simple secular song of the people. And as it was the music of the Church which almost exclusively throughout the Middle Ages represented art-music, it is therefore that to which we now return.

Hitherto, in tracing the history of Church music, we have noticed how rigidly the melodic and rhythmical side only of the tonal art had been developed. Henceforth it was to be a free, self-existing art. The trammels of conventionality and clerical doctrines, by which it had been bound for so long, were now cast on one side, and in the development of polyphony, a new, independent, and unshackled existence was about to begin.

For the first time it now began to assume the characteristics of an Art, and it is noteworthy that almost contemporaneously with the birth of polyphony the art of painting entered on a new life. In the same way that many anxious attempts were made to add an accompaniment, as it were, of underlying parts to melody in music, so painting, which hitherto had consisted in the mere delineation of outline form,

began to acquire polyphony of its own—*i.e.*, perspective, colouring, and chiaroscuro.

Foremost among the pioneers in the development of polyphony must be commemorated the name of Franco of Cologne. The death of Franco in all probability did not take place until the year 1220 A.D., and in mentioning him we are therefore transported immediately to the latter part of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries. But in order to gain a complete and clear conception of the triumphal march of polyphony from its very earliest beginning, we must retrace our steps as far back as the opening of the twelfth century; for it must not be supposed, as has formerly erroneously been the custom, that in giving to the world his Mensural theory Franco founded this glorious new era in the tonal art. The most learned of our modern investigators have agreed that in the development of polyphony Franco was but the gifted and clever disciple of a grand national school which had been established in the north-west of Europe in the twelfth century. With the formation of this school, the individual efforts of men of various nations to found a basis on which music should exist as a self-dependent art now gave place to united action.

In order to keep strictly to the consideration of the rise and progress of the school, and to avoid being led astray by detailing the efforts of contemporaneous men, we preferred to treat of Franco of Cologne and Marchetto of Padua (although reaching into the fourteenth century) in the seventh chapter of this history. Marchetto appears to us to be the last representative of that republic of clerical savants who, before general European music was influenced from one particular centre, worked energetically in the cloister for the success of the art they loved, which, it must be remembered, at that time was more a science than an art.

Turning now to the first purely national school—Paris—that was ever instituted, we find the names of learned monks, doctors of theology, and others belonging to the clerical profession inscribed on its long roll of members. As may be expected, all works treating of the tonal art that emanated from these clerical savants were written in the Latin tongue. Later on we meet the names of men who were musicians, and musicians only, that is, men who lived solely by the practice of

music. Such teachers were also to be found in the two schools founded in England and Gallic Belgium, both offshoots of the Paris school. First among these purely musical teachers were the chapel-masters of the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, in Paris. It is not to be denied that some of them may have taken the early vows of priesthood; but certain it is that they were not fully ordained, and therefore cannot be looked upon as clericals. We may be excused for drawing special attention to the social status of our first professional musicians, but their standing cannot be underrated when we remember how severe had been the social ostracism of the wayfaring musicians of France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

As we shall have to speak of the great French school and the influence which it exercised over all Northern Europe in detail, it will be advisable to treat of it in strict chronological sequence. In this way we shall also deal with those two schools, the descendants of the Parisian institution. Hitherto, such a survey has either never been attempted, or, where such has been essayed, nothing conclusive has been established. Doubtless the dates which we give may require slight modification in some instances, but on the whole they will be found to be correct.

Prior to the year 1875 A.D. there were but few musical historians who were cognisant that such a school had ever existed. Even to-day the knowledge of the general musical public is very vague on this really important subject. If we deal with the parent school and its offshoots according to the success and importance of their chief representatives, we shall treat first of the Paris school, and of the period between the twelfth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries. Although this epoch might be extended from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, we have restricted it to our first dates, because it was during this time that a grammar and method were acquired bearing the distinctive characteristics of a special school. It was during this era also that it so strongly influenced the tendencies of the northern schools, and, indeed, was their exclusive teacher. The grammatical rules show a logical sequence which could only have been the natural outcome of an earnest, united, mental striving for something higher and nobler than had hitherto existed. Geographically, the old French school may be located between the rivers Seine and Somme, or in a wider sense may be said to have comprised the territory bounded by Orleans and Burgundy and the Belgian frontier.

The most important school which rose out of the old French would appear to be the Gallic-Belgian, the period during which it achieved its greatest successes being from 1360 to 1460 A.D. The early English school dates from a somewhat earlier period. Its influence, however, on the general cultivation of music in Europe cannot be said to have been so great as that of the Gallic-Belgian school. The name of the latter is justified by its geographical situation, comprising as it did Artois, Picardy, French Flanders, and the southern half of Hennegau, as well as West Flanders and the Belgian half of Hennegau.* A third school was instituted in the Netherlands, and this may be said to have reached the zenith of its fame during the century 1460—1560 A.D. By reason of the obscurity with which the old French school had been surrounded up to so recent a date as 1875, that founded in the Netherlands has always been regarded as the oldest of all national tonal schools of Christian Europe, and not by *dilettanti* only but by the whole musical world.† The fame of the Netherland school spread with astonishing rapidity throughout Europe, and its unqualified success was such that the parent old French school was entirely forgotten. The Gallic-Belgian school, although occupying a marked position between the old French and Netherland schools, yet gradually became identified with the latter. About the middle of the fifteenth century teachers were sent forth from the Netherland school into Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, to establish schools and to disseminate a knowledge of their own principles, totally ignoring the methods of all other institutions.

But the old French and Gallic-Belgian schools were not entirely obliterated. They possessed some zealous teachers, who worked so enthusiastically for the success of their respective tenets that they raised up followers in England, Germany, Italy, and even the Netherlands itself. Yet this very success was limited. The disciples it called forth never became more than theorists and scholastic contrapuntists. They were never, like the Netherlanders, singers, singing-masters, organists, and *practical* musicians;

* As at least one-half of these provinces is inhabited by Flemings, the school might equally be called the Gallic-Flemish.

† After Coussemaker's discoveries, this can no longer be admitted. I myself have also laid great stress on this in a work entitled "The Italian Tone-Poets," published by Oppenheim, of Berlin, 1874.

and as the stock of professors of the two schools was but small, those who were desirous of enrolling themselves as pupils of either institution were compelled to attend for instruction at Paris and Tournai, the respective centres of the two schools. The dissimilarity of the doctrines of the schools showed itself strongly in the social classes to which they were addressed. The Parisians sought for disciples exclusively among the church-folk and strictly religious and learned musical circles. The Netherlanders sought a wider public, addressing themselves to the whole of Europe, and they were so far successful as to gain the approbation of princes, and even of the Pope. Besides founding new schools, they instituted choirs, the members of which consisted of well-instructed musicians sent forth from the Netherlands. These choral bodies were received with acclamation wherever they went.

It is interesting to note that the development of the tonal art, which from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries had been sporadic, both artistically and geographically, began from the middle of the latter century to solidify itself into an organic whole.

It did not, however, as might well be supposed, confine itself to the ever-blue sky and genial climate of Italy, but turned first towards the inclement north—*i.e.*, to the people inhabiting the countries between the mouths of the Seine and Rhine. Thence it suddenly turned to the south, so that for a period of nearly two centuries (1560—1725 A.D.) the Italians became the leading musical nation in Europe, the French having held that honoured position for more than two centuries, the Gallic Belgians and the Netherlanders a century each.

It may be asked what part did the Germans play during these six hundred years that the tonal art was trying to achieve for itself an independent existence? Did they stand aloof whilst their neighbours were exerting themselves? No; for notwithstanding that the movement began in the north-west of Europe, passed through Germany, to finally settle in the south of Europe, it found no congenial soil in the Fatherland whereon might be established a school. And yet the Germans were the most gifted pupils of the old French, the Netherland, the Gallic-Belgian, and even of the Italian schools. They profited considerably more than did the English, Spanish, or Portuguese from the same sources, and so much so that we may safely assert that from the middle of the eighteenth century up to our

present time the Germans have been the leading musical nation in Europe. But who would have the boldness to aver that the German people, after having led the van of musical thought for nearly one hundred and fifty years, will hold it until the end of time? Their duty, however, will undoubtedly be to uphold and maintain sincerity of purpose and perfection of form in the tonal art, which is and must be the test of true excellence; and in this the Germans have always taken a foremost place.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD FRENCH SCHOOL UP TO THE TIME OF DUFAY.

SINCE the year 1773 A.D., when Goethe, who was then but a youth, wrote that laudatory effusion on Erwin von Steinbach and Strasburg Cathedral, it has not been without a struggle that the Germans have given up all claims to the Gothic style in architecture as the outgrowth of their own national individuality. Even as late as 1822—1831 A.D., Sulpice Boisseree, in his excellent work on Cologne Cathedral, falls into the error of alluding to the Gothic pointed arch as Germanic; and it was not until the most recent times that it has been incontestably proved that the Gothic style is of French and not Teutonic origin.

Bearing this in mind, we find that an interesting analogy, artistic and historical, suggests itself in reference to the progress of the tonal art. That same Paris whence emanated the richest of all styles of Christian architecture, was also the birthplace of polyphony. The component parts of the latter can be entwined and separated into independent members in the same way that the several constituent elements of a Gothic building may be disunited and again formed into a concrete whole.

The various parts of a score (*partitur*), called by the French and Italians *parte* and *partie*, seem to find their counterpart in the several component elements in architecture. If the comparison be accepted, it would appear to be more than mere accident that the same country—nay,

the same city—should have been the birthplace of both.* Such an historical fact is in itself sufficient to stamp the old French school with importance. For if this school could lay the foundation of a style which in music occupies a position analogous to the Gothic in architecture, then its praises cannot be too highly extolled.

The fact that the polyphonic style in music originated in the same city as the polyphonic in architecture is incontestably proved by Coussemaker from a number of documents hitherto unknown. The purpose of Coussemaker, however, was other than ours. He endeavoured to accumulate information to fill up the gap that existed in the history of music during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Certainly there was a highly meritorious work then extant on the subject, by the Abbé Gerbert von Hornau, in three volumes, entitled, "*Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musicâ Sacrâ Potissimum*," published at St. Blasien in 1784 A.D. It was compiled from the writings of old authors, but the paucity of authentic documentary evidence was insufficient to enable one to arrive at any clear conception of the history of Church music during the Middle Ages.

To show how greatly we are indebted to Coussemaker for his arduous exertions, we have but to state that this learned investigator enables us to antedate the birth of double counterpoint by nearly four centuries beyond what had hitherto been accepted. He also introduces to our notice for the first time some 500 composers and about 1,200 compositions, all bearing more or less evidence of the contrapuntist's skill.

The chief source whence Coussemaker derived his information was a manuscript now in the library of the Medical Faculty at Montpellier. He extracted with rare discrimination the essential parts of the old manuscript, publishing them, together with able and learned commentaries, in Paris,

* In directing attention, we think for the first time, to this remarkable parallelism of two arts apparently so dissimilar, and which by careful investigation has been proved to be more than superficial, we are constrained to add that the striking similarity pointed out in the "*Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte*" ("*The Tonal Art and the History of Civilization*"), Berlin, 1869 A.D., as existing between the idealic conception and the constructive form of music, poetry, architecture, sculpture, and painting, is hereby strengthened. The musical discoveries of Coussemaker possess therefore for the writer personal interest besides their historical importance, in that they confirm by a number of new facts the assertions made by him thirteen years ago.

in the year 1865.* The issue of this work, entitled, "*L'Art Harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles*," was limited to 300 copies only, as it was intended for the exclusive use of scientific bodies. Of the 340 specimens which were taken from the Montpellier manuscript, fifty-one are said to belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are all reproduced in their original notation, with the highly-coloured initial letters, miniatures, and arabesques that surround the pages, all of which were done by the inhabitants of the cloisters. The coloured illustration at the beginning of this Book is taken from "*L'Art Harmonique*," and represents in a characteristically graceful manner three monks chanting from an antiphonal. It would be beyond the scope and limits of the present work to enumerate all the composers and compositions which the fortunate discoveries of Coussemaker have brought to light.† It will be sufficient for our purpose if we refer to ten of the most prominent of the masters of the old French school,‡ dealing with them in chronological order, and dividing them, according to their progressive mental strivings, into four groups. Coussemaker also adopts for his purpose four periods. We cannot, however, admit the first period laid down by Coussemaker (1070—1100 A.D.) as belonging to the old French school, for the development of the tonal art then going on was not confined exclusively to the north-east of France, but was common to all Europe. It was at this time that all Christendom was anxiously striving to improve the Mensural song. Omitting, therefore, this first division of Coussemaker, the remaining sections, as divided by him, become for us 1, 2, and 3. The fourth

* Not 1864 A.D., as stated in the inaccurate article on "Coussemaker" in Mendel's *Lexicon*.

† Besides the valuable authorities to which Coussemaker refers us in his "*L'Art Harmonique*," he also supplies us with the titles of additional works of reference in some of his earlier works—*e.g.*, "*Notice sur un Manuscrit Musical de la Bibliothèque de Saint Dié*," par Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, Paris et Lille, 1859 A.D.; "*Les Harmonistes du Quatorzième Siècle*," Lille, 1869 A.D.; "*Sources Historiques de l'Art Musical au XIV^e Siècle*;" "*Notices sur les Collections Musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai et des autres villes du Département du Nord*," Paris, 1843 A.D.; "*Scriptorum de Musica mediæ ævi nova series a Gebertina altera*," tom. i., Paris, 1864; "*Messe du XIII^e Siècle*."

‡ If we were to take into account the Englishman Walter Odington, and also Franco of Cologne—both of them undoubted disciples of the French *Déchanteurs*—we should increase our number to twelve. But Franco occupied too marked a position in his own country (see Chapter VII.) to connect him exclusively with the French school, and of Odington it is not even known that he ever visited Paris.

period, which we have added, embraces an era totally disregarded by Coussemaker as belonging to the Parisian school; but this was evidently because he did not make it the subject of a sufficiently searching inquiry.*

Before we enter, however, upon a consideration of our four periods, it will be advantageous to glance at the musical technique and multiplicity of musical forms which owe their origin to the old French school. We shall then be better enabled to understand and appreciate our ten selected masters and their works.

We turn, therefore, first to *counterpoint*, as the most important. It is almost certain that counterpoint, as we understand it to-day, was first practised in Paris, although naturally in a cruder form. The juxtaposition of two parts was undoubtedly known to the Parisians in the twelfth century, but was then, and up to the middle of the thirteenth century, called *discantus*. About this time the term *Contrapunctus*, as applied to two progressing and independent parts, first came into notice. The supposition that Jean Charlier, "Doctor Christianissimus" and Chancellor of the University of Paris, was the first to use *contrapunctus* because it appears in his "Doctrina pro pueris Ecclesiæ Parisiensis," 1408 A.D., is entirely erroneous. The reference to Paris and its choristers, and the frequent use of the word *contrapunctus* as applying to something already known, should have dispelled any doubt as to its earlier existence, and at the same time have pointed to the fact that Paris was its birthplace.

A counterpoint, as we understand it to-day, was only possible in the Mensural song, because as the *cantus firmus* consisted of measured notes, it admitted of a *counter* part in which the notes might possess a value other than those of the melody, and which would also lead to a different rhythmical construction.† This was impossible with the earlier Church melodies. Huebald's *Organum* and Guido's *Diaphony*, with their progressive parts of equal value, moving mostly in the same direction, were but the initiatory

* Coussemaker does not by any means confine himself to a consideration of the French Déchanters in his "L'Art Harmonique;" yet there is no denying that he accepts Paris as the centre from which *discantism* spread throughout Europe, and it is in this sense that he is to be regarded as the special historian of the Parisian school.

† The earliest meaning of counterpoint signified Note against Note (*punctus contra punctum*)—i.e., a progression of two parts in which each pair of notes was equal in value. It was only when the counter-movement assumed a different accent and a value other than the *cantus firmus* that the counterpoint rose to that higher importance which everywhere in art is caused by contrasted elements.

steps of counterpoint. Its completion consists in the acting together of two parts absolutely independent of each other. Only the perfect freedom of each part could elevate counterpoint into an art, and give the hearer the impression of a freely constructed whole ; and this is the merit which belongs to the old French school.

The way was prepared for the introduction of counterpoint by the practice which the discantists—*i.e.*, the singers of the voice part above the *cantus firmus*—indulged in, viz., that of adding melodic ornaments to certain notes of the fixed chant. Such embellishment at will by the first voice was called *contrapunctus a mente*, as opposed to the written counterpoint called *contrapunctus a penna*. The melodic flourishes, or Fleurettes, which the discantists delighted to indulge in were often very pleasing, and received the name of *contrapunctus floridus*.* But the practice of discanting according to the Organum of Hucbald, and the Diaphonie of Guido—*i.e.*, chanting a fourth and fifth higher than the *cantus firmus*, soon began to weary both singer and auditor, notwithstanding the abundant use of Fleurettes. It was felt that the melody of the upper voice must be entirely independent of the *cantus firmus* ; and this was soon to be brought about. Such a change was of the utmost importance in the subsequent development of the tonal art. It laid the foundation upon which the whole fabric of our modern music is built. It had reached that point whence any return to the fetters of ancient musical tradition became impossible. Christian music was beginning to assert itself, and it is with no surprise that we trace in the writings of the old French masters an evident striving after polyphony. Indeed, the germs of polyphony were then really in existence, and prepared for development. When the possibility of the simultaneous singing of two parts entirely independent of each other was admitted, then the next most natural step of the blending of three or even four voices must soon have presented itself to the tone-masters of the day ; and we are not wanting in corroborative evidence of this. Very soon a large number of variously constructed compositions began to make their appearance. In reviewing

* Besides the Fleurettes (Italian *floriture* or *flori*, and in the monkish Latin of the composers of the old French school *floraturæ*) the Parisians admitted a second style of embellishment, which received the name of Copula. It consisted of a quick succession of notes, of a less melodic nature than the floraturæ, the Brevis being sung like a Semibrevis, and the Longa like a Brevis.

these we shall regard them from two points : firstly, those having a greater or lesser number of parts, and secondly, those with a peculiar artistic form.

With regard to the number of parts—i.e., the comparative richness of harmonic combination—the old French school can boast of three kinds, viz., the Déchant (*Discant*) or Double (called by the Latin theorists *Duplum*) ; the Triple (*Triplum*) ; and the Quadruple (*Quadruplum*) ; or, in other words, contrapuntal compositions of two, three, and four parts.

At first every harmonic composition with regularly measured notes was called a Discant. Then the term was applied to the part which stood immediately above the tenor, i.e., the *cantus firmus* or melody recognised by the Church.* Later it was applied to *all* two-part compositions, finally returning to its original signification as specifying the upper part only. A Déchant was therefore possible in two ways : either it was the sacred *cantus firmus*, to which a Discant was invented, or a free improvised Discant to which a lower voice, or in modern parlance a bass, might be added.

The Triplum (or three-part voice) was governed by strict harmonic rules, and might be either in the form of a *Motet*, *Rondeau*, or *Conduit*—forms of composition of which we shall speak hereafter. Under this division may be included the French *Fauxbourdon*, although referring more to the manner of singing than to the composition itself. The Fauxbourdon was a method of singing that developed itself in North France in the twelfth century shortly after the *Discantus*. Written in three parts, it was superior to the Déchant, and yet at the same time inferior in that it returned to the old Organum ; although, embracing an extended tonal range, and possessing certain modifications, it was a vast improvement on Hucbald's system. The term Fauxbourdon arose through the tenor-representative of the *cantus firmus* singing a part other than his own ; hence Fauxbourdon, or false tenor. This explanation is given by Michael Prætorius, 1619 A.D. *Bourdonner* in French is “to hum” or “to drone,” and the intoning of a passage with close-lying parts by three voices (as was necessarily the case, the Fauxbourdon being constructed on the lines of the Organum) could have had none other than a droning effect. If the Fauxbourdon were sung in the low register, the droning effect must

* The word tenor is derived from *tenere*—i.e., to hold, applied in this case to the voice holding the *cantus firmus*.

In this celebrated document there are no less than seventeen *Quadrupla*, one of them being the composition of the learned Perotin, proving that as early as the first half of the twelfth century four-part writing was attempted in Paris.

Turning our attention now to the art-forms of the French school, we trace three distinct kinds.

The first is the *Motette*. The learned theorist Walter Odington, who wrote his great treatise on the Theory of Music in 1217 A.D.,* seeks to derive the name from the fact that in compositions of this class one can always find a *motus brevis cantilenæ*—i.e., a short melody. But the *Motettes* of that time possessed other distinguishing features. One very remarkable one was the practice of supplying each voice with a different text, thereby materially helping to prepare the way of making each part musically independent. This practice finds great favour with operatic writers when dealing with ensembles.†

The *Motet* form of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, strange to say, entirely disappears in France in the fifteenth century; in the Netherlands, however, it was cultivated with signal success by Josquin des Prés, Orlandus Lassus, and Gombert, and also in Italy, especially in the Roman school, where Palestrina raised it to its highest perfection in the sixteenth century. In the Protestant Church it underwent an entirely new form of development from the time of Luther—a warm admirer of the *Motet*—down to Sebastian Bach and his followers. Yet it retained something of its old nature, the differing voices having dissimilar texts allotted to them. In the *Chorales* of Bach and his predecessors, the voice singing the melody is always provided with a text other than that of the

* Fétis, "Biographie Universelle des Musiciens," 2^{me} édition, t. 3, p. 317. Coussemaker dates this treatise at the end of the twelfth century.

† The word *Motette* with the Paris school signified not only this special form of composition, but also certain voices. In the *Duplum*, the voice above the tenor was often called *Motet*, instead of *Discant*, and in the *Triplum* the middle voice received that name. In the *Quadruplum* the voices were designated as follows:—The highest voice, the *Quadruplum*; the upper middle voice, the *Triplum*; the lower middle voice, the *Motet*; and the lowest voice, the *Tenor*. Here it will be noticed that the *Motet* stood immediately over the tenor, the latter, therefore, taking the place of the bass; and yet not the place of the bass as we understand it, for the composers of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were not then acquainted with any harmonies based on chords. They merely looked upon the voices as individual elements, appearing to totally ignore concrete harmony. Adrian Willaert, the celebrated Fleming (sixteenth century), was the first to use unbroken chords, instead of the hitherto intertwined vocalisation.

remaining voices. This practice was very prevalent in the latter half of the eighteenth century.*

The second form, the Rondeau (Rondo), appears to have been evolved by the Paris school out of the folk-music. In the Rondeau, or Rondellus, the voices do not sing different words. The two specimens, each with three parts, by Adam de la Hale, given in the manuscript of Montpellier, are exceptions to this, as here each voice has a special text. They are given in their entirety in Coussemaker's book, Nos. 27 and 28. In No. 27 the first voice begins with the old French secular verse, "Dame, bele et avenant;" the second voice with "Fi, mari, de vostre amour;" the third with "Nus niert ja jolis s'il n'aime." The following Rondo, by Adam de la Hale, has but one text for all three voices.†

No. 167.

Tant com je vi - - - vrai,

N'a - me - - - rai au - - - - trui

* The practice of providing the various voices with different texts in Motets must not be confounded with a somewhat similar procedure in the scores of Catholic Masses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here the secular text of the tenor's *cantus firmus* was not unfrequently taken from popular tunes, quite independent of the Mass texts of the other voices. In the Motet the various texts stood always in some kind of mental relation to each other, and in the writings of the evangelical composers this was exclusively so, but in the Mass this mental connection was entirely wanting.

† The above example, deciphered by Coussemaker, is put into modern notation by the

que..... vous; Ja n'en

par - ti - - - rai.

We are strongly convinced that a little piece of music like that given above was not sung in the thirteenth century in too slow a tempo. Its seeming heaviness must not mislead us, especially as the original notation with its square notes and ligatures give it altogether a lighter appearance. If this melody be performed according to the accepted tempo of the modern Chorale, it will illustrate very clearly the primitive attempts at part-singing of the tenth and eleventh centuries, only without the heaviness of movement and the harshness of discord which, in the time of Adam de la Hale, had, by the introduction of three-part writing and measured notes, been greatly improved. Should it, however, be executed in the time of a moderate waltz (and this the $\frac{3}{2}$ time would seem to invite), repeating it to a supposed number of verses, then it not only sounds more secular and bearable, but gains in significance as a Rondo or Round.

From the treatise of Walter Odington we learn that the Rondo might be written without any text. In such cases it must undoubtedly

writer. This rendering is superior to that of Fétis, and even to Bellerman, and in our opinion is the only interpretation that harmonises with the notation laws of the time.

have been purely an instrumental composition. It is characteristic of the Rondo that it was never regarded as belonging to the forms of the Church, but was always looked upon as a secular composition. The principal theme given to all the voices was either invented by the composer or taken from a popular air. It is very improbable that it was ever one of the Church melodies belonging to the *cantus planus*. Out of the sixteen Rondos of Adam de la Hale in the manuscript of La Vallière, not one is found to contain a fragment of any known sacred tune. The text of each was taken from the folk-songs, one beginning "Robert m'aime," another "Adieu, coment amouretes."

The third form of composition, the Conduit (*conductus*), was of a much less decided character. The old French writers composed *Conduits* in two, three, and four parts. Perotin has left us specimens in each of these kinds. As several are extant, but without the addition of texts, it is to be presumed that they were written for the organ or other instrument in use at the time. The Conduits, like the Rondos, were always of a secular character.*

Returning now to our subject of counterpoint, and the manner in which the old French masters constructed their part-writing, as may be supposed, the simplest form of note against note was the first effort in this direction. Although vastly superior to the old two-part song of the French, yet it is not to be considered as approaching counterpoint in its modern sense. The French masters cared more for mellifluous sound than for flowing characteristic part-writing. The euphonic effect of voices singing together was something so novel and pleasing, that they, together with the whole musical world, were filled with wonder and admiration. Strange to say, however, we shortly meet those thematic progressions and the inversion of two or more parts, now known as "Imitation," "Canon," and "Double Counterpoint," and which, by the multiplicity of forms growing out of a combination of these, are greatly superior to simple counterpoint. And even if we find these higher forms of the strict style but in their infancy, is it not nevertheless astonishing? And yet this is undeniably the fact, although in direct contradiction to what the history of music has hitherto taught.

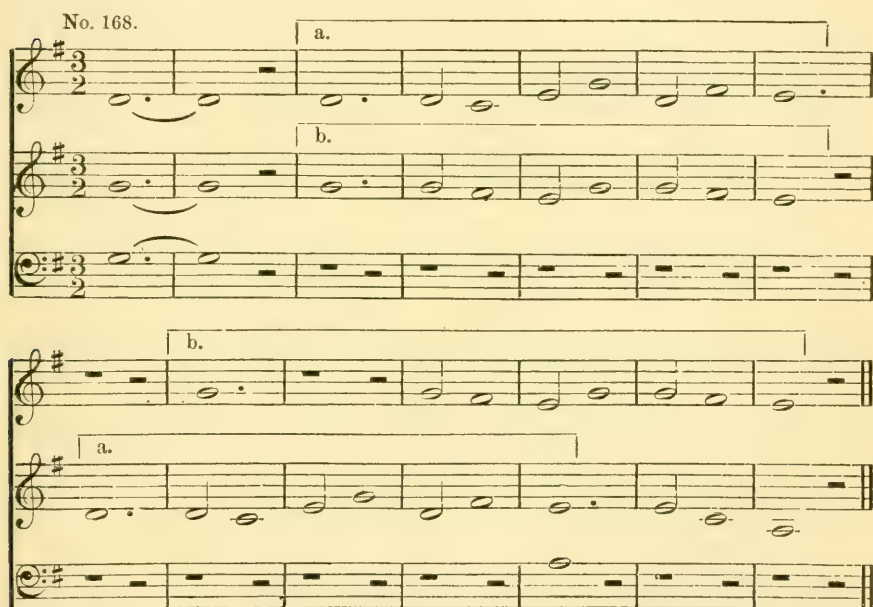
* An old French tale, "Roman de la Violette," connects the Conduit with the Jongleurs:—

"Cil juleor viellent lais
Et sons, et notes, et conduis."

Such a complete revolution in historical musical facts, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, imperatively demands that both master and pupil should re-learn. All that had previously been accepted as facts can now only be regarded as such when viewed side by side with the newly-acquired knowledge.

"Imitations" were employed by Perotin in his composition beginning "Posui adjutorium," between the 81st and 92nd bars. This is important, and should be well borne in mind, for "Canon" and "Double Counterpoint" could only have arisen after the root of both—viz., Imitation—had been found. The following is a specimen of Perotin's composition :—*

No. 168.



The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system has three staves: a top staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/2 time signature, a middle staff in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature, and a bottom staff in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The first system shows a melodic line in the top staff with a bracket labeled 'a.' above it, and a corresponding line in the middle staff. The second system shows a melodic line in the middle staff with a bracket labeled 'b.' above it, and a corresponding line in the top staff. The third system shows a melodic line in the top staff with a bracket labeled 'a.' above it, and a corresponding line in the middle staff. The bottom staff in each system contains a series of horizontal lines, indicating a constant bass line or organum.

The bracket and the letters *a* and *b* indicate the "Imitation." The first time it appears is in the fourths of the Organum, but the second time it is in its true imitative form. One must not underrate these primitive attempts at a thematic working of parts. They stand relatively to the

* "L'Art Harmonique," part iii., No. 2, p. 3, "Organum Pur," par Perotin. Two other compositions in the manuscript of Montpellier (fols. 114 and 375) also contain "Imitations." That such examples of the time are not isolated ones is shown by Coussemaker's "Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age," pl. xxxii.

highly-developed tonal art what the archaic plastic works of Greek sculptors are to the creations of a Phidias and Praxiteles. Without the works of a Perotin and of the advanced masters Odington and Jean de Garlande, no Palestrina and no Sebastian Bach could have existed.

The favourite form of the English people of the thirteenth century was the "Canon," which was known in mediæval Germany under the name of *Rota*. It was the English who invented that *endless* Canon which is so great a favourite with all people even to-day.

Hawkins discovered a Canon, known as the "Sumer is icumen," for six voices—a form infinitely more ingenious than the common Canon. This particular Canon, also called "*Rota*," forms part of the Harleian manuscript (No. 978), now in the British Museum. It is not restricted to the repetition of detached phrases, but the four upper or canonic voices, built on two independent voices, form one complete continued tonal phrase. Dr. Burney relegates this learned composition, on account of the clever writing that it displays, to the fifteenth century. The most modern of investigators, however, William Chappell, incontestably proves that it must be of the thirteenth century,* by reason of two dates—1226 and 1236 A.D.—in the original handwriting of the monks, which had formerly been overlooked. If this is so—and after such testimony it must be accepted as true—then we cannot but regard this celebrated Canon other than as a monument to the learning of the great Englishman, as it is the *only* specimen of so rich a polyphonic composition at such an early period. The only country from which we could have expected such a composition to have emanated was France with its famous Parisian school. Paris was the sole known place possessing a school where grammatical erudition had advanced to so high a point† as to admit the possibility of such a work.‡

Double Counterpoint was undoubtedly known in the old French school as early as the thirteenth century. Jean de Garlande, the celebrated theorist and composer, puts it as far back as the twelfth century, however, but

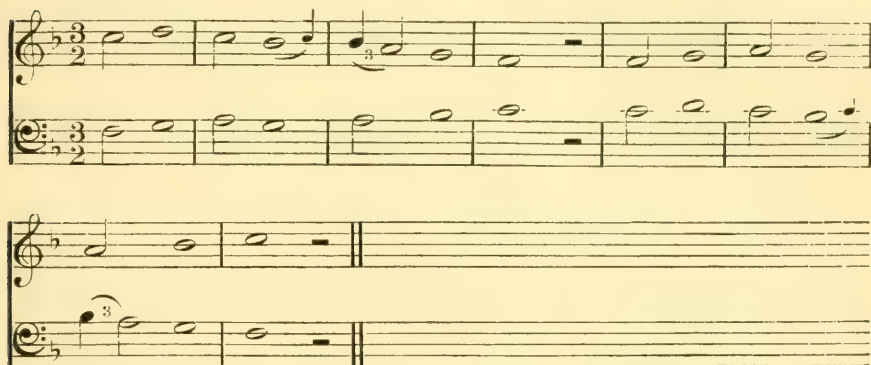
* William Chappell, "Popular Music of the Olden Time."

† The Canon appears in its entirety in Coussemaker's "*L'Art Harmonique*," No. 20, among the deciphered compositions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

‡ I have already given this remarkable Canon *in extenso* in the place where I thought it ought to come, not having seen the author's notice of it in the present paragraph. It is due to him to record this fact by way of apology for my apparent assumption that so celebrated a piece of music had escaped his notice (*see* page 220).—F. A. G. O.

unpretentiously alludes to it as the use of the same phrase in different voices at different times; and, lest his meaning should be misunderstood, supplies us with the following example:—*

No. 169.



No. 170.

a. b. c. d. e. f.

A - ve

* "Repetitio diverse vocis est idem sonus repetitus in tempore diverso a diversis vocibus" ("Scriptorum," etc., vol. i., p. 116).

e.
 f.
 d.
 Ma - ter Do - mi - ni.
 A - ve Ma - ter Do - mi -
 f.
 d.
 A - ve Ma - ter Do - mi - ni.
 ni.
 e.

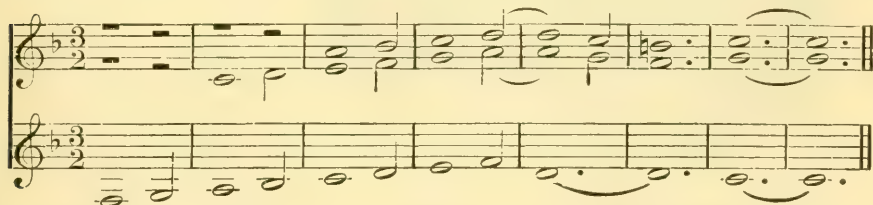
Example 170 is by the learned Walter Odington, who, although an Englishman, may be looked upon as a student of the old French school, his compositions unmistakably bearing evidence of the influence of the Parisian masters. Odington's specimen shows astonishing skill in the manipulation of the voices by clever inversions, all evidencing the master-mind. The letters which the author has added will greatly facilitate the reading of the repeated phrases. Respecting the theoretical definition of Double Counterpoint of that period, Odington entirely agrees with Garlande. Adding these two examples to those given by Coussemaker in his "*L'Art Harmonique*," Nos. 19, 20, and 21, taken from the Montpellier codex, all specimens of Double Counterpoint either directly or indirectly traceable to the French school, we may assume with some degree of certainty that Paris was not only the disseminating centre, but also the birthplace of this glorious achievement in the tonal art.

It is therefore clear that those investigators who had formerly relegated

the earliest attempts at Imitation and Canon to the fourteenth century, and Double Counterpoint to the sixteenth, lacked such data as would otherwise have enabled them to form a correct judgment, and which, however excusable then, can now no longer be accepted.*

Returning to the first of our four epochs of the Paris school, it must be said that although we do not agree with Coussemaker in asserting that 1070—1100 was the period during which the school was established, yet those thirty years possess for us a special importance. It would seem as if the *Organum* of Hucbald, which sprang up in the early part of the tenth century in French Flanders, spread first to the city of Paris, and at once taking root there, began to flourish with much vigour. The other parts of Europe for a long while presented but a barren field for the growth of musical art. We are inclined to this opinion, first, because Paris was the nearest city of importance to the country of the *Organum*; secondly, because the French *Fauxbourdon* is unquestionably related to the *Organum*; and thirdly, because the *Fauxbourdon* helped to prepare the way for three-part vocal writing, for Canon and Imitation.

This latter may have originated through a desire on the part of the singers to prelude their third-sixths in a melodic manner, possibly using introductory notes similar to the following. This supposition



gains ground when we remember that the discantists of the eleventh century were strongly predisposed to improvisation.† It must be also

* Kiesewetter, in his "History of Music of Western Europe," 1846 A.D., dates the earliest "Canon" from the time of Dufay, 1355—1432 A.D. Mendel, in his article "Dufay," in the "Musical Lexicon," 1873, coincides with this opinion; and Fétis, in his "Biographie Universelle des Musiciens," 1870, in an article entitled "Jakob von Kerle," says, "Le *contrepoint double* n'était point encore en usage en 1562 A.D."

† The presumption that the *Fauxbourdon* prepared the way for the Canon is considered as very probable by Reiszmann, in his "History of Music," vol. i., p. 144, 1863 A.D.

remembered that during the development of the Organum, Paris possessed a celebrated university which received the praises of Pope Alexander I., who compared it in 1255 A.D. to "A tree of life in an earthly paradise." In 1180 Paris was the centre of European culture.

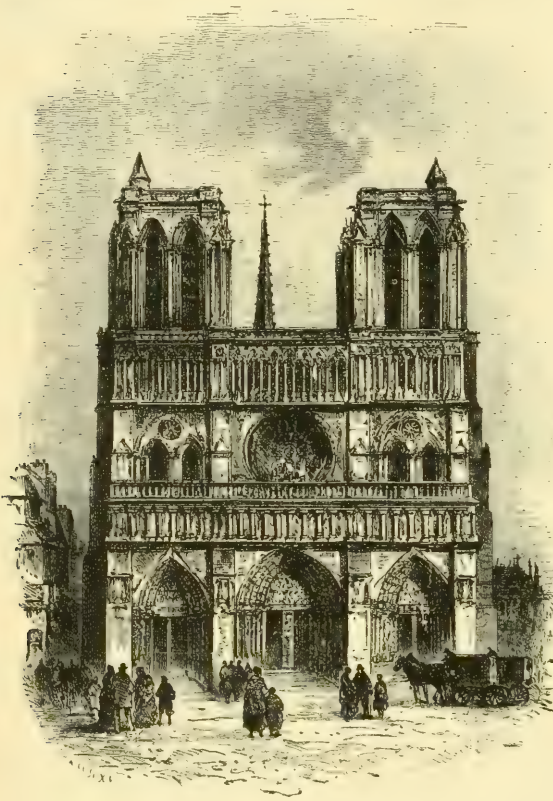


Fig. 171.—The Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris.

Numbers of learned theologians and scholastics belonged to this university, and amongst them the renowned Franco Parisiensis. This will explain how within the walls of Paris, where music was so zealously practised, the early attempts of French Flanders at part-singing were prosecuted in Paris with such success. It is indeed very remarkable that in the same city the polyphonic system in Christian music should have been developed almost simultaneously with the polyphonic system in Christian architecture (Gothic), and that there also was laid the foundation of a great national school.

The oldest epoch of the old French school, according to our researches, must be taken from 1100 to 1140 A.D., and, like Coussemaker, we regard it as that during which repeated attempts were made clearly to determine notes and their value. The first composer of note that we meet with at this period is Léonin (Magister Leoninus), surnamed by his countrymen "Optimus Organista," on account of his masterly organ-playing. Notre Dame, one of the oldest specimens of French Gothic architecture, has in its

list of organists a whole line of celebrated composers from the twelfth century. Their influence, however, was not confined to Church music, but acted powerfully on the development of musical art as a whole. One of the most celebrated was Master Léonin. Author of a treatise on organ-playing, he dealt especially with the manner of performing graduals and antiphonals, noting his compositions according to a method invented by himself. This book contains, as stated by the anonymous writer of a manuscript in the British Museum, a collection of harmonic accompaniments set to original and traditional sacred melodies.

Léonin's learned successor, Pérotin, called by his contemporaries Perotinus Magnus,* was, like his predecessor, both Déchanteur and organist. His abilities as a Déchanteur appear, however, to have been somewhat less than those of Léonin, whilst as an organist he was admittedly the superior. He wrote a great number of works, and many of these, highly lauded by his co-professors as models, have fortunately been preserved. In the Codex of Montpellier there is a *Quadruplum* by Pérotin.† This master is also the known writer of two, three, and four-part *Conduits*, which appear to have gained great celebrity in Paris. He also made several important additions to his predecessor's "Manual for the Organ," and some of his works show attempts at *imitation*. In one of his four-part songs, "Viderunt," in the Montpellier collection, one may trace several pure consecutive fifths, which, like other compositions of the Paris school of this period, show the influence of the *Organum* and *Fauxbourdon*. The fact is well worthy of notice that Pérotin endeavoured to soften the harshness of these fifths by a counter-movement of the remaining two parts.

The compositions of this writer and his most prominent successors

* One might search in vain through a number of standard musical histories for any reference either to the name or works of both Léonin and Pérotin. Certainly, in Czerny's "Outlines of Musical History," 1851 A.D., reference is made to Pérotin, and only to Pérotin, and even then he is stated to have flourished a century later than that which is now known to have been the true period of his existence. The well-informed Ambros is, as may be expected, not without some information on this point; but as Coussemaker's work had not been published in full when the second volume of Ambros' "Musical History," treating of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was in course of issue, the information referring to this period is incomplete. Ambros promised us an Appendix on this era, but as it has not yet appeared, we trust it may be published with the posthumous works of this writer, as it is almost certain to contain some interesting data on the subject.

† In the "Anonymous" manuscript now in the British Museum reference is made to a whole collection of *Quadruples* ascribed to "Perotinus Maximus."

formed part of the standing repertory of the Notre Dame choir, especially during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. They were used chiefly on holy days and at the celebration of such Masses as were instituted out of the bequests of pious persons.*

The second of the four periods of the Paris school, and that during which, according to Coussemaker, great advances in the tonal art were made, dates from 1140 to 1170 A.D.† The Church song books of Pérotin were used up to the time of Robert de Sabillon, choirmaster of Notre Dame, the method of chanting prescribed therein being more concise and easy than that of any of his predecessors. Robert de Sabillon obtained celebrity in his time as a distinguished *Déchanteur*.‡ He was succeeded by Pierre de la Croix, a master who, on account of the improved system of notation which he introduced, received the well-merited title of *Optimus Notator*.§

We now come to Jean de Garlande, classed by Coussemaker with the didactic masters of his time. He wrote a profound treatise on Mensural music, a work which exhibits a considerable improvement in musical theory. During this period the *Quadruplum* form was but rarely used in vocal compositions, being principally employed in instrumental music. Still it must not be forgotten that the *Quadrupla* in the Montpellier manuscript were written for the voice.

We have already referred to a passage in the treatise of Jean de Garlande as a proof of the existence of Double Counterpoint in the twelfth century, and it will be not less important to note that Jean de Garlande and another old French writer of this time, Aristote, distinguished between three kinds of dissonances, viz., perfect, imperfect, and middle.||

* In reference to the method of tuition adopted by Léonin and Pérotin and other contemporary masters, Coussemaker says:—"La méthode en usage pendant cette période a été, selon toute vraisemblabilité, celle que Jérôme de Moravie a insérée dans son traité sous le titre de 'Doctrina vulgaris' (doctrina vulgaris)" ("L'Art Harmonique," &c., p. 40).

† This period may be taken to agree with that of Coussemaker, who says:—"L'époque où vécurent Robert de Sabillon et Jean de Garlande doit se placer vers le milieu du XII^e siècle" ("L'Art Harmonique," p. 42).

‡ Fuller information concerning Sabillon is to be found in Coussemaker's "*Scriptorum de musica mediæ ævi nova series*," vol. i., p. 344.

§ The notes used by the old French school were square, the same as those drawn in our coloured illustration of "the singing monks" of the thirteenth century. They were used in conjunction with our present five-lined staves.

|| Under the head of *perfect* dissonances, Jean de Garlande mentions the minor second, the

Jean de Garlande also gained celebrity as a composer. Several fragments still extant bearing his name exhibit at the same time the learned theorist and the practical musician, so that in his lectures and writings on the theory of music he had no need, like his brother musicians, to seek for examples from the works of other men, but supplied the required illustrations by specimens from his own compositions. One of these examples, written in Double Counterpoint, we have already given (see No. 169*).

The third epoch of the old French school, 1170—1230 A.D., comprising as it does the names of the older and younger Franco, is justly described by Coussemaker as “la période franconienne.”†

We have before pointed to the curious fact that without exception all the histories of music that have hitherto appeared have treated of one Franco only. It is now, however, beyond contention that there were two celebrated masters of this name.‡ The elder Franco, *i.e.*, Franco of Paris,

tritone, and the major seventh, whilst Aristote gives only two—the major second and third. The *imperfect* dissonances, according to Garlande, were the major sixth and minor seventh, whilst Aristote names the minor and major sixths. Under *middle* dissonances Garlande includes the major second and minor sixth, Aristote inserting the major third and the minor second, which, considering the euphony of the one and the cacophony of the other, is astonishing. If we compare the classification of the two masters, that of Jean de Garlande will be found to be by far the more preferable. We cannot agree, therefore, with Coussemaker when he says that “les classifications de Garlande sont vagues et arbitraires. On n’aperçoit là ni principe ni base scientifique qui y aient servi de fondement.” Although the science of the old French master was not founded on any well-conceived basis, it would appear, nevertheless, that he did not, like the Greeks, determine on any interval by mathematical ratio only, but that he also relied upon the judgment of the ear. Thus we find that, unlike his predecessors, he did not regard the major third as an imperfect dissonance, but as a consonant interval. Referring to Aristote, we must briefly notice that he was the author of an important treatise on the tonal art in which he inserted nine of his original composition. “Aristote,” however, is generally considered to be the pseudonym of a writer who lived about the year 1180 A.D.

* The influence of Garlande upon the music of the period in which he lived, an era that includes the names of Sabillon and Pierre de la Croix, was so great that Coussemaker speaks of that time as “la période où Jean de Garlande a écrit son traité sur la musique mesurée” (“L’Art Harmonique,” p. 40).

† These dates are supported by well-authenticated information taken from Fétis, Coussemaker, Ambros, and others. According to these authorities, the older Franco flourished about the last thirty-five years of the twelfth century; the younger Franco, according to Coussemaker, not before the end of the same century; whilst Ambros dates him about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and Jérôme de Moravie, the third master of the Franconian period, according to Coussemaker, at the early part or first third of the thirteenth century, and according to Ambros up to the middle of the thirteenth century.

‡ To show how, even until very lately, the notion of two Francos was disregarded, I will

was called by his contemporaries *Franco Primus*, in order to distinguish him from the younger *Franco*.*

By a remarkable coincidence, both masters had not only the same name, but were almost of the same period.† And, what is even more important, both *Francos* distinguished themselves by the additions and improvements to the laws of *Mensural* music, which exercised a reforming influence on the tonal art of their period. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the two *Francos* were confounded the one with the other, and still more so when we remember that the knowledge of historical facts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was of so vague a character that even in the fifteenth century there existed but little information concerning the two previous centuries.‡ Although the “Anonymous” of the British Museum does not state the nationality of *Franco Primus*, yet, from the existence of several specimens taken from the celebrated treatise “*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*,” bearing the signature *Franco Parisiensis*, we should judge him to have been a Frenchman. Forkel gives one of these specimens in his general “History of Music,” which bears the above name. The Abbé Gerbert, in his preface to the third part of “*Scriptores de Musica*,” speaks of a manuscript in the Ambrosian library at Milan bearing the signature of *Franco Parisiensis*.|| One must, therefore, accept Paris as the birthplace of the elder *Franco*, and all the more so, because the author of the world-renowned “*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*” could only have been sur-

quote a passage from a work by Ambros, published at Breslau in 1864 A.D., wherein he says, “I do not think it at all necessary to assume the existence of two *Francos*” (“History of Music,” vol. ii., p. 360).

* The credit of being the first to point out the existence of two *Francos* of different nations and periods belongs to the already referred to “Anonymous” of the British Museum:—“Il appelle l'un *Franco primus* et l'autre *Franco de Colonia*” (“*L'Art Harmonique*,” p. 171).

† *Franco* of Paris could scarcely have flourished more than twenty—or at the outside thirty—years earlier than his namesake of Cologne.

‡ As an illustration of this we would instance the case of Jean de Muris, who, although living in the fourteenth century, knew of the existence of only one *Franco*:—“C'est de *Francon* de Cologne que parle Jean de Muris, qui ne semble pas avoir connu l'autre” (“*L'Art Harmonique*,” p. 174).

|| Robert de Handlo, Jean Haubois, and Jean Balloce all refer to a treatise written by a *Franco*, but without any reference to the nationality of the author. It was, however, understood to refer to *Franco* of Cologne. But on a close examination of the text of this treatise, the assumption that its author was the *Franco* of Cologne cannot in any way be maintained, and we are driven to the conclusion that the work must have emanated from a *Franco* other than that of Cologne.

named Primus and Parisiensis in order to have distinguished him from his namesake of Cologne.

Both Francos wrote several part-songs. From a treatise of the elder Franco on the Mensural song, it is evident that he was the author of the method known as the *Doctrine franconienne*, a method that obtained the favour of all musicians during the latter part of the twelfth century. A comparison of the treatise "*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*" with a similar treatise written by the Cologne Franco is found to be very instructive, as it enables us to form a just appreciation of the efforts of each in the development and dissemination of the reformed Mensural song. The honour of originating the improved method of the Mensural song belongs to the Parisian Franco. He was also the first music teacher who introduced into the choir of Notre Dame a perfected system of rules and traditions, and he further extended the knowledge of the different values of notes. Remembering now that Franco of Cologne flourished at a time subsequent to the Parisian master, we can only regard him as a disciple, though a very important one, of the Paris school. The celebrated "Doctor," as Jean de Muris calls the Cologne Franco, was not only the propounder of theoretical rules, but also a writer, the examples given in his treatise being taken from his own compositions. Some fragments of his works were, according to Muris, performed as late as the fourteenth century in Paris, a period nearly two hundred years after the first appearance of the master upon the scene. Thus the second Franco retains his distinguished reputation, although for the future a part of the honour which formerly had been his must be conceded to his predecessor.

The third and last of the masters of "la période franconienne" which we shall notice was Jérôme de Moravie, or Hieronymus de Moravia. A native of Moravia, in Austria, he quitted his country for some unexplained cause to seek an asylum in the French capital, where he lived until the end of his life. This may be assumed from his entering the Dominican monastery of S. Jacques, and from the many years during which he exercised the calling of a music master in Paris. For these and other reasons we are inclined to regard Jérôme de Moravie as representing the old French school more than Odington and Franco de Colonia, especially as he so thoroughly adopted the method of Franco Primus, and explained it in his treatise "*De Cantus Vulgaris Positio*." The chapter in this work treating of the movement of

counterparts, and the strict rules laid down in reference thereto, is remarkable, elucidating and exemplifying the rules, as it does, by numerous specimens of notation. The work closes with the following sage advice addressed to his pupils:—"If you have studied and well digested all these rules, then by careful application you may easily acquire the whole art of the 'discantist.'" And, truly, the old master was right, and that not for his own time only, but also for the present, for the rules laid down by him are almost identical with those of our own day.*

The fourth period of the old French school, although disregarded by Coussemaker, we date from the year 1230 to 1370 A.D.† In its general character this era has been generally regarded as the period of the *musica nova* represented by Philippe de Vitry, Jean de Muris, and Guillaume de Machaut. They were looked upon by their contemporaries as the exponents of the *ars nova* in contradistinction to the Franconian doctrine, which was called *ars antiqua*. One of the essential points of difference between the two was the introduction of a number of musical signs into the *ars nova*,

* The statement of Quetif and Echard in their "Scriptores Ordinis Prædicat," vol. i., p. 159, that Jérôme flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century—an opinion which doubtlessly led Dommer to speak of him as existing in 1260 A.D.—seems less probable than that of Coussemaker, that his works followed so closely upon those of Franco of Cologne that we may regard them as contemporaries ("L'Art Harmonique," p. 159).

† Although this period is not recognised by Coussemaker as belonging to the old French school, we yet find ourselves to a certain extent in harmony with that learned historian. In his pamphlet, "Les Harmonistes du Quatorzième Siècle," he says, "La France, qui avait en une prépondérance marquée dès l'origine de la musique harmonique, semble l'avoir conservée en grande partie pendant le XIV^e siècle," and names almost the same men of that time which we have included in our fourth period. But the idea of a school with its attendant train of masters and pupils is never recognised by Coussemaker, and, in order to prevent future erroneous assumptions, we specially draw attention to the point here. Coussemaker speaks of an "école gallo-belge," which cannot by any manner of means be brought into relation with the four periods into which he divides the harmonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If one accepts, as we do, that the school to which Léonin, Pérotin, Robert de Sabillon, the elder Franco, and Jérôme de Moravie belonged, was, on account of their connection with the Sorbonne and the cathedral of Notre Dame, exclusively a French one, then, as it is equally a well-ascertained fact that Guillaume de Machaut and Jean de Muris were both connected with the Sorbonne and Notre Dame, and also that they lived in the city of Paris, and that their works both theoretical and practical were based on the principles of the Parisian school, we must look upon them as belonging to the old French school also. And even Jean de Garlande, Pierre de la Croix, and Philippe de Vitry must be numbered with the masters of this school—firstly, as they were Frenchmen by birth, although not living entirely in Paris; and, secondly, because their works show a distinct leaning towards Paris.

which greatly facilitated a freer movement of polyphonic parts. To Philippe, Bishop of Meaux (born 1270 A.D. at Vitry, near Calais, died 1330 A.D.), is ascribed the introduction of *Minima*, i.e., the division of the semibreve into two minims, and also the use of the semiminima, or crotchet. He was both theorist and composer, and amongst the most celebrated of his manuscripts are the "*Ars Contrapuncti Magistri Philippi de Vitriaco*," now in the monastery of the Oratorio in Rome; the "*Ars Nova*," in the Vatican; and the "*Ars Compositionis de Motetis, compilata a Philippo de Vitry, magistro in musica*."

Not less important as a composer was Jean de Muris, of Normandy (1300—1370 A.D.). Jean de Meurs, as his countrymen called him, was, in 1330 A.D., made Doctor of the Sorbonne, and later Deacon and Canon, and he seems to have been as well versed in philosophy and mathematics as he was learned in musical theory and composition. To him we are indebted for the first clear definition of Discantus,* and also for the information that in his time three kinds of tempi were in use, viz., Lively, Moderate, and Slow, which might be likened unto our Allegro, Andante, and Adagio. It is also De Muris who states what must be considered an important fact in the history of the art of music, that Pierre de la Croix, author of a number of valuable compositions, adopted the practice of setting against the breve sometimes four, six, seven, and even nine semibreves.† The practice of embroidering by discant, which formerly had done service, degenerated to such an extent in the time of Muris, that discantists unacquainted with theory indulged in the most inappropriate variations and ornaments. John Cotton compared them to revellers, "who, reaching home safely, cannot tell how or by what way they came." And it is not less refreshing to notice with what exuberant anger Jean de Muris addresses the vitiators of pure art:—"You throw notes by chance like boys throwing stones, scarcely one in a hundred hitting the mark, and instead of giving

* He says: "In principio, in discantu non erant nisi duo cantus, ut ille qui tenor dicitur, et alius qui supra tenorem decantatur, qui vocatur discantus" ("*Speculum Musicae*," book vii., cap. 3, now in the Bibliothèque at Paris).

† Several of these examples are given by Muris, and it is entirely owing to these that we are enabled to fix certain compositions in the Montpellier manuscript as being those of La Croix. Amongst the many manuscripts of La Croix now in the Paris Library, we may mention "*Tractatus de Musica*," "*De Numeris, qui Musicas Retinent Consonantias*," "*Ars Discantus*," and, finally, the voluminous work to which reference has already been made, "*Speculum Musicae*."

pleasure you cause anger and ill-humour. Oh, what gross barbarism!" This is well worthy of notice, as it shows us that those masters who, through the primitive state of their art, had in their own music so much that was harsh and unrefined, instinctively possessed a fine sense of feeling, and that they carefully tended the germs of their beloved art which was one day to bloom into so magnificent a flower.

The third prominent master of the fourth and last period of the old French school was Guillaume de Machaut (also Machault and Machau), born at Rethel, in the province of Champagne, 1284 A.D., and who we know was still living in Paris in 1369 A.D. He was both poet and musician. In 1301 A.D. he entered the service of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, wife of Philippe le Beau. In 1316 he became secretary to Johanns von Lützelburg, King of Bohemia, and in 1346 private secretary to John of France. He was the composer of the celebrated Mass,* known as the Coronation Mass, which was written by Machaut for the coronation of Charles V., successor to John of France. This historical work is only accepted by Kiesewetter as the rude essay of an isolated naturalist. We, however, trace in it the germs of that style to which belong the Masses of Josquin des Près, and even those of Gombert and Lassus, although, of course, the latter were the expression of a much higher state of artistic perfection. Thanks to Coussemaker's important discoveries, we no longer regard Machaut as an "isolated naturalist," but as the consummation of a school which had existed for three hundred years, and therefore the last master of the old French school.

It must be here remarked that the development of polyphony, which had been so rapid from the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth centuries, considerably slackened its pace after that time, not only in France but elsewhere. This is clearly proved by the works of the Frenchman Firmin Caron, the Belgian Dufay, Hobrecht and Willaert of the Netherlands, and even Palestrina, whose part-writing, owing to the gradually lessened use of Double Counterpoint, was simpler and less artificial than that of Jean de Garlande and Walter Odington. The Netherland and Italian composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show a greater predilection for chords, and especially the triad, than their French predecessors.

If we ask why this skilful membering of parts fell into disuse already

* Deciphered by Perne.

before the fourteenth century, at the same time that the polyphonic in architecture was rapidly developing into a state of perfection, the answer will be that only in the comparative age of the two arts can we seek for any satisfactory explanation.

As far as the author is aware, he was the first, when making a comparative analogy of the historical development of the arts, to draw attention, in his "*Tonkunst in des Culturgeschichte*," to the relative age of music and architecture. The importance of this will be at once apparent on comparing the state of the two arts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Paris. We see two arts developing themselves from richly-endowed bases, each with its several independent and opposing elements, but all united into one organic whole. The younger art, music, was unequal to the task of generating a polyphony, and received its strongest impetus from its elder sister, architecture. The contact being a local one, *i.e.*, occurring in the same city, Paris, was all the more fruitful, and still more so in that it occurred even in the same cathedral, Notre Dame. And Paris was the most favourable ground on which such a development could take place, and the French, with their national love of centralisation, were the most fitted to combine into a united whole the various component parts of an art. The musical art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was like the string of an instrument that vibrates by sympathy with the action of a more powerful neighbouring string. It was too young to act for itself, or help in any polyphonic development. It was led and acted upon entirely by architecture. This will show why the old French masters knew comparatively so little of polyphony, and why for so many years the art of the contrapuntist remained in a dormant state. Still they threw out sufficient germs to enable the masters who came after them to build up that grand system of amalgamation of parts which is brought to such perfection now-a-days. Thus it was that a culminating point in the older art was reached in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris and the cathedral of Cologne, which was only attained in the younger art in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Lotti and Sebastian Bach, five centuries after the first seeds were sown by the old French contrapuntists.*

* Another example of a young art influenced by an older one is that of painting, the art forms of which are based entirely on those of the older art of sculpture. Both arts were influenced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the then predominating style

But the specimens of imitative canon music of the church choirs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which are still extant show that the musicians of those days were not altogether insensible to the utility of the contrapuntal principles of the Parisian school; and the first master to whom belongs the honour of having collected and arranged in a very intellectual manner those principles which seemed likely to die away, and which, as far as Double Counterpoint was concerned, actually did cease to exist for a couple of centuries, was Dufay (1350—1432 A.D.), a native of Chimay, Hennegan. From these he evolved a method which placed him at the head of the Gallo-Belgic school, an institution which was the immediate predecessor of the far-famed Netherland school. Before entering upon a dissertation on this, however, it will be very necessary to cursorily glance at the various phases which music underwent during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in Germany, France, and Italy.

In Paris and the lands lying to the north-east of the French capital, the deep earnestness of the composers vented itself in Church music of a severe character, wherein might be traced the germs of the grand vocal style of the future. In Italy, curiously enough, instrumental music gained the greater number of adherents, special attention being devoted to this branch. This bent cannot be ascribed to the influence of the Troubadours, as we know that they never flourished to the same extent in Italy as the Minnesingers did in Germany, or the Trouvères in France. It can only be explained by the fact that all southern nations, and especially the Italians, loved sound for the mere sensuous effect that it produced, and hence the development of the mechanism of musical instruments received a large share of their attention. It was not only the people, but also the intellectual classes that threw themselves with ardour into the hitherto unknown joy experienced by concerted playing on various instruments. Sometimes

of Gothic architecture, the period, it will be remembered, when statues and pictures of saints were immoderately and disproportionately long. Both plastic and painting were soon left behind by the restless architecture ever striving upwards. Nor did they, until a couple of centuries later, acquire that freedom and independent expression which we find in Giotto, Orcagna, Luca Signorelli, and others of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Paris, 1150 A.D., the Gothic style was adopted for buildings, whereas elsewhere the Romanesque was in the ascendant. In painting an approximately high style and technique was only attained in Paris in the fourteenth century. The author hopes to deal with this more fully when completing his work, "*Die Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte.*"

harps and psalteries were used in accompanying a singer, and sometimes it was the simultaneous sounding of horns and flutes and instruments played with the bow that charmed the auditors. Among the educated classes, however, this newly-awakened pleasure assumed a more ideal character.

This will be at once apparent by a glance at our illustration, "*Il sogno della vita*" (*see* page 321), copied from the mural painting of Orcagna of the fourteenth century called "*The Triumph of Death*."* The illustration is taken from the Florentine's masterpiece, now in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Orcagna flourished from 1329—1389 A.D., and was therefore a contemporary of Jean de Muris and Guillaume de Machaut. That section of Orcagna's work from which our group is taken bears the inscription "*The Dream of Life*." It contains the quietest and most delicately-conceived figures of the whole painting, all depicted with a Dante-like grandeur and dramatic effect. The soft dreamy mood that suffuses the whole would seem to have been intended by the artist to indicate the effect music had on the intellectual class of that time.

On the right we see a nobleman dressed in the costume of the fourteenth century, and wearing a garland on his brow, playing a *Gigua*, which strongly reminds one of the *Rote*, or *Crwth*. He is accompanied by a lady, sitting in the middle of the group, who plays on a stringed instrument of the psaltery kind.† As the golden-haired beauty plays with both hands simultaneously, her accompaniment must have consisted of chords, which therefore would give an harmonic basis to the melody of the *Gigua* performer. To judge from the expression of the hearers, how soft and sweet, and withal solemn and mysterious, must this melody have been. All appear to be absorbed in rapt attention by the violin-playing; even the lady who accompanies leans her head forward apparently to listen the more attentively, and desiring only to find a fitting accompaniment to the soloist. The pensive maiden between the performers appears lost in dreamy wonderment. Two others, to the left of the solo player, seem to be united by

* We know very well that Crowe and Cavalcaselle deny that Orcagna could ever have painted such a work, but, until this has been positively proved to our satisfaction, we cannot admit it as that of either Lorenzetti or Daddi, as it is unquestionably the work of a master-hand.

† There can be no doubt that this is not a harp, as the resonance-box is provided with ventages, and the strings run in threes.

that mutual bond of sympathy which impels them to listen with intense earnestness.*

It is characteristic of Orcagna's painting, and very pertinent to our contention, that in the group to the left of the original the artist has portrayed two lovers who walk dreamily along, followed by two angels of Death bearing inverted torches, signifying thereby that they are the next victims of the merciless reaper. In the next group, and that is the one which we have brought before our readers, Death is altogether absent, the lovers of art appearing to be shielded from all evil by the gentle powers which sweet music has woven around them. But, whatever may be the true interpretation of this celebrated work, it is a fact that there are few paintings extant which, like Orcagna's "Dream of Life," so vividly bring to our minds how great was the influence which the Christian tonal art, or, as it has not been inaptly termed, "musical mood," exercised over the feelings of the people of the fourteenth century. Even the soft dreamy atmosphere which the artist has infused into his drawing, combined with the hazy, green, laurel background, the delicately-tinted cheeks, the plaited golden auburn hair of the women—a favourite practice of painters even up to the time

* Hermann Hettner believes our illustration to be an allegorical representation of the Song of Solomon, as explained by St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the Middle Ages (Hettner's "Italian Studies," Brunswick, 1879). The garden, which in the Song is compared to the Church, is made to represent the Bride of Christ, and our group those who, like King David, have overcome sin by sweet harmony. But however gratifying such a symbolical explanation may be, we cannot accept it as the only possible one. It seems to us rather to represent the cheerful charm of life's joys characteristic of the time of Boccaccio, which is also that of Orcagna. At that period the pleasure experienced by concerted playing on instruments took firm hold of the educated and wealthy classes; and might not the artist have intended to convey that even amongst those joys of the purest kind the "dream of life" might be passed, and yet Death with his iron grasp pitilessly claims his victims, and hurries them before the Judge of all? Such, at least, would seem to be the true interpretation, to judge from the figure of Death, depicted in the original painting in the group next to that of our drawing, who, with weapon on high, is ready to strike his victims. It is also in keeping with the tone that pervades the "*Media vita in morte sumus*," and teaches that those who when in the enjoyment of divine harmony are swept away by Death are nearer to their God and his benignant love than those who are stricken down in the midst of their sins. Such explanation, too, is borne out when we remember that the practice of music in the cloisters was regarded as one of the means by which evil was guarded against. And, indeed, it seems to us that this can be the only true interpretation, as Orcagna has depicted souls being carried heavenward, and further to the left of the spectator he shows us open coffins with their mouldering dead, and on the right the symbol of regenerated life in a beautiful garden, justifying the title of our fragment "*Il sogno della vita*."

of Titian and Veronese—and the harmonic combination of colour depicted in the flowing robes, all unite to gently lead us into a kind of musical reverie.

Apart from all speculations as to the allegorical or real meaning of Orcagna's painting, it at least possesses for us one great merit, in that it clearly shows that the exercise of concerted music in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not the exclusive practice of musicians. Neither was the tonal art cultivated only for the service of the Church, and what is also of importance, no longer did art-music remain antagonistic to, and unconnected with, the music made by the people. The higher classes took an active interest in and practised music for its own intrinsic worth. Music became the object of an æsthetical enjoyment, and, as our drawing shows us, served to bring together sympathetic souls whose delight was the concerted practice of music.

In the following chapters we shall discuss the development of the art of music amongst the people, showing how, after it had once rooted itself amongst them, it ever went forward. Our subsequent investigations will not only bring to notice what musical art owes to the untiring energy of its devoted disciples, but will also show how music ceased to be the exclusive property of the musician, and became fused into the every-day life of all classes of people, and more especially of the dilettanti circles of wealthy citizens, finally forcing its way as a powerful element in that civilisation wherein it holds so prominent a place to-day.

CHAPTER X.

THE NETHERLANDERS FROM THE TIME OF OKEGHEM TO ROLAND DE LATTRE.

ALTHOUGH in our dissertation on the old French school we referred to a number of masters, yet that galaxy of lights was not so great as to defy counting. But with the growth of so many schools, all the offshoots of the old French, this becomes impossible, and we involuntarily recall the words of Goethe when he exclaimed, on treading Italian soil for the first time: "At first one hears but of the greatest artists, and we are content with

their names, but on coming nearer our own time, and approaching as it were the starry firmament of masters, and lights of the second and third degree are clearly discernible, one is filled with the thought that truly the art-world is rich indeed."

And so may we, when entering upon an examination of the various conservatoires and masters that have grown out of the old French school, re-echo the words of the great German poet, and still more so when we see that of the more prominent of the crowd of masters each attracts a constellation of his own. We shall therefore endeavour to make our explanation as clear as possible by grouping our tone-poets according to their epoch and nationality.

As we are dealing with the outgrowth of musical art from the Parisian school, those masters will naturally interest us most who either studied in Paris or who were the immediate disciples of Parisian contrapuntists; and it will be interesting to note how cosmopolitan were these disciples, embracing as they did pupils from Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, England, and even in some instances natives of Spain and Portugal. The most important of these offshoots was the school which established itself in the north-east of France and the adjacent countries, viz., Hennegau and Flanders—curiously, therefore, in the same direction as that from which the parent school received its first impulse two hundred and fifty years before.

It will now be evident why we could not before deal exclusively with the Netherland school, as the group of masters that formed the germ of that school all came either directly or indirectly from Paris, and it was therefore necessary that we should first treat of the parent institution. In the provinces of Hennegau and Flanders, inhabited by both French and Low Germans, there grew up a school which it has been necessary to allude to before as the Gallo-Belgic school. The workings of this conservatoire formed the mental connecting link between France and the Netherlands. The Gallo-Belgic school was the forerunner of the Netherland institution, and in the same way that it had been the means of transmitting the doctrines of the Paris school, so now its own laws exercised a beneficial influence on the very school that had called it into existence, its power being felt chiefly in Picardy, Artois, and still further south in Burgundy.

In the last chapter we spoke of Dufay as the most prominent master of the Gallo-Belgic school. He is distinctly, however, not to be regarded as its founder, but merely as its most prominent master. In order, therefore, to become thoroughly acquainted with the use and progress of the school, we must go back some decades and find out what it was that really made it a musical high academy for all nations. The school, it will be remembered, achieved its greatest successes between 1360 and 1460 A.D., during the greater part of which time the city of Tournay was the centre whence the knowledge of musical lore was disseminated. It was there that the original studies of the student began, and after they were completed and he had gone forth into the world as a master, it was from there that he always received his best impulses. It is to be regretted that the names of the earliest of its masters are wanting, but up to the fourteenth century they were overshadowed by the fame of the Paris masters. Yet, in the celebrated Mass of Tournay, we possess an invaluable monument to the musical genius of the Gallo-Belgic masters prior to the time of Dufay. Naturally, however, the Mass, written about the end of the thirteenth century, shows the same primitive attempts at polyphonic writing which characterise the works of Pérotin and Jean de Garlande. It is historically important in that it makes us acquainted with the intermediate attempts at polyphonic writing, and, like the specimens of the French school a century earlier, shows what advances had been made on the earliest barbaric attempts at part-writing. It is not less interesting also in showing to what a comparative state of perfection the vocal art had been carried by the trained choristers of Tournay Cathedral. The Mass is written in three parts, the tenor in the middle, with the triplum above as the discant, and the bass underneath as the motetus. The "Kyrie" has a measured earnestness, whilst the discant of the "Gloria" is loaded with heavy *fioriture*, which, notwithstanding their inappropriateness, were regarded as artistic beauties (*pulchritudines*).*

* As a rule, the discant moved in parallels (*motus rectus*) of fourths or fifths with either the tenor or motetus, the third voice having a contrary movement, called *motus contrarius*. More detailed information is to be found in "Messe du XIII. Siècle, traduite en notation moderne, et précédée d'une introduction, par E. de Coussemaker. Paris, Didron; Lille, L'Quarré. 1861." It is surprising how little this interesting and important work is known to investigators; indeed, the scanty attention generally that has been bestowed upon the labours of the Flemish savant has more than once filled us with astonishment; even where

The first name of any importance that we meet with in the Gallo-Belgic school is that of H. de Zeelandia,* the immediate precursor of Dufay. Although the exact date of his birth and death is not known, yet it is well authenticated that he flourished during the period which elapsed between the writing of the Mass of Tournay (1330 A.D.) and the birth of Dufay (1360 A.D.). The chief merit of Zeelandia seems to have been his efforts to abolish the unpleasant perfect consonances of the Greeks, especially the tedious and monotonous fourths, fifths, and octaves. The practice of using consecutive fourths, fifths, and octaves had been gradually getting less and less, and with Zeelandia it almost entirely disappeared. All his writings evince an endeavour to substitute for these unpleasant and harsh-sounding intervals the hitherto sparingly-used thirds and sixths, so that his part-writing assumes a mellifluous and euphonic character which one might in vain look for in the works of earlier masters, and he thus proves himself a worthy forerunner of Dufay. Zeelandia, or Zeeland, was, as his name would indicate, a native of Flanders, studying theory in the Gallo-Belgic school. From a treatise on music bearing his name we gather that he must have attained some celebrity as a teacher and composer of four-part chansons. In the melodies of his chansons we do not find the theme, as with Dufay, given to the tenor, but to the highest voice, *i.e.*, the treble. The text of his songs was mostly Flemish, the two principal of which being "Een Meysken dat de werbe gaet," and "Ich sach den May net Blömen naen."

As between Zeelandia and Dufay no master of any note appeared on

reference has been made to Coussemaker, it has been of a nature so superficial as to lead to erroneous deductions. We would cite as an example the "History of Music" by A. von Dommer, the second edition of which was published but three years ago. Although this writer does refer to the Parisian Franco, yet no information whatever is given as to his writings or labours; and again, in his notice on "L'Art Harmonique," he makes the Cologne Franco stand out as the one figure overshadowing all others (see page 66 of Dommer's work), whilst in Coussemaker's work we know that only just so much praise was awarded him as was his due, almost equal credit being given to the Parisian Franco, to whom indeed belongs the honour of having initiated what the other carried on. A work of such pretensions and of so recent a date as Dommer's, that deals with the question of the existence of the two Francos in a manner as scant as it is unreliable, cannot but be regarded as supporting the assertion we made some time since, that modern musical historians show a surprising absence of information on the subject of two Francos, either omitting all reference to the one or at most barely mentioning the other.

* It is believed that Zeelandia died about the year 1370 A.D.

the scene, we will at once proceed to speak of the latter far-famed musician, briefly referring, however, first to the debatable question which greatly interested musicians, as to whether there have existed two Dufays, and, if so, was the elder Dufay but a tenor-singer at St. Peter's, Rome, who died 1432 A.D., and the younger Dufay, the celebrated theorist and composer of whom we know so much, and who is said to have died 1474 A.D.?

After exhaustive investigation and careful research, we are prepared to deny entirely the existence of the younger Dufay, notwithstanding that it is so positively insisted on by Arnold.* When a writer introduces subject-matter which he knows will cause much controversy, he should surely fortify himself with some reliable data calculated to satisfy the very first questions which are sure to be addressed to him. But Arnold can give neither the time and place of birth nor death of the celebrated Dufay. Certainly, Baini refers to an elder Dufay, who, he says, died and was buried in Rome; but if such information is forthcoming concerning a master who, according to Arnold, merely attained notoriety because he bore the name of the younger musician, surely we should have been supplied with some authentic data as to the place of death, &c., of one so highly extolled as the younger Dufay. Arnold conjectures that he died in Belgium; but if this were so the place of his death would have become celebrated, and the name of Dufay, like that of Josquin des Près, a name of far minor import, would either have been chronicled in the historical records of the musical theorists, or the place of his interment have become as well known as that of some of our great poets. But proofs may be adduced to prove the non-existence of Arnold's younger Dufay, which ought to be sufficient to finally set the matter at rest. In determining the period during which a great musical writer existed, of whom little information is forthcoming, the painstaking investigator minutely gauges the exact state of the art of the supposed era, carefully noting all the peculiar characteristics of the master, his relative standing amongst his contemporaries, and the attitude of foreign masters towards him. Now, had Dufay lived, as Arnold thinks is probable, up to 1474 A.D., Antoine Busnois, a compatriot of Dufay, who died 1480 A.D., would therefore have been his immediate contemporary,

* See Arnold's dissertation on the Lochheimer Song-book, which appeared in "Chrysander's Year-Book," vol. ii., Leipzig, 1867.

and, as a natural deduction, the style of their writings would have been similar, although, of course, bearing the impress of the masters' individuality. But Busnois' compositions show such a marked advance both in style and expression on those of Dufay that it is impossible to regard them as having flourished during the same period. And Arnold's conjecture is even more irrational when we remember that we have it authentically stated that Dufay was regarded by all his contemporaries as the greatest composer of his time. This fact alone would be sufficient to prove that the leader of the Gallo-Belgic school could not have lived at so late a period as 1474 A.D.* Again, in the *Codex Parisiensis* there is a May song† written in three parts, and dedicated to "Carissime Dufay." The characters used are those of the old black notation of the period 1350—1399 A.D.; and we would ask, is it probable that a song, dedicated to a master who it is asserted lived up to 1474, would have been written in the obsolete notation of the previous century, knowing as we do that the open-note notation superseded the filled-up black notes as early as the year 1400, or, according to Ambros, in 1370 A.D.? ("History of Music," vol. ii., p. 426). Finally, the investigations of such important men as Fétis and Coussemaker, who fix Dufay's existence respectively from 1350—1432 A.D. and 1355—1435 A.D., must be regarded with some respect, because, being compatriots of the old Belgian master, their labour was one of love, enabling them to produce an amount of documentary evidence and to quote a number of authorities far in excess of any other writer, rendering their whole treatment of Dufay and his time more complete and exhaustive than that of any known historian. We therefore can only regard one Dufay as having existed, and we fix his time between the middle of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth century.‡

* Ambros in 1868 strongly opposed Arnold's assertions as to the existence of a younger Dufay. This learned historian also shows how faulty Arnold was in other respects, in stating the Flemish master Ducis to have been a German, which Ambros, by a quantity of documentary evidence, proves to be entirely erroneous. (See Ambros' "History of Music," vol. iii., 296—302.)

† "Ce mois de May," reprinted by Kiesewetter from the Paris Codex.

‡ Neither the purpose nor scope of this work would admit of any lengthy refutation of Arnold's assertions about Dufay and his work. But, seeing that such an authority as Dommer has adopted Arnold's fallacious statements, retaining them even in the second edition of his "History of Music," published as late as 1878 A.D., we feel it imperative to

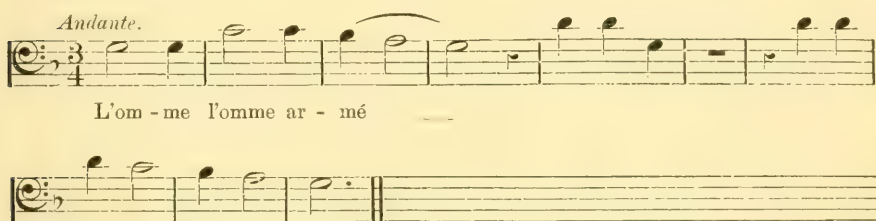
To detail all the additions and improvements which Dufay effected in musical art would be impossible, but it will not be difficult to give a summary of them. It was Dufay who, in place of the *cantus firmus* sanctioned by the Church, substituted a popular secular melody.

say a few words on the subject. Arnold bases all his suppositions on three incidents which occurred during the fifteenth century. The first of these is a reference to Dufay in some verses by Martin le Franc, quoted by Fétis, the date of which is given as 1436—1439 A.D., and this, Arnold says, conclusively proves that the master could not have died, as is asserted, in 1432 A.D. But the citation is really of little worth, for on an examination of the verses we find that no reference whatever is made to Dufay as a then living composer. Their purport is merely praise, and a laudatory reference to the master might have been made equally well six years after his decease as a few years before. But, by inference, Arnold goes on to prove from the poem that in 1437 Le Franc must have seen Dufay with his own eyes; as the poem, however, in its entirety, or even the portion referred to, is not at hand, we must for the present content ourselves with accepting Arnold's assertions under protest. And were we even to admit the construction put upon Le Franc's poem as correct, and Bainis' date of Dufay's death therefore in 1432 as erroneous, what should we gain by extending this master's period up to 1474 A.D.? Nothing. There is, we admit, some doubt as to the exact date of the death of the famous Belgian, but we cannot, like Arnold, post-date it half a century, and then end by creating two Dufays, ignoring the first as a tone-master of any importance at all. Fétis ("Biographie Universelle," vol. iii., p. 72, and vol. vi., p. 359) wavered between 1432 and 1435, but such slight indecisions cannot be held to affect our general dating of masters who flourished so long prior to our century. Therefore, although we may even admit Dufay as having lived up to 1437-8 A.D., yet we cannot acknowledge two Dufays without the production of indisputable evidence, such as Coussemaker adduced when proving the existence of two Francos. The second of Arnold's proofs is a treatise by Tinctor (1476 A.D.), entitled "*De Arte Contrapuncti*," in which the writer asserts that it was only during the last forty years that compositions arose which were worth listening to by a connoisseur. This, Arnold says, must have been in allusion to works by Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay, three contemporary composers of the middle of the fifteenth century. But on a careful study of Tinctor we fail to find any such statement. The only reference at all to our subject is the following:—"Neque quippiam compositum, nisi citra annos quadraginta, extat, quod auditu dignum ab eruditis existimetur. Hac vero tempestate infiniti florent compositores, ut Okeghem, Regis, Busnois, Caron, Faugues, qui novissimis temporibus vita functos, Dunstable, Binchois, Dufay, se praeceptores habuisse in hac arte divina gloriantur." This quotation Arnold divides into two distinct parts. The first, he says, treats exclusively of the composers of the four decades in question; and in order to avoid the possibility of any doubt as to who is intended, their names are distinctly mentioned. The second is a declaration on the part of these masters boasting of having been the pupils of Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay. Accepting this interpretation, it would not be difficult to prove that Dufay must have died some time subsequent to 1432. But if one reads Tinctor's words unbiassed by Arnold's rendering, it is quite clear that two generations are referred to, their order coinciding with the hitherto accepted chronological order of these two groups of masters, the first of which flourished in the latter and the former in the early part of the fifteenth century. We cannot arbitrarily relegate masters to the same period as that of their disciples, but Arnold relies on "*qui novissimis temporibus vita functos*" to prove that Dufay, &c., must have lived at a time subsequent to that which had been the custom to suppose

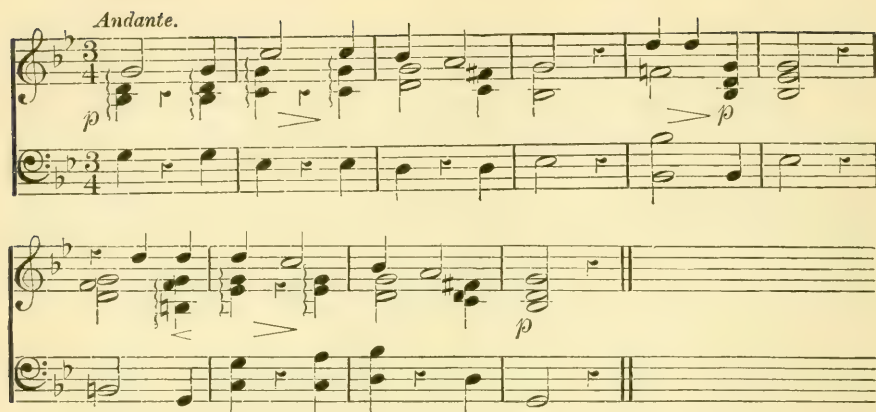
This practice subsequently became universal with the Gallo-Belgic masters, secular tunes made by the people forming, as a rule, the chief themes of their Masses. In three four-part Masses by Dufay, now in the archives of the Papal Chapel, both the melodies and texts are those of

them to have existed. It should not be forgotten either that Tinctor does not refer to these three masters individually, but as a group, and therefore the period—forty years—would cover the whole of their workings, although one might have lived and died some years before the other had risen to any note. As it is not disputed that Dunstable died at some date between 1453 and 1458, and also that Tinctor wrote about twenty years after this time, I cannot conceive that the author of “*qui novissimis*,” &c., intended his words to be interpreted as Arnold has read them. Of course, following Arnold, one might as well assert that Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Meyerbeer were all contemporaries, living as they did within a common period of twenty years, especially if a biographer of these tone-poets, writing in 1876, should refer to them as of “recent times,” although we know they died respectively 1847, 1856, and 1864 A.D. Kiesewetter, Ambros, and Coussemaker were all acquainted with Tinctor’s work, and yet neither of these investigators thought fit to alter the well-accepted date of 1432 as that of the year of Dufay’s death. Fétis, too, would have done better had he, instead of asserting Tinctor’s date to be erroneous, interpreted the phrase in the same manner that others before him had done. And yet Fétis does not at all attach the same importance to our quotation as Arnold, who asserts that Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay were mentioned in that order by Tinctor in order to show that Dunstable was the oldest and Dufay the youngest master. If Arnold had but carried this reading a little further, he would, from the couplet of Le Franc already quoted, have made Dufay an *older* master than Binchois, and therefore have found the refutation to his own assertion, as the poet mentions Dufay first in his lines. Sebald Heyden, in his treatise “*De Arte Canendi*,” also mentions Dufay before Binchois. Even Tinctor himself, in his “*Proportionale Musices*,” when referring to these two masters, alludes to Dufay as the first and Binchois as the second. It would not be difficult to show that the third source upon which Arnold relies to disprove the hitherto accepted era of Dufay is also very untrustworthy. It is a passage in a work published in 1490 by Adam von Fulda, upon which Arnold puts a complexion that suits his own contention. It will be inconceivable that Arnold, whom we have so indisputably proved to have greatly erred, does not disdain to accuse Kiesewetter, Fétis, and Coussemaker of wilful one-sidedness in their lavish praise of the Belgian school, and even goes so far as to assert that they made use of fictitious chronological data. He therefore, by implication, includes in his denunciation Gevaert, Nisard, Forkel, Winterfeld, and Ambros, as all these writers have relied for information on our three first-named investigators. But Arnold’s reckless assertions do not end here. In defiance of all historical truth, he asserts that the Germans were the inventors of counterpoint (vide pp. 57, 58, 62, 63 of this author’s “*History of Music*”). But there can be no doubt any longer as to who were the originators of *punctum contra punctum*. The Montpellier manuscript discovered by Coussemaker sets this matter entirely at rest, and incontrovertibly proves that the great merit belongs exclusively to the French. It will not then be deemed surprising to read on page 62 of Arnold’s work that he speaks of the music of the Netherland composers as that of barbarians, including in his sweeping condemnation the names of Josquin des Prés, Willaert, Gombert, Arkadelt, and Lassus. We hope by examples, &c., to show that at the early period when these masters lived, they were capable of writing in a deeply religious and withal learned manner highly creditable to their memory.

popular songs of the period—"Tant je me deduis," "Se la face ay pale," and "L'Omme Armé." The last attained such popularity that Faugues and Caron, younger contemporaries of Dufay, treated the popular melody contrapuntally in their Masses. Indeed, such a universal favourite did it become, that almost all the learned contrapuntists between Josquin and Lassus, at one time or another, utilised it as the principal theme of their Masses. The practice of substituting folk-songs for the authorised Gregorian *cantus planus* was even more extensively practised by the Netherlanders than by the Gallo-Belgians from whom they had adopted it. They, however, rarely appropriated the melody in its entirety, more often the opening strain only. Thus, in the "Omme Armé" Masses by Dufay and Faugues, the first theme occurs again and again. We subjoin the opening phrases of these two Masses, which will be found to be almost identical:—



Of course, it is not to be supposed that they were written either in the above notation or tempo. In the originals they are in the long drawn out notes of the old chorale. This appropriation of popular folk-songs by sacred composers points to a fact the important significance of which cannot be too highly estimated. It demonstrates most conclusively, in our opinion, the natural perfection which the people had attained in making their own music, and the artificiality of the masters' compositions, the result of a too strict adherence to academical law. Such a proceeding carries its own explanation. It was a laudable attempt to rescue the tonal art from the cloister, and to bring it into harmony with the everyday life of the people. The tune "Omme Armé" has about it so modern a ring that, set to an harmonic basis according to our present system, it might well be taken for the symphony to an opera romance.

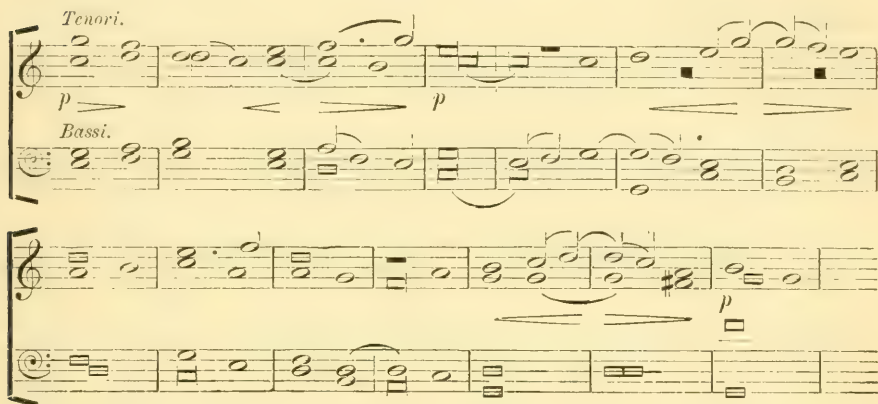


It bears undeniably a striking resemblance to the refrain of Osmin's song in the *Seraglio*; and who will assert that this old tune, used by half a hundred composers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, might not have suggested to Mozart the melody which he has worked up in so masterly a manner?

The improvements which Dufay effected in the tonal art will always be deemed important, and, remembering the time, show the master to have been a true musician. The frequent use of series of parallel fifths, which had disfigured the writings of composers up to the middle of the fourteenth century, *e.g.*, Francesco Landino, Jacopo and Guillaume de Machaut, disappeared entirely owing to his exertions, and he also was instrumental in doing away with many unskilful harmonic changes that seem to have found favour with the musicians. The notation adopted by the Belgian master was the "open note" style. As an historical landmark, however, it is more to our purpose to note the *interrupted* canonic part-writing. The imitation does not run through the whole of a composition, only showing itself here and there; still it was undoubtedly the first beginning of the purest style of canonic writing, the various parts imitating each other in strict form, without ever descending to the use of the primitive popular Rota with its never-ending phrases. With true inborn musical feeling, Dufay recognised the real worth of euphonic expression in musical art, and, asserting his own individuality, no longer held himself bound to conform strictly to the laws of the contrapuntist. Such original workings are to musical art as the first early streak of dawn

heralding the rising sun, and as the modest bud that shyly opens its petals to the beauteous flower. The following extract from the Mass "Ecce Ancilla," now in the Vatican, will at once show how comparatively advanced were the writings of the great master.

FRAGMENT FROM "ECCE ANCILLA," MASS BY DUFAY, BORN ABOUT THE
No. 172. YEAR 1350 A.D.



These few chords are very unpretentious and simple. If it is borne in mind that the writings of the old French school contained no true euphonic working, but were merely as it were so many exercises worked out by the academical skill of the contrapuntist, due praise must be given to Dufay for a work which aimed both at euphonic beauty and contrapuntal science. We are now about to draw attention to a curious coincidence in the arts of painting and music which hitherto has escaped notice. As Dufay had, by the assertion of his individuality, opened up new roads for musical art, so the brothers Van Eyck, painters and contemporaries of Dufay, prominently shadow forth an individuality of expression which was full of consequence to the after-development of the limner's art. Both painter and musician seem to work towards the attainment of the same object. The devotional contemplativeness depicted in the altar picture of the Virgin Mary by Hubert Van Eyck at Ghent appears to be the canvas delineation of the fragment we have reprinted from Dufay's Mass. The "Ave Maria" by the Netherland musician Arkadelt, given further on, also reminds us of Van Eyck's picture.

During the time of Dufay, Paris regarded itself still as the centre of the musical world, as it had really been for the past two centuries. Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century the empty and unskilful excesses of the singers, especially those of the French capital, began to supersede the strict scholastic doctrines of the old organists and contrapuntists. The marvellous embellishments so aroused the Pope's indignation that in 1322 he issued a public protest against the tasteless ornamentations with which singers, ignoring all contrapuntal laws, overloaded their Church melodies. It has been said that the Pope, John XXII., promulgated his edict only as a protest against the use of the *Fauxbourdon*, which the choristers of Avignon had introduced into the Church at Rome; but this was not the case. The Papal admonition does not appear to have had more than a passing effect, even if it had that, on the Parisian singers, for in the time of Dufay and Binchois, *i.e.*, not quite two generations from the issuing of the protest, we find all the old love of supposed decorative *fioriture* prevailing as strongly as ever. Even the French masters Tapissier, Carmen, and Cesaris, of whom the poet Le Franc says, "qu'ilz esbahirent tout Paris," are not to be absolved from the charge, as their reputation was more that of singers (and naturally, therefore, those who indulged in embellishments), and hence they cannot be compared to Dufay and Binchois. In his poem, Le Franc says:—

" Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris,
Although adored by all Paris,
Their song ne'er had so grand a sound,
As in Dufay and Binchois found."

It was about this time that Paris began to give place to Belgium as the centre of musical cult, the superiority of the latter school being admitted by Le Franc, a Parisian ever ready to praise his countrymen. The disciples, therefore, of Dufay and Binchois had every reason to be proud of their masters.

In the Vatican and the Royal Library at Brussels there are to be found ten Masses and a "Gloria" by Dufay, and in the National Library at Paris a number of three-part chansons, among which is the melody "Je prends congé," written in the old black notation.*

* It should be particularly observed that this song is contrapuncted in the black notation, because Arnold has asserted that Dufay flourished at a time when this system was no longer in

We print here in full the chanson "Cent Mille Escus," by Dufay, as it will show the student at a glance the creditable attempts made by the old Belgian master to invest his part-writing with the true canonic basis.

"CENT MILLE ESCUS."

Three-part Song by Dufay, from the National Library at Paris.

No. 173. *Not too slow.*

SUPERIUS
(*Mezzo-Soprano.*)

TENOR
(*To be sung without transposing.*)

CONTRATENOR
(*Baritone.*)

I.

Cent mille es - cus

II.

I.

Cent mille es - cus

III.

Annexed to II.

Annexed to II.

IV.

III.

IV.

III.

use. But what has not Arnold denied? As for the older (according to him) Dufay, he asserts that "he had never written a note," and that the younger Dufay, although a composer, was of inferior merit when compared to others of his countrymen. We would only remark that it seems strange that a musician, who, according to Arnold, was excelled by all his contemporaries, should have been venerated by them as their chief.

IV. varied.

IV. varied.

V.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a bracket labeled 'IV. varied.' above it. The middle staff is also in treble clef and contains a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line. There are rests in the top two staves at the end of the system.

V.

IV. In Contrary motion.

V.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a bracket labeled 'V.' above it. The middle staff is also in treble clef and contains a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line. There is a bracket labeled 'IV. In Contrary motion.' above the middle staff.

VI.

IV.

VI.

IV.

VI.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a bracket labeled 'VI.' above it. The middle staff is also in treble clef and contains a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line. There are brackets labeled 'IV.' above the middle staff and 'VI.' above the bottom staff.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line. The middle staff is also in treble clef and contains a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line. The system ends with a double bar line.

The next master of importance to Dufay was his oft-named contemporary Binchois, or Gilles de Bins, so called from the town of Bins, in Hennegau, where he was born in 1400. He died either in 1452 or 1465 A.D., the latter date being the more probable, as we know that in 1452 he held the post of "Chapelain-chantre" to Philip the Good. Tinctor says of Binchois that, as a composer, his name should be immortal. At Dijon a manuscript has been brought to light which is found to be a requiem in honour of Binchois, the first voice singing "Pie Jesu Domine, dona ei requiem," whilst the other voices have the following refrain:—

" En sa jeunesse il fut soudart (soldat)
D'honorable mondanité,
Puis a eslu (élu) la meilleur part,
Servant dieu en humilité."

As he is also referred to in this lament as "Père de joyeuseté," and "Patron de bonté," we may surmise that the learned composer was a man of amiable and agreeable temperament. With Dufay he assisted in founding the Gallo-Belgic school. Of his compositions only a few chansons, motets, and one Mass have been preserved, and are now to be found in the Royal Library at Brussels, in Milan, and in the Vatican. There is also among the collection of manuscripts in the Vatican a Mass entitled "Dixerunt Discipuli," by Eloy, a contemporary of Dufay, born about 1400 A.D., died about the middle of the fifteenth century.

With the birth of Vincentius Fauques (1415 A.D.) we enter upon the second generation of Gallo-Belgic composers. He seems to have been a writer of no mean merit, as during the pontificate of Nicholas VI. (1447—1455) his Masses were very much used. Ambros, in his "History of Music," vol. ii., p. 524, gives a portion of this master's "Omme Armé" in full score, the manuscript of the Mass being now in the Papal Chapel at Rome. (Firmin Caron—probably a relative of Jean Caron, steward to the Duke of Brabant in 1470, and, therefore, also from Brabant—was a pupil of either Dufay or Binchois. He is generally supposed to have lived between 1420 and 1480 A.D. In the National Library there are several motets and chansons by this composer, which Fétis considers superior to those of Okeghem and Busnois.*) The last but one of the most prominent

* Fétis, "Biographie Universelle," 2nd edition, vol. ii., p. 194.

masters of the Gallo-Belgic school was Regis, or Jean du Roi, whose real Flemish name was "Koninck," *i.e.*, King. He was a contemporary of Okeghem, Busnois, and Caron, and lived from about 1435 to 1485. In a collection of Italian and Flemish compositions, published by Petrucci at Venice in 1508, there are several motets and a four-part Credo by Regis.

The last, and next to Dufay the most important master of the Gallo-Belgic school, was Antoine de Busnois. To both these masters we are deeply indebted for their efforts and working in the art of music. It was they who first strove to free it from the mathematical and theoretical laws by which it had been hedged in, and which for a long time had proved so great a barrier to a successful development. It was also they who first recognised the euphonic mission of the tonal art, and strove to give it a higher and more truthful expression than the necessarily artificial one founded on a purely mathematical basis.

Antoine de Busnois was born in Flanders in 1440 A.D. From documents in the Brussels Library, it appears that Busnois for the greater part of his life lived in the household of his sovereign, the Duke of Burgundy. From 1467 to 1477 he was chapel-master to Charles the Bold, and continued to hold the same office under his successor, the beautiful Maria of Burgundy. It may be historically interesting to note that from authentic documents we learn that the scale of pay of Busnois as chapel-master was nine sous a day in 1471, thirteen sous a day during 1472-3, and in 1474 eighteen sous a day. With the accession of Maria, the pay of the precentor was reduced to twelve sous a day, this rate remaining in force during this and the following reign of Philip the Beautiful. The relations between Charles the Bold and his precentor seem to have been of the most cordial kind. Busnois accompanied the duke on his travels, and also throughout his campaigns. The royal archives in the Brussels Library show that in 1475 Busnois, together with the whole of the musicians attached to the ducal household, attended on the prince at the siege of Neuss in 1475.

During the fifteenth century the love of part-singing seems to have taken hold of all phases of society in the Netherlands; princes and people, corporate bodies both lay and clerical, vying with each other in the formation of choral societies. This is highly important if we think of the mediocre music of the Meistersingers, and the sway which it exercised over

Germany. But the Netherland part-writing was the best and most profound which the musical art of that time could produce, both as regards euphony, contrapuntal working, and melliflence. The natural outcome

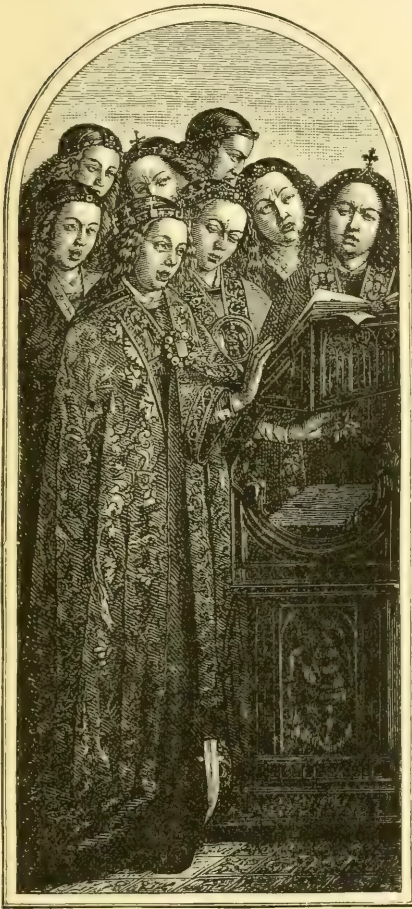


Fig. 174.—Singing Angels.

(From the "Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb," by Van Eyck, at Ghent.)

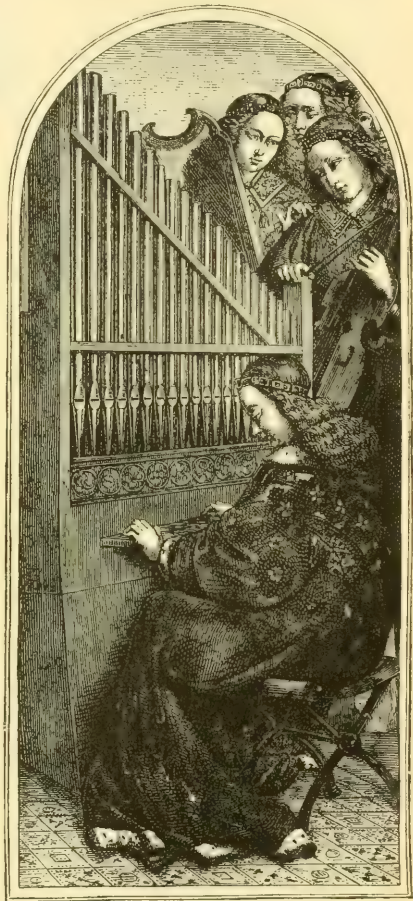


Fig. 175.—Playing Angels.

of this was the establishment of choirs in all directions, and the composition of a number of secular and sacred three and four-part songs.

To show how customary it was at that time to think of the practice of music only as a concerted exercise, we need but look at the works of the

painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from among which we copy Figs. 174 and 175, by Hubert van Eyck, a contemporary and countryman of the tonal masters of the Gallo-Belgic school. Van Eyck did not, like his brother artists, depict heavenly hosts floating in air and singing their hallelujahs, but took his type from the Netherlands who surrounded him in real life. His angels have no wings, and they stand on *terra firma*. The features of the youthful virgins on the right have—and this is remarkable considering the date of the painting—an ideal and angelic expression. Their complete abstraction from all earthly things seems to indicate how entrancing was the practice of music for them. It will, of course, be noticed that their concerted playing is directed by the organist, who plays on an instrument which had then considerably developed itself. The choir of singing angels is conceived in a more terrestrial and realistic spirit. It was the practice in the Netherlands to sing from one book, necessitating that the singers should press close to the reading-desk on which the book lay—a custom shortly after introduced into the Church at Rome. This explains why Van Eyck depicted his angels chanting from one manual. In this group the artist has drawn for us a cantor, or leader, who, while conducting with one hand and using the other to heighten or lower the desk from which the singers are chanting, also sings apparently with her whole heart. The painter has caught with rare felicity of expression the faces of the angels, who, with full face to the spectator, open their mouths just as much as is required for the emission of powerful tones. It is evident from paintings such as these, by an artist so intimately acquainted with every detail of his subject, that concerted singing in the Netherlands was no uncommon practice, and, from our historical knowledge of the state of the tonal art, we conclude that polyphonic writing must have been their burden. The opening of the mouth and the delineation of the teeth should also not pass without notice, indicating as they do the good system of vocalisation which must then have existed. The allegorical representation of St. George and the dragon at the foot of the desk would seem to show that in the Middle Ages there was a belief in the power of divine strains to overcome the Evil One—an interpretation which, we think, is well in keeping with the teachings of the Bible.

The practice of concerted singing was not confined to the social circles



THE DREAM OF LIFE.

(From the Mural Painting by Orcagna, "The Triumph of Death," in the Campo Santo at Pisa.)

of the dilettanti, but was also very popular in the army ; and we have before alluded to the fact that Antoine Busnois and numerous others followed Charles the Bold into the field. From the fact that Busnois' name disappears from the long roll of singers belonging to the ducal chapel of Burgundy in 1481, we might infer that the distinguished chapel-master died either that year or shortly before.

To give our readers some notion of the rapid progress which the polyphonic art made during the fifteenth century in the Netherlands during two generations, we append a three-part song by Busnois, with marks indicating the imitation and inversion, which should be examined in detail by the side of Dufay's "Cent Mille Escus."

CHANSON "JE SUIS VENUT," BY ANTOINE DE BUSNOIS, BORN 1440 A.D.

No. 176.

Moderato.

SUPERIUS
(Alto.)

TENOR
(First Bass.)

CONTRATENOR.
(Second Bass.)

I.

Je suis venu vers mon

Je suis venu vers mon a - - mi

Je suis venu vers mon a - - mi

a - - mi

Beginning of I. inverted.

Annexed to I.

Inversion of I. with different ending.

Inversion of I. with different

(5 5?)

Annexed to I.

Annexed to

ending.

Annexed to I.

Annexed

Inversion of I.

Beginning of I.

to Inversion of I.

The musical score is organized into three systems, each consisting of two staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. Brackets and labels indicate specific sections:

- System 1:** The top staff begins with a bracket labeled "II.". The bottom staff has a bracket labeled "Beginning of II.".
- System 2:** The top staff has a bracket labeled "II.". The bottom staff has a bracket labeled "Beginning of II.".
- System 3:** The top staff has a bracket labeled "Annexed to I.". The bottom staff has a bracket labeled "Annexed to I.".



Busnois' chanson exhibits an artistic maturity superior to that of Dufay, as far as these devices go, inasmuch as the first phrase is made the subject of the whole canonic structure of the voice parts. Imitations, inversions, and direction of movement of parts all show a systematic proceeding far in advance of the contrivances of Dufay. The latter master repeats the first phrase of his chanson only once, basing his imitations on two accidental motivi which bear no relation whatever to the opening subject. The canonic treatment of parts by Busnois is more continuous than Dufay's, the former but rarely ceasing an organic working, whilst the latter only now and again gives us a glimpse of a well-defined united part-writing. The repetition of the opening phrase at the close of Busnois' chanson, beginning with the contra-tenor, the other voices raising themselves upon the shoulders as it were of the contra-tenor, and all striving upwards, betray an undoubted and pronounced analogy to the close of Bach's fugues, the great contrapuntist compressing, as it were, the whole of his thematic workings into a few final bars. Busnois was also a bolder harmonist than Dufay, who, instead of pursuing his working in a natural manner, breaks off and takes refuge in the most elementary of contrivances. The contrast between the two is also particularly noticeable in the way that the seventh of the scale, *i.e.*, the leading-note, is used. The chary reluctance of Dufay in using the note as a resolving tone is strongly contrasted with the practice of Busnois in this respect, with whom it is the rule. The protracted use of the leading-note by Dufay in bars 7, 8, 27, 28, 30, and 31 of "Cent Mille Escus," is nowhere visible in Busnois' "Je Suis Venut," where, in every instance, the resolution is direct. The different method of treating the seventh by the masters is not only visible in the examples we have given, but appears in all their works. It is by such striking characteristics in the manner of treat-

ing the same interval that we are enabled to fix the date when composers existed, especially those of the Middle Ages, at a time when the grammar of music was beginning to form itself, and when its laws were very binding on writers; and this leads us once more to the observation that Dufay must have lived at a period anterior to that of Binchois and Busnois.

The fame of Busnois was so universal, that at his death, in 1482, special eulogies were pronounced upon him in Italy by Bartolemeo Ramis and Garzoni. In 1503 Petrucci published a collection of 150 part-songs ("Canti Cento Cinquanta"), amongst which are a number of four-part songs by Busnois. "Dieu! quel Mariage!" is especially worthy of notice, not only by reason of its very superior harmony, but also because in this composition Busnois works out a complete canon between the tenor and superius, without breaking the continuity of the tune or interfering with the free movement or flowing melody of the two other voices. There are still extant of this master's compositions a Mass in the Papal Chapel upon the popular "Omme Armé," and in Brussels a three and four part * "Magnificat," also a "Regina Cœli," several Motets, and the celebrated Mass "Ecce Ancilla," which may well be regarded as the most important musical historical monument up to the year 1475.

With the death of Busnois ended the Gallo-Belgic school, and with Master Okeghem, to whom we now turn, begins our consideration of the Netherland institution. But before treating specially of its masters, it would be as well to try and learn something of the rise and development of the school. We preface our remarks, however, with the statement that we are going to treat of the Netherland school in its broadest and most general sense. The Gallo-Belgic school, of which we have treated so fully, will therefore be regarded only as an integral portion of the whole Netherland musical conservatoires. The school in its entirety may be said to have included French Flanders, the Flemish provinces of Belgium, Holland as far as the north of Friesland, Belgian Luxembourg, the Meuse, and valley of the Sambre, as well as parts of the south and east of Burgundy. From 1369 to 1529 A.D. (*i.e.*, from Philip the Bold to the peace of Cambray) Upper Burgundy and the Netherlands formed the Duchy of

* In reference to the four-part "Magnificat" at Brussels, Fétis says, "Composition très intéressante, où l'on trouve des hardiesses d'harmonie et des libertés de style, qui indiquent un progrès depuis l'époque de Dufay."

Burgundy. This apparently extraneous information is necessary in order to explain why Goudimel, born 1510 in Upper Burgundy, has ever been numbered among the Netherland composers.

Out of these provinces two important schools grew up, the Netherland-Belgian and the Netherland-Dutch. Roughly, the two schools may be said to coincide with the two Netherland schools of painting, those of Brabant and Holland. The two sister schools of musical art, besides being connected geographically, were more intimately related by the progressive development of their music. Each possessed a style and method of treatment quite its own, and yet in the main were much the same. A tabulated statement, setting forth the contemporary masters of the two schools and the periods, is given here, and we will hereafter endeavour to show how the improvements and additions in the art of music were developed almost simultaneously in the two schools:—

THE NETHERLAND SCHOOL (1425—1625 A.D.).

A. BELGIAN SCHOOL.

1. *Period*, 1425—1512.

Principal Master: Okeghem. Also Com-père, Brumel, Petrus Platenis, Tinctor, &c.

2. *Period*, 1455—1526.

Chief Master: Josquin des Près. Also Agricola, Mouton, &c.

3. *Period*, 1495—1572.

Most prominent: Gombert. Also Ducis, Adrian Willaert, Goudimel, Clemens *non Papa*, and Cyprian de Rore.

4. *Period*, 1520—1625.

Principal Master: Orlando Lasso. Also Andreas Pevernage, Philippus de Monte, Verdonck, &c.

B. DUTCH SCHOOL.

1. *Period*, 1430—1506.

Most prominent: Hobrecht.

2. *Period*, 1495—1570.

Principal Masters: Arkadelt and Hol-lander.

3. *Period*, 1540—1622.

Principal Master: Swelinck.

At a glance one is struck with the number of masters belonging to the Belgian school compared to the Dutch. Those of the latter school, although few, yet from an artistic point were not inferior to those of the Belgian.

From all these we single out Okeghem, born between 1425 and 1430, as the chief and most important. He was the real founder of the Netherland school, improving the contrapuntal art that had been transmitted to him by the Gallo-Belgic school up to what may almost be considered a state of virtuosity. Although it is presumed by many that Dufay was his master, it is far more probable that he was a pupil of Binchois.* Among the records in Antwerp Cathedral respecting Binchois and "his fifty-three singers," the name of a young man, Okeghem, appears, and there is every reason to suppose that this was our great master. This is supported too by the fact that Chevalier de Burbure asserts, on what is considered good authority, that Dendermonde, in East Flanders, was his birthplace. Prior to 1461 he appears to have been engaged in the service of Charles VII. of France as singer, and from evidence at hand we should judge him to have remained in the service of the French monarchs, as Tinctor, in a work, "*Liber de Natura et Proprietate Tonorum*," referring to Busnois and Okeghem, speaks of the latter as "*premier chapelain du roi très-chrétien Louis XI.*" About 1484 the king appointed him Trésorier of the Cathedral of Tours, at which place it is generally supposed he died in 1512.

To Okeghem may be conceded the doubtful praise of having raised the canonic style to the highest point of subtle ingenuity. This master, with the perceptive acuteness of a genius, built up the Canon form in such a manner that there might fairly be claimed for him the honour of having pioneered the fugue brought to such perfection by Sebastian Bach. Indeed, as far as the mere contrapuntal devices of the great fuguist go, he must be regarded entirely as a pupil of the old Netherland master. But to Okeghem alone belonged the merit of having fused into an organic whole, classically conceived, all the inherited mechanical contrivances, from which he evolved a complete art-form that will ever remain as a monument to his talent. Certainly many masters prior to Bach had done good service to the fugal cause. The immediate pupils of Okeghem, viz., Compère, Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and, above all, Josquin des Près, seeing to what excesses their master's love of tonal com-

* Fétis is also of the same opinion, "*Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*," 2nd edition, vol. vi., p. 359.

binations had led him, rejected many excrescences of purely academical lore and pruned all such inartistic superfluities until they attained a comparatively pure euphonic expression.*

It must not be inferred that Okeghem was nothing more than a learned musical arithmetician. Such a judgment pronounced upon the master, and (as sometimes has been done) upon the more gifted of his pupils, would show a lack of historical acumen to be regretted in these days when so much new information is at hand. We willingly unite with those who assert that he has created a name renowned more for his capabilities as a teacher than as an inventive master. But besides those pupils who, it is not to be denied, leaned strongly towards the scientific bent of their master, there were those in whose music we trace that endeavour to make musical art what it should be—the vehicle for the expression of the feelings. But their beauty of expression was naturally undeveloped, and bore plainly the traces of that immature chrysalis stage which we find in the early periods of all arts.

The canonic form of Okeghem and his contemporaries, as developed in their works, must be regarded as of an exhaustive nature as far as the character of the compositions go. First, in Josquin des Près' Mass "Omme Armé" we find the "cancriza," *i.e.*, a retrograde movement of the *cantus firmus*, and similar devices are also to be met with in Pierre de la Rue and Hobrecht; next the *inversion* form of the Canon, *i.e.*, a counter-movement of all the intervals of the *cantus firmus*, a contrivance not to be confounded with that adopted in the *retrograde* form. In the latter the melody was repeated interval by interval, but beginning with the last note, whereas in the *inversion* Canon the inversion itself led off with the original initial note, but in continuing each interval was inverted, so that where it formerly had ascended it now descended.† Both these contrivances are to be met with in the same works; and as we have stated that new devices were adopted simultaneously by the two schools,

* To bring fully before the reader the excesses Okeghem fell into, we would refer to this master's "Deo Gratia," a Motet in *thirty-six* parts. We must admit, however, that the authenticity of this composition is not conclusively proved, as six-part works at this period were but rare; but Ornithoparcus and Glareanus, two writers of a time little subsequent to Okeghem, ascribed a similar composition to that master.

† In a Canon by Hobrecht all the thirds of the *cantus firmus* which ascended are made to descend in the repetition (Ambros, "Musical History, vol. iii., p. 68).

so now do we find this same canonical working in both Flemish and Dutch compositions. The *cantus firmus* also underwent various changes during this period by augmentations and diminutions, but these additions and reductions were strictly confined to the tenor, *i.e.*, the pure *cantus firmus*. The actual marking of the notes was not altered, the lengthening and shortening being indicated by the words *crescit* or *decrescit in duplo, triplo*, &c. Later on these forms were known as *Canon per augmentationem* and *Canon per diminutionem*.

All the various contrivances which we have drawn attention to were adopted by Sebastian Bach, but other artifices also practised by the school of Okeghem were viewed in Bach's time merely as musical curiosities, and of importance only as historical data. But their significance cannot be altogether denied, as undeniably they were the means that enabled the tonal masters of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries to gain a fluency and ease of expression without which their art would not have flourished as it did. First among these we place the repetition of the *cantus firmus*, that began with the second note of the melody, the phrase closing with the omitted initial tone; second, those canonic forms which omitted all rests of the *cantus firmus*, such omissions being indicated to the singer by *Clama ne cesses* or *Otia dant vitia*; then the canonic form which repeated the *cantus firmus* note for note, therefore giving forth the melody again; that in which the tenor was in the repetition half-retrograde and half-progressive; and, finally, that in which the *cantus firmus* was repeated with the omission of all the *minims*, *i.e.*, the shortest notes.

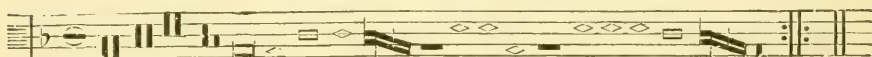
An examination of the works of Hobrecht and Josquin has brought to light a number of interesting examples in all these various forms, and after a most careful analysis we have arrived at the conclusion that such devices were not invented to puzzle the singer and to make the art of music the exponent of arithmetical musical problems, but that they arose from an earnest desire to consolidate a system of part-writing which could only exist after a complete mastery had been obtained over all kinds of musical contrivances.

The system of noting down Canons, during the time of Okeghem and the Netherland school, consisted of a formula of a few notes superscribed with a somewhat mystic Latin phrase, indicating the manner in which the

Canon was to be sung and the special contrivance to be adopted. Such cabalistic signs were in keeping with the spirit of the Middle Ages that loved to indulge in the mysterious and allegorical. Guilds especially delighted to revel in symbols and manifestations of all kinds, the key of which was known only to the initiated members. Therefore it was that the Netherland tone-masters, in whose country guilds abounded more than anywhere else, formed themselves into a society, framing their tonal laws in the same mystic spirit as the regulations of other corporate bodies, so that their mysteries should be intelligible only to those who had passed through their ranks. To the layman these silent indicators were as oracles, and even to the superficial musician they were difficult of explanation. It was from the adoption of this enigmatical system that such tone-formulæ have, not altogether improperly, been called "Enigmatical Canons," for, like most enigmas, they can only be solved when one is in possession of the key.

Okeghem is always singled out as the master who above all others cultivated a taste for the Enigmatical Canon; but Dufay largely adopted similar devices—*e.g.*, the subjoined tonal phrase, with its Latin superscription, indicating the special motivo of the master's Canon on the "Omme Armé."

AD MEDIUM REFERAS, PAUSAS RELINQUE PRIORES.*

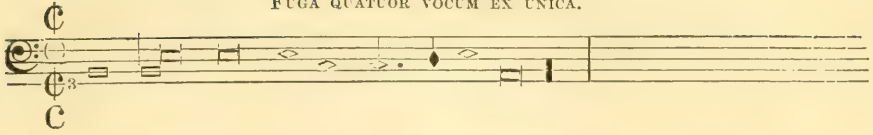


As a rule the Enigmatical Canon was marked *Ex una plures* or *Plures ex una*, meaning that from one given part several were to be evolved, special renderings being indicated by special formulæ. Glareanus, in referring to this method of marking, says, "Amavit Jodocus ex una voce plures deducere; quod post eum multi æmulati sunt, sed ante eum Joannis Ockenheim ea in exercitatione claruerat."

The following example of an Enigmatical Canon, from which four voice parts are to be evolved, is by Pierre de la Rue:—

* The words *Ad medium referas* indicated that in the first canonic repetition the notes were to be reduced to half their value; *pausas relinque priores*, that the pauses preceding the cantus were to be omitted in the last repetition.

FUGA QUATUOR VOCUM EX UNICA.



It is most interesting to observe how from one phrase a whole tonal composition can be developed, in which the opening theme by constant repetition gains the character of a complete subject. This must evidently of itself have proved a powerful factor in the consolidation of the fugue form, the chief and real principle of which is the erection of a complicated yet perfectly related whole upon one subject.

It has been said that where such a multiplicity of contrivance existed, the masters—*i.e.*, Okeghem and his pupils—could only have been musical mathematicians; but an examination of the works of some of the latter will disclose several instances where attempts have been made to simplify the tonal art with the evident desire to arrive at a purer and more truthful expression, which should command our unstinted praise. We have before alluded to the excellent work done in this direction by Dufay and Busnois, and we now include in the same category Hobrecht, Josquin, Arkadelt, and Brumel.

The three-part passage which follows, by Hobrecht, is of a very touching character, the ending being especially plaintive.

END OF "PARCE DOMINE," BY JACOB HOBRECHT, BORN 1430 A.D., AT UTRECHT.

No. 177. *Slowly.*

SOPRANO. *p* *(Entreatingly.)*
 es et mi - - - se - - - ri - - - cors mi-

TENOR. *p* *(Entreatingly.)*
 es et mi - se - - - ri - cors mi - - se -

BASS. *p*
 et mi - se - - - ri - - - cors

se - ri - cors ex - au - di nos

ri - cors ex - au - di nos ex -

ex - au - di nos in ae -

in ae - ter - nam Do - ri - te - nu - to mi - ne.

au - di nos in ae - ter - nam Do - ri - te - nu - to mi - ne.

ter - nam Do - mi - ne.

We first note how expressive is the tenor where the voice ascends in the words "exaudi nos:" this movement is imitated by the *discantus superius* in the tenth and eleventh bars, the tenor rising meanwhile still higher; the childlike acknowledgment of guilt in the last five bars should also not pass unobserved.

Of a totally different character to the "Parce Domine" is Brumel's Motet for men's voices, "O Domine Jesu Christe." This composition abounds in mellifluent phrases, and throughout the impression of a grand festival is pre-eminent.*

* Van Maldeghem prints the whole of Brumel's Motet in his "Trésor Musical," vol. ii., No. 43. We have not given this writer's complete rendering, as we could not accept his accentuation and bar divisions, and have therefore altered it in such places as we considered it doubtful of interpretation.

BEGINNING OF A MOTET, BY ANTONIUS BRUMEL, BORN IN 1460.

(From Van Maldeghem's "Trésor Musical.")

No. 178. *Slowly and majestically.*

TENOR I. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

TENOR II. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - te, pas - -

BASS I. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

BASS II. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - ne, jus - tos con - ser - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - ne, jus - tos jus - - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - ne, jus - tos jus -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - ne, jus - tos con - ser - -

- - - va con-ser - - - va jus - - - tos con-
 - tos con-ser - va jus - - - tos con-ser - va jus-
 - - - tos con-ser - - va jus - tos con-ser - - -
 - - - va jus - - tos con - ser - - -

- - ser - - - va pec-ca-to-res jus-ti - fi - ca.
 - - - tos con-ser - - va pec - ca - to - res jus-ti-fi - ca.
 - - - va pec-ca-to-res jus-ti - fi - ca jus-ti - fi - ca.
 - va pec - ca - to - - - res jus-ti - fi - ca.

A composition of another class is Arkadelt's "Ave Maria," which, on account of its touching simplicity, we print in its entirety. It is sweet and tuneful, and where the text requires, it is not wanting in increased animation.

The modulation from G major to B flat major through G minor is full of touching earnestness, and the change in the soprano from D sharp to D natural, the dominant of the key of the piece, is admirably expressive of joyous hopefulness.

"AVE MARIA," BY JACOB ARKADELT, BORN 1495.

No. 179. *To be played with much expression and feeling.*

SOPRANO. *p* A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum, *p*

ALTO. *p* A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum, *p*

TENOR. *p* A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum, *p*

BASS. *p* A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum, *p*

a - ve Ma - ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e - ri-bus

a - ve Ma - ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e - ri-bus

a - ve Ma - ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e - ri-bus

a - ve Ma - ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e - ri-bus

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a,

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a,

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a,

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a,

o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis.

o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis.

o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis.

o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis.

The Prayer to be played much more softly than before.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

In order to enter thoroughly into the spirit of these old compositions—the firstfruits of an art-period when that art was just emerging from its infancy—it is imperative that they should be heard with choral effects. If it be attempted to render them on the piano, their character will immediately be changed, and the whole effect will be lost. First, the independent movement of parts will be no more the same; secondly, the vocal tone-colouring will be entirely wanting; and thirdly, the inability to retain the sound of the long notes will materially interfere with the general conception of the work. Even to a musician the impression would not be the same, for it must not be forgotten that the effects are purely of a vocal character.

Yet we could not refrain from presenting our readers with a few examples of these tonal compositions of the Netherland masters, for although it may not be convenient to obtain a vocal hearing of them, it can be a matter of no difficulty to play them on the piano, and in such a case we must strongly impress upon the reader the necessity of keeping the strictest time, and of paying the greatest attention to all marks of expression, and also, where no changes of harmony occur, to use

the pedal. Naturally the effect on the organ or harmonium will be still more impressive.

The examples of the compositions of the Netherland and Italian musicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which we have already given, and those which we shall hereafter introduce to the notice of our readers, have necessarily been of the simplest kind. Those of a more elaborate character, with many parts weaving themselves one into the other, would not be intelligible to the musical amateur, neither have we the space at our command.

It would now seem to be the proper place to say a few words as to the general character of the vocal compositions which we have brought to the notice of our readers. In such an examination we must remember that the old masters of the Netherland school were the inheritors of the art of the contrapuntist invented by the Paris and Gallo-Belgic schools, and therefore we have a right to look for a higher standard of composition, and we shall not be disappointed.

Almost at the beginning of the Netherland school, mechanical invention was made subservient to *idea*. It was no longer contrapuntal writing for counterpoint's sake. Excesses were toned down, and the desire unquestionably was that the contrapuntist's art should occupy its proper position as a means to an end. Euphony and beauty of expression were the objects of the composer. In part-writing each voice was made to *relate* to the other in a manner totally unknown to the Paris masters. Such were the first beginnings of the "canonic" form, and fugato system of writing, the herald of that scholarly class of compositions known as fugues, the end and aim of which is to connect in the closest possible manner the various component parts.*

It was this complete mastery over counterpoint in all its varying details that gave to the contra-puntists such unbounded artistic liberty. No longer was it necessary that they should, like the organists, cantors, and magisters of Paris and Tournay, exhibit their power over newly-

* It must be pointed out that the Canon of the Netherland period was already known as the "Fugue" (*Fuga ligata*), which was indeed more strict than that form which we now call Fugue, as in the former the parts were strictly imitative, and each followed the other without any intermission, thereby suggesting the pursuit of one voice by another, hence the name *fuga* (flight), whilst in the modern fugue the imitation is generally separated from the theme by interpolations.

acquired contrivances, but, as the inheritors of a system of inventive skill, the devices and contrivances fell into their proper and natural channel, and were regarded as merely subordinate to a purer tonal expression of feelings than had hitherto been attempted. Henceforth counterpoint was but a means to an end, and art-music began to assume for the first time the characteristics of folk-music, *i.e.*, the free, pure, and natural outflow of heart and mind, with the invaluable addition, however, of intellectual manipulation. This was the new style of vocal composition—a purified and simple music, yet garnished with all the lore that academical training could supply. The examples in this and the next chapter belong exclusively to this class.

After this brief reference to the vocal writing of the Netherland tone-masters, we will return to their history. The first name that meets us is that of Jacob Hobrecht, or Obrecht, born 1430 A.D., at Utrecht, on the Rhine, died 1506, at Antwerp, and who was therefore a near contemporary of the Belgian Okeghem, of whom indeed he was one of the most zealous and devoted followers, adopting all that master's scholastic and contrapuntal inventions. But his admiration of his master's learning did not prevent him from writing pieces in which truthfulness of expression was pre-eminent (*vide* the end of No. 177). He acquired great repute among his contemporaries; the choir of the Bruges Cathedral, for whom he had specially composed a Mass, journeyed to Antwerp solely to do him honour, and festive processions were held to celebrate his glory. Borbone, Bishop of Cortona, and leader of the Papal choir, also visited Antwerp for the purpose of paying respect to this master.

The first pupil who directly received the benefit of Okeghem's tuition was Louis Compère. Fétis believes him to have been born about the end of the fifteenth century at St. Quentin, in French Flanders, as his name appears on the roll of choristers of the cathedral of that city; but it is authentic that he died there in 1518. Antonius Brumel was also an immediate pupil of the famous Netherlander, and with Compère we find him mentioned in Crespel's "*Déploration sur la mort d'Okeghem.*"* Glareanus considers Brumel to have been one of the ablest composers of his time; and

* Van Maldeghem, in his "*Trésor Musicale*," vol. i., p. 43, states that Brumel was born in 1480 A.D. This is contradicted by Glareanus, who asserts that when quite a patriarch Brumel entered into a contest with Josquin, who it is known died 1521.

it must be conceded that those examples which have been preserved show not only an unusual musical gift, but a perfection of harmony surprising for that early period. Empty tonal constructions, which were formerly the rule, now gave place to chords of such fulness as would lead one to suppose that they were written from the standpoint of our modern feeling for harmonic euphony (see example No. 178, "O Domine"). From "La Déploration" we gather that Pierchon, or Petrus Platensis, or Pierre de la Rue, was also a pupil of Okeghem. The lines run thus :—

"Acoustrez vous d'habitz de deuil
Josquin, Brumel, Pierchon, Compère.

Pierre de la Rue, a native of Picardy, was born about 1450, and died 1510 A.D. In 1492 he was numbered with the singers of the chapel of Maria of Burgundy, and from 1499 to 1502 he appears to have been chapel-master to Philip the Beautiful. In 1506 he entered the service of Margaret of Austria, the reigning princess of the Netherlands, in which he remained till his death. The exact year in which he died is not known, but we may assume it to be about the year 1510 A.D., as in a legal document referring to that period we find his name mentioned. The master appears to have been a favourite with the fair Margaret. By her order seven of his Masses—six of which are for five voices—were bound in one volume of unusual elegance.

We now come to Johann Tinctor, the celebrated theorist to whom we have so often referred, and who, though not a pupil of Okeghem, was one of that master's warm and devoted followers. Trithemius states that he was born in 1435, at Nyvel (Nivelles), in Brabant. Selected to preach the Netherland art of music in strange lands, we shall on that account content ourselves with simply noting that he returned to his Belgian home in 1487 A.D. The date of his death is not known.

The most gifted of all the pupils of Okeghem was undeniably Josquin des Près (also written Deprès and Des Prèz). We have preferred to treat of him specially, as he stands out prominently as the founder of a great school, and as the leader of what may be termed the second epoch of the Netherland tonal art. For many years Germany, France, and Italy contended for the honour of having given birth to the illustrious master, but it has now been indisputably proved that he was born in Condé, Hen-

negau, between 1450 and 1455 A.D. In 1484 we find him singer in the Papal Chapel at Rome, but before he held this coveted post we trace him undergoing a long course of instruction in his native country. It is generally assumed that he studied under Okeghem prior to that master leaving Tours for Paris, and therefore between 1465 and 1470. It was in Rome that the extraordinary abilities of Josquin first excited attention, and indeed so great was the enthusiasm of the people for his learning and genius that none dared rival him. This explains why, on the death of Pope Sixtus IV., he was summoned to Ferrara by the Duke Hercules d'Este, where he composed for that nobleman the Mass "*Hercules Dux Ferrariæ*," one of the most celebrated of his works. From here he went to Paris, where he became *premier chanteur* to Louis XII. It is related that one day the king asked his favourite Josquin whether his powers were equal to the scoring a popular French melody in which a part should be reserved for his Majesty. The task was by no means easy, as the monarch was possessed of a very feeble voice, and of still less musical skill. But these were trifles to the sagacious master. He arranged the selected chanson for two boys' voices, adding a special part for the king, marked "*Vox Regis*," consisting of a single note running throughout the piece, reserving for himself the bass, which, it is almost needless to say, was the most important.* It may seem curious that, notwithstanding the friendly relations and repeated promises of the king to advance the master's welfare and to show his appreciation for his learning, his Majesty did so little that Josquin wrote a Motet, in the superscription of which, "*Memor esto verbi tui*," he delicately reminded the monarch of his promise. But the gentle reminder had no effect on the king, and it was left to Francis I. to redeem his predecessor's word, which he did by making Josquin Canon of St. Quentin. Konrad Peutinger states that Josquin held this post but for a very short time, accepting almost immediately the appointment of Provost in the Netherland Cathedral at Condé, under the Emperor Maximilian I. Thus the master returned in his old age to his native country, dying there, according to the inscription on his tomb, in 1521 A.D.

We must all honour Josquin for having, with innate musical perceptiveness, reduced to an extent hitherto unthought of the contrapuntal

* This composition is to be found in Glareanus' "*Dodecachordon*."

contrivances which had been heaped up to such an extent by his master Okeghem. It was really he who made them what they ever should be, the means and not the end of musical expression of feeling. He was the first to reduce the canonic imitation of the *Cantus* to the *Pes*. In the *Pes*, or ground-bass, as it has been called, the various themes appeared in a shortened manner, but always a tone higher or lower than the original melody. The *Pes* was also made the medium, apart from the *cantus*, for the expression of deep emotion. In his celebrated *Miserere*, Psalm li., he uses a *Pes ascendens* to signify the ever-increasing feeling of guilt, whilst in one of his *Motets* the *Pes descendens* is used to represent the decay and end of all human existence.

The number of Josquin's works is so great that we have space for the mention of a few only. Besides those already referred to, there exist five well-known Masses, viz., "Omme Armé," "La sol fa re mi," "De Beata Virgine," "Da Pacem" (of which the grandeur of the "Incar-natus" has never been surpassed by any master of modern times), and "Pange Lingua." The fertility of his musical invention and the beauty of his expression have before formed themes of our praise. Amongst his melodious hymns to the Virgin there are real gems breathing the spirit of that romantic feeling which in the Middle Ages was infused into all religious ceremonies. With the exception of Orlando di Lasso, no other master attained such celebrity during his lifetime. Martin Luther had a great affection for Josquin's works, and spoke of "Jodocus" (Josquin) as one of his favourite composers. In a reference to him by Glareanus, he says: "Never has nature created a more perfect artist, nor a master possessing so extensive and profound a musical knowledge."

To play or sing the compositions of this great master became the fashion throughout Europe—a fact which, considering their seriousness and the tardiness of the mental progress in those days, must be deemed very remarkable.*

Like his master Okeghem, Josquin attracted to himself a large number

* On this point Bains says, in his "Life of Palestrina," vol. ii., p. 407:—"Un tal Jusquin des Pres, o del Prato, in brev'ora diviene con le sue nuove produzioni l'idolo dell'Europa. Non si gusta più altri, se non il solo Josquino. Non v'è più bello, se non è opera di Josquino. Si canta il solo Josquino in tutte le cappelle allora esistenti: il solo Josquino in Italia, il solo Josquino in Francia, il solo Josquino in Germania, nelle Fiandre, in Ungheria, in Boemia, nelle Spagne il solo Josquino."

of pupils, but the balance of intellectual disciples is in favour of the former. Among those of Josquin appear the names of Pierre Moulu, Jean Mouton, Adrian Petit Coclicus, Jean Richafort, and Nicholas Gombert, the last of whom we shall specially refer to later on. For the present we can only refer to Jean Mouton, who seems to have so faithfully studied the principles of his master, and thoroughly made them his own, that his Motet "*Cum pulchra est*" was for a long time supposed to have been the work of Josquin. Mouton wrote also several Psalms, but his fame rests on his Motets and Masses. He outlived his master by about one year, dying 1522 A.D. In his turn he also had a pupil who attained great renown—Adrian Willaert—although it has been asserted by some that Willaert was the pupil of Josquin.*

We must now introduce to the reader a famous Dutch master, who, although a generation later than Josquin, yet stands in such close artistic relation that we deem it advisable to mention him here. This is Jacob Arkadelt, born between 1492 and 1498 A.D., in one of the Dutch provinces of the Netherlands. It is generally assumed that Arkadelt (written Arcadelt and Arcadet) was a pupil of Josquin, but this is contradicted by Fétis. However this may be, it cannot be denied that his works show so decided a leaning towards the teachings of Josquin that the presumption is certainly in favour of his having studied under the famous Belgian. As Arkadelt's sphere of action was entirely outside his native country, we have contented ourselves with this brief reference to the amiable and exemplary master, intending to deal fully with him in the next chapter.

The third epoch of the Belgian school dates from the time of Nicholas Gombert. Gombert may be taken as the leading spirit of the new phase of musical progress, his co-workers being Adrian Willaert, Claude Goudimel, and Cyprian de Rore (or Van Roor), all of whom, like Arkadelt, carried their art into foreign territory. Had they practised in their own country we should unhesitatingly have coupled their names with that of Gombert, or might even have placed them before him. This period also includes the names of Jacob Berchem, Clemens non Papa, Ducis, and Jacob Vaet.

The master Gombert was born in the old town of Bruges about 1495 A.D.

* The French poet Ronsard, of the sixteenth century, speaks of Jannequin and Arkadelt as pupils of Josquin. Walther, a famous lexicographer of the seventeenth century, born 1684, also says that Arkadelt was a pupil of Josquin.

Destined for the Church, he remained steadfast to his priestly vows throughout his life, although exercising later on the functions of chapel-master. As we have before said, he was a pupil of Josquin, composing on the death of that master a six-part Lament. At the time when the Netherlands were ruled over by the Emperor of Germany, he entered early in life into the service of his sovereign. When about thirty-three years of age we find him *Musicus Imperatoris* at Madrid, where he remained from 1530 to 1534. Through the friendship and favour of the king he was installed in one of those sinecure offices in the Netherlands, which enabled him to spend his remaining years in peace in his native country.

The special characteristics of the writings of this prolific master were a natural flow, and absence of that laboured contrivance from which a master even of Josquin des Près' talent was not entirely free. Gombert was acknowledged by three of his contemporaries as the leading master of his time, his genius eclipsing that of all others. Certainly the works of the master are imbued with a charm of melodic tunefulness and artistic expression entirely wanting in the writings of the earlier Netherland tone-masters. We agree, therefore, with Fétis when he says that Gombert was a precursor of the euphonic style of Palestrina. Ambros adds that he regards the great Netherlander as a man gifted with such musical prescience as should ever make his name respected; and Finck is of opinion that it was "the noble Gombert who, above all others, indicated the path wherein his successors in the tonal art should walk." Of his compositions we would mention his "Pater Noster"—a work so full of profound religious feeling that it may take rank equal to the best compositions of Palestrina—a beautiful Motet to the Virgin, "Vita Dulcedo," an impressive Motet, "Væ, væ, Babylon, Civitas Magna," and a thrilling "Miserere."

A contemporary, and there is evidence to believe a fellow-student, of Gombert was Benedict Dux, or Benedictus Ducis, or Hertoghs. On the death of Josquin, he with other pupils wrote a "Lament," a work that shows many traces of the skilled musician. Ducis was born at Bruges in 1480, and after having completed his studies removed to Antwerp, where at an early age he was made master of a guild of musicians—the highest dignity that could be conferred on a musician in those days. In 1515 A.D. he left Antwerp, and from this moment all reliable information concerning his movements is wanting. Fétis believes that about this time he was invited

to London by Henry VIII.; but Burney contradicts this, no reference being made to the supposed visit in any musical document referring to this period. The assertion that Ducis left the musical profession for that of an ordinary schoolmaster in the town of Ulm is not less improbable. The great celebrity which he had attained in his native land as a tone-master does certainly not warrant such a supposition. We think it most probable that he retired into seclusion in his own country, where, as we know, he wrote his Josquin "Lament" in 1520, and where Fétis believes he died in 1540 A.D. The eight-part Motet by Ducis, "*Peccantem me quotidie*," is remarkable for majestic dignity amongst the compositions of that time; his Psalms, Passion-music, and *Cantiones sacræ* all justify his great fame.

We have already alluded to Gombert's labours at Madrid, and the praise to which he is thereby justly entitled; but we have to speak in still more laudatory terms of his countrymen—Willaert, Cyprian de Rore, and Goudimel—who not only journeyed to distant lands with the same object, but also founded schools. Therefore, as their work was carried on apart from their own country, our reference to them must be necessarily brief.

The first of these masters, Adrian Willaert, was born in Bruges, 1480 A.D., the birthplace, it will be remembered, of Gombert and Ducis. In the early part of his life he studied law at Paris, and it was not until some years had elapsed that he abandoned jurisprudence in favour of the art of music, mastering the intricacies of counterpoint side by side with Jean Mouton. The earliest date at which we know him to have entered upon his foreign labours is 1516 A.D.—Six years prior to this, *i.e.*, 1510, is now generally accepted as the year of the second master Claude Goudimel's birth, and his country Franche-Comté. At the comparatively early age of thirty he left his home, and, like his predecessor Willaert, sought his fortune abroad.—Our third and last master, Cyprian de Rore, was born at Mechlin (Malines) in 1516, and there is reason to believe that he entered on his travels at an earlier age than either of his predecessors.

We will close our reference to the tone-masters of the Gombert period whose work was carried on outside their native country by briefly alluding to Clemens non Papa. It is stated that this master entered the service of the Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria, exercising his art at Vienna, where he died. On an examination of the archives of the chapel and singing masters of the Imperial Church at Vienna, we fail to trace any reference to

Clemens whatsoever. Equally improbable seems the assertion of Ambros that he was born in Brussels, a statement founded on no more worthy a source than the existence of a song, "The Noble Flower Marguerita," dedicated to the reigning princess of the Netherlands of the time. There is, however, no doubt as to the high reputation he held among his contemporaries, who, be it observed, dubbed him *non Papa* to distinguish him from the then ruling Pope Clemens VII. Among the many imperishable compositions left by this master a remarkable song, "O Maria vernans Rosa," a Motet, "O Crux benedicta," and a six-part Motet, "Ave Martyr gloriosa," may enable some conception to be formed as to the character of his writings, but they will not adequately convey to us either the fertility or the grandeur of the master's invention.

A Dutch contemporary of Gombert deserving mention is Christian Jans, better known by his sobriquet Hollander. Born in Holland, 1519 A.D., we find him at the age of thirty chapel-master of St. Walburga, in the Flemish province Oudenarde. The Motets of this composer are among the most brilliant of which the Netherland school, as a whole, can boast. On entering the service of Maximilian II., he wrote a six-part Motet in praise of his sovereign, entitled "Nobile virtutum culmen Rex inclite Salve." The originality of the rhythm, briskness of movement, declamatory phrasing, and rich euphonic part-writing exhibited in these compositions combine to make the name of Hollander respected everywhere as a learned tone-poet. Effective tone-colouring and animated movement are especially conspicuous in his eight-part Motet, "Christus Resurgens." In 1564 we know that Hollander was still in the service of Maximilian, but from that date we lose all trace of him.

Approaching now the fourth period of Netherland tonal development, we are immediately brought face to face with Orlandus Lassus, the greatest master of his age, and probably the most important of the whole of the Netherland tone-poets. The several names by which this celebrated master, born at Mons, in Hennegau, 1520, six years after the birth of Palestrina, was known are as follows: first as Orlandus Lassus, then as Roland van Lattre by his Flemish countrymen, as Delattre by the French, and as Orlando di Lasso by the Italians. When a youth he was selected, on account of his possessing a very fine voice, to sing in the choir of St. Nicolas. A sad story is connected with the childhood of Lassus, the events of which greatly

influenced his life. His father was suspected of coining. Apprehended by the authorities, tried, and condemned, the lad Orlandus had the mortification to witness his parent's degradation of walking three times round the public scaffold wearing a collar made of spurious coins. So deeply did the lad suffer that he at once changed his name from Delattre to Lassus, and at the early age of sixteen left his native land to accompany Ferdinand of Gonzaga to Milan and Palermo, who had just then been appointed Viceroy of Sicily by the Emperor Charles V. At eighteen his patron sent him with letters of introduction to Naples, where he stayed from 1538 to 1540 A.D. One year later he had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, with whom he became so great a favourite that when but twenty-one he was made chapel-master of San Giovanni in Laterano. While here, 1543,* he heard that his parents were seriously ill, upon which he set out at once for his native town Mons, arriving, however, to find them both dead. The next we



Fig. 180.—Orlandus Lassus.

hear of Lassus is on a journey undertaken by him in company with an Italian nobleman, a friend of his, through England and France. From thence he returned to Antwerp, residing there two years on terms of the closest friendship with the most learned men of the city. One of his admirers, Van Quickelberg, informs us that he stimulated the enthusiasm of his musical friends to the highest pitch. In 1557 he accepted an important appointment outside his native land, and therefore for the present we leave the master, to refer to him again in the next chapter.

The next prominent master of the Lassus period is Philippus de Monte,

* Some historians assert 1549.

who, like Cyprian de Rore, was born in the town of Mechlin in 1521. He rose to the dignity of Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral of Cambrai. Soon after he was invited by the Emperor Maximilian II. to Germany, where he laboured and died. We must defer our account of the master's works until later on.

Of the masters of the Lassus period who laboured in their native land we specially mention Pevernage and Verdonck. Andreas Pevernage was born at Cambrai in 1543, and died 1591. He was made Cantor of the Cathedral of Antwerp, and, as far as our researches have gone, appears to have been the first master who provided his friends with private musical performances, at which compositions by Netherland, French, and Italian masters were played. In the archives of Antwerp it is recorded that the municipality, through their treasurer, paid to Master Pevernage 50 golden florins as an award for a volume of his part-songs published by Plantinus. So great was the master's grief at the death of his daughter, a girl of twelve, that he shortly after died. His wife has perpetuated the memory of both by a very touching lament which she had inscribed on their tombstone.

For the first of his private concerts Pevernage wrote a seven-part hymn, addressed to St. Cecilia, beginning with the words "O virgo generosa." After his death his widow published several of his works, among which were Masses for five, six, and seven voices, and Motets for the whole of the Christian year.

The second master, Cornelius Verdonck (1564—1625), born in Turnhout, spent the whole of his life in Antwerp, where he died. One member of the city corporation loved the master so much that he placed a tablet to his memory in the Church of the Carmelites. Verdonck wrote several madrigals for five, six, and nine voices which gained great favour with the people, besides a "Magnificat" for five voices, and a Mass.*

In Holland, in the second half of the Lassus period, the name of Jan Pieters Swelinck stands out as the leading master of the northern Protestant branch of the Netherland school. It is not correctly ascertained whether the master was born in Amsterdam or Deventer, both cities contending

* In the "Trésor Musicale," by Van Maldeghem, several specimens are given of compositions by Pevernage and Verdonck (Brussels, 1865).

for the honour; but the evidence is in favour of the latter town, where he is said to have been born in 1540 A.D.*

In the early part of his life the Italian school was pre-eminent as a musical academy, for it must be remembered that it was now nearly a century since the first apostles of the old Netherland institution preached their gospel in the sunny south. In 1557 Swelinck journeyed to Venice, there to study the tonal art under Zarlino and his fellow-countryman Cyprian de Rore, who had adopted Venice as his home. Our young Netherlander had already acquired considerable reputation as an organist in his native town, and he now hoped to create a name that should ever be remembered in the annals of the tonal art. His desire was not to be disappointed, for after completing his studies he returned to his home, where he very shortly attained the enviable position of being recognised as the greatest organist of the day, receiving the appointment of chief organist in the city of Amsterdam. His rare artistic merits attracted a large circle of followers, not only from among his countrymen, but also from Germany; indeed, so numerous was his following in his native country that he created quite a school of organists there, and must be regarded as the founder of that celebrated organ-school whose fame has extended all over Europe, including as it does such names as Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Scheidemann, Reinken, and Buxtehude, culminating with the world-renowned Sebastian Bach. The immediate pupils of Swelinck were Melchior Schild, Paul Seyffert, Samuel Scheidt, Jacob Schultz or Prætorius, and Heinrich Scheidemann. It was the fame of Adam Reinken, a pupil of the last master, that attracted Bach to Hamburg, there to hear his organ performance. As every one of Swelinck's pupils enjoyed a high reputation in his day, we can from that alone infer what merit belongs to him as a master. He was esteemed so highly by his countrymen that a number of rich Amsterdam merchants united in presenting him with 40,000 florins, equal to 120,000 florins of to-day, a sum sufficient to preserve him from the anxieties of life usually attendant on an artist in his old age. Swelinck died October 16, 1621, deeply regretted by all. His vocal compositions show the closest affinity to the works of his great predecessors. The chief of these is

* Some have asserted that 1561 was the year of his birth, but this is not warranted by the evidence before us.

a collection of Psalms in six and eight parts, translated by Lobwasser ; other collections of Psalms, in four, five, six, seven, and eight parts ; as well as a five-part collection of *cantiones sacre cum basso continuo*, most of which are written in the strict *a capella* style. Swelinck is also to be remembered as the first instrumental composer of note in the Netherlands school, and also as the connecting link between the pure *a capella* style of the sixteenth century and the advanced method of the seventeenth century. It is to be regretted that so few of his organ compositions have been preserved, the greater number of them having perished in the sad destruction by fire of the Strasburg Library in 1871. It is strange that a master of undeniable talent should in his leisure moments have given himself over to the fashion of the hour, and have written for the prevailing zither, for it is on record that in 1602 he published at Amsterdam the "Nieuw Chyterboeck," or book for the zither. This fact causes us to pause and inquire what progress had up to this time been made in the Netherlands in popular instrumental music.

During the time of the wayfaring musicians and minstrels the practice of instrumental music, especially in Belgium, obtained great favour, and no more striking proof of this is required than the fact that the portals and pillars of Belgian churches are frequently adorned with the representations of instrumental performers. The four following illustrations of minstrels of the fifteenth century are taken from the church of St. Gommaire, in the North Belgian town Lierre.*

The guilds which sprang up everywhere in France in the fourteenth century among the wayfaring and town musicians were equally abundant in the Netherlands. The members enjoyed the most extended rights of citizenship ; possessed their own seals and insignia of office, some of which we print here. By their writings they evince a comparatively refined sense of the timbre of the different instruments, using them in a manner productive of praiseworthy tone-colouring. They used individual tone somewhat as the painter uses special tints, not only for its special appropriateness to the object represented, but also to obtain a specially characteristic effect. They are the first masters of whom it can be said that they endeavoured to arrive at a pure tonal colouring ; certainly up to their time no attempt had been made to achieve anything of the kind.

* Van der Straeten, "La Musique aux Pays-bas," Bruxelles, 1878, vol. ii.

To every thinking mind the question would naturally address itself, how was it that so quiet, nay almost phlegmatic a people, should have been the first (dating from the time of Antonius Brumel) to enter the wide area of



Fig. 181.—Minstrels of the Fifteenth Century.

(From the Church of St. Gommaire, at Liège.)

tone-colouring, living as they did in a land under a perpetual canopy of grey, whereas the Italians, with their ever blue sky and sunny climate, were but their followers and imitators? We at once admit that the subject is too deep to be lightly discussed within the limits and scope of the present

work, contradicted as it is by the well-accepted theory that man is for ever striving to satisfy an inward craving for that which is wanting in his surroundings; for we must not leave out of sight that the Frieslanders living under the same conditions as the Dutch never had a love for musical art, and certainly never at any time tried to emulate their neighbours in this department of music. The Italians too, living, as we have pointed out, under circumstances exceptionally favourable to the development of this particular phase of the art, at first were but the disciples of the Netherlanders,



Fig. 182.—Seals of the Musical Guilds of Belgium of the Fifteenth Century.

and then later on their undisputed masters. The question is one which would require to be exhaustively dealt with if we were endeavouring to estimate with perfect accuracy the place of the musical art in the history of civilisation. Here it will be sufficient to point out a curious coincidence in the arts of the painter and musician which occur about this time. In the same manner that Adrian Willaert introduced the charm of tonal colouring to the Venetians, so Antonio da Messina, a disciple of the school of Van Eyck, introduced the knowledge of oil colouring which the Dutch had invented.

It no doubt has puzzled the reader why it was that not only Adrian, but a hundred other masters, left their native land to carry their art, or seek their fortunes, among strangers. As this second question arises we would remind the inquirer of the incessant endeavours made by the Netherlanders to preserve their country from the ravages of the ocean in the fifteenth

century, and how that at that time they were the first maritime nation in the world. By their geographical position they were enabled to put themselves into easy communication with other peoples. The two important rivers, the Rhine and Maas, also afforded opportunities for inland intercourse. By these means they were enabled to amass large fortunes, so much so that a Queen of France, at a public reception at Bruges, finding herself eclipsed by the rich trinkets of the wives of the merchant princes, exclaimed, "I fondly imagined that I alone was a queen, and here I behold six hundred." Albert Dürer also referred to the immensity of the wealth displayed on the entry of the young Charles V. into Antwerp. The magnificent town-halls at Louvain, Ghent, Brussels, and Bruges all bear witness to the opulence of the Netherlanders. And now we shall see how important an influence all this had on the development of the art of music. Nations, and especially gifted ones, have at all times in periods of their wealth turned with a munificent hand to the aid of science and art. Thus it was with the Dutch. The names of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Boerhave, Scaliger, Snellius, Mercator, Hemsterhuis, Hugo Grotius, and Spinoza, that meet our eye at this period, are all those of giants in thought and learning. It was during this era that the magnificent style of Gothic architecture was no longer confined to the erection of sacred edifices but was employed in nearly all public buildings. And so also did the art of music rise to a height such as it had never before attained in any land or at any time. And thus it was that a wealthy nation, possessing the means of frequent intercourse with all countries, propagated a knowledge of musical art, sending forth its masters to work and die in foreign lands.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find them in Italy, Germany, England, France, and Spain. What they achieved, as founders of those new brilliant schools, the works of which the world enjoys even now with pleasure, and some of which have only lately been resuscitated, the intrinsic worth of which we have only just become acquainted with, we shall treat of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

THE APOSTLES OF THE NETHERLAND SCHOOL.

In the present chapter we propose to deal with those masters of the Netherland tone-school who left their native country to preach the doctrine of their beloved art among strangers, as a collective body, and as one that could not be and ought not to be dismembered. Such a survey has hitherto never been attempted. And in our proposed treatment we hope to introduce new and various points of interest to the student, showing the world-wide influence the Flemish apostles exercised in the dissemination and development of music.

Hitherto those masters of the Netherland school who either died abroad, or whose successes were achieved outside their native country, have never been viewed as a body of men originating from one common stock, actuated by one common feeling, receiving their inspiration from one common source, and preaching one common doctrine. Their unity of working has never received at the hands of historians that attention it deserved. Never have they been regarded as disseminators of the same art, but, arbitrarily forced into schools to which they never belonged, they have only gained consideration as units of such and such a particular people among whom they laboured. Perhaps we should qualify this remark, as certainly some writers have alluded to the unity of their working. But here the investigation has ended. Nothing has been said of their having emanated from the same academy, of having imbibed their theoretical and practical knowledge at the same fountain-head, and of being impelled by one common desire of affectionately initiating others into the mysteries of their divine art. Remembering this, therefore, we have thought it fit to designate these missionaries of the tonal art "apostles." And apostles they were, for above all things they were disseminators among strange people of the principles of a new art-religion.

In the history of music as far as we have treated, only once have we observed a similar movement. This was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After the old Parisian masters had invented

counterpoint and brought it to a fair state of perfection, we find what, in a sense, may be termed the first tonal missionaries. But one important distinction is to be drawn between the two bodies of men, and it is one which deserves the special attention of the reader. The Netherland missionaries, he will observe, were all children of the land whose art they carried abroad. But the Parisian apostles were mostly foreigners themselves to Paris, who journeyed to the French capital to study the art of music and to carry their knowledge back to their own lands. Although, therefore, they were missionaries of the Paris school, yet they have not that unqualified right to the title that belongs to the Netherlanders.

We have before remarked that the bulk of the Parisian missionaries journeyed in a north-easterly direction, towards French and Belgian Flanders. There they founded a school, based on the traditions of the parent one. This institution, known as the Gallo-Belgic, became the connecting link between the old Paris and the new Netherland school.

The large emigration of Gallo-Belgic masters into Paris, their subsequent return, followed by their foreign missions, point strongly to that love of travel so characteristic of the Teuton. But the reverse was the case with the French. They cared not to exert themselves to make their art known in all lands. They had no desire that foreigners should be possessed of the same knowledge as themselves. If, thought they, any one wishes to acquaint himself with the principles of musical art as taught by us, or with any knowledge that we have acquired in science and culture, he must seek for it here. They had literally no ambition to shine beyond the borders of their own land. This was the feeling paramount during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And thus it was with the old masters of Nôtre Dame. They steadfastly set their faces against leaving their native country for the mere sake of propagating their art among strange peoples. But the Gallo-Belgic masters were all imbued with an earnest longing to initiate others into the science of the art they loved. To make pilgrimages, to preach everywhere the new religion, to force it to take root among strangers, to watch and tend its development, were in their eyes sacred duties; and from the first we find missionaries ever ready to go forth with the newly-developed style as the standard of the doctrine they loved.

The first and at the same time the most important of these apostolic teachers was the learned Dufay. Baini tells us that he was tenor singer in the Papal Chapel at Rome from 1380 to 1432, and that while holding this appointment he composed several works for the Church. In 1400 we find another Belgian master, Johannes Ciconia of Lieges, labouring in Padua. Ciconia was evidently a musician of considerable ability and much learning, as his treatise "*De Proportionibus*" unquestionably proves. He appears also to have been a painstaking composer and a skilful poet. Among those of his compositions written in the black note style there are several interesting portions of Masses, besides sundry Cantatas written in honour of the Doge and other notabilities of the Venetian Republic. As we know him to have been on friendly terms with the Paduan nobility, often writing specially in praise of them, we have classed him with the State composers, whom we propose to deal with in the thirteenth chapter. He also wrote both the words and music of a hymn of praise in honour of the University of Padua, to which celebrated institution he doubtless belonged.

Besides Dufay and Ciconia, we may assume with certainty that a great number of other Belgian masters wandered towards the south of Europe. Italy in particular was the direction to which the Gallo-Belgians turned. But it is to be regretted that we are unable to specify the particular localities in which the various masters worked. And still more is it a matter of regret that no record has been kept of such of the Netherland masters as must have visited Italy *en passant*. That many Flemish scholars did leave their home to propagate their art abroad we know for certain, and we can therefore only express our sorrow that neither their names nor those of the cities they visited have been recorded. Chief among this class must be counted Vincent Fauques, Jean Regis, and Antoine Busnois, and in support of our assertion we may adduce several facts. First, in the archives of the Papal Chapel referring to 1447—1455, certain Masses are to be found bearing the name of Vincent Fauques. Of Jean Regis there is much documentary evidence. The Vatican Library contains several compositions by this master, dated 1508 A.D. Earlier than this we find a Credo in four parts, a five-part Motet "*Salve sponsa*," a five-part Ave Maria, a Credo, and a chanson "*S'il vous plaisist*," all of which were printed by Petrucci. The fame of Busnois seems to have reached Italy before 1482, for in that year we find him the

object of praise by Ramis and Garzoni. Twenty-one years later Petrucci published his "Canti Cento cinquanta," in which were included songs by Busnois.

Among the celebrated Belgians who did not visit Italy was Binchois, a contemporary of Dufay and the supposed master of Okeghem. But although he seems never to have left his native country, his fame certainly travelled far beyond its borders. In France the poet Le Franc sang his praises, in Italy Franchinus Gaffurius, and in Germany Hermann Finck.

The Netherland school achieved much success abroad. Not only did it send forth composers and doctors of the art of music, but in addition well-trained singers were despatched to the various European countries, sometimes singly and sometimes in whole choirs. To judge from the number of invitations still extant from princes and republics requesting the presence of the schooled vocalists, the Flemish musicians must have been eminently successful in this department of their profession. So much in requisition were these choristers that they were able to select their own masters and impose their own terms. Therefore, in this phase of their foreign service, they must be kept distinct from those composers and teachers who went abroad by their own will, to preach their art wherever it might find a sympathetic and willing ear.

How highly the Flemish singers were valued is shown by the fact that in 1476 Duke Galeazzo Sforza of Milan invited thirty singers from the French Netherlands to his court, paying them handsomely for their services. An Italian writer of this period quaintly refers to them as "trenta cantori ultra-montani." Their success seems to have tempted numbers of others to seek their fortunes abroad, for about this time swarms of singers were to be found traversing the European continent. New choral societies were founded in Naples and Munich and other places, and existing choirs such as those at Rome, Venice, and Vienna recruited themselves from any of the wandering vocalists within easy access. As further opportunities will present themselves of discussing the merits of these choirs, we defer our observations till then, remarking now, however, that by the skilful management of the voice and perfect mastery over the intricacies and delicacies of their art they became favourites alike with the *dilettanti* and the crowd.

With the fusion of the two schools, Flemish, Dutch, and Belgian masters worked zealously and harmoniously for the same cause. But we have to draw one important distinction between our music-missionaries. On the one hand we have those who not only laboured abroad but whose successes were achieved entirely outside their native country; and on the other hand there are those who, notwithstanding their missionary labours, attained the zenith of their popularity among their own people, and accomplished their principal work in their own land. The first we may call "apostles," and the second "semi-apostles."

Dealing with the semi-apostles first, and therefore with those masters who worked assiduously at home, the name that stands out most prominently is that of Master Okeghem. In 1461 he left his country to enter the service of Charles VII. of France as chief singer. According to Tinctor he retained this post during the reign of Charles and that of his successor, Louis XI. As we stated in the last chapter, Okeghem died in France, holding at the time of his death the office of treasurer to the Cathedral of Tours. We have not numbered Okeghem with the "apostles," because, prior to his journey to France, he had already attained considerable notoriety in his own country, even founding a school there. Indeed, after he had fixed his abode among strangers, he still remained on terms of the closest friendship with his compatriots, so much so that they journeyed to learn from his lips the doctrine he taught, to return to their own country the disseminators of the master's oracles.

Josquin des Près must also be regarded as one of the semi-apostles. His missionary labours were carried on at Rome, Ferrara, and Paris. He died in 1521 in his native country.

The third missionary belonging to this section is a man to whom we have not as yet referred—Master Clement Jannequin. Jannequin was a native of French Flanders and a pupil of Josquin. It has been asserted by some that he was a Frenchman, but this is not warranted by the evidence. Ronsard includes him in a list of pupils of Des Près.*

* In a preface to his "*Meslanges des Chansons*," 1572 A.D., addressed to Charles IX., Ronsard says:—"Josquin Desprez, Hennuyer (Hennegau) de nation, et ses disciples Mouton, Vuillard (Willaert), Richafort, *Jannequin*, Maillard, Claudin, Moulu, Jaquet, Certon, Arcadet" (Arkadelt). This proves nothing, as we know Josquin was not the immediate teacher of all the above masters, yet some were undeniably his pupils, and as the barrier is not rigidly fixed, the possibility is not excluded of Jannequin's having actually been a pupil of Josquin.

Fétis seems to think he was named "Jannequin" from the Flemish Jean, and from this very doubtful possibility infers that he was born in the Netherlands. However this may be, it is an ascertained fact that Jannequin's studies were made during the period when Josquin's star was in the ascendant, and as his compositions were principally for the Church, there is no doubt that his works were influenced by that master. Although Jannequin poses as a sacred writer, yet his secular music is far more interesting. It is curious to remark by the way, that although a Catholic by birth and tuition, he, like Master Goudimel, seceded from the Church of Rome to enlist in the ranks of Calvin. His earliest works were Masses, Motets, and some miscellaneous pieces written for the Catholic liturgy. He also set to music Marot's versified translation of the Psalms, and several French songs by the same writer. But, as we have said, Jannequin was greater as a secular composer, and as such he will be remembered. Some of his profane pieces are known even to-day. The causes that induced Jannequin to turn his attention in the direction of secular music were somewhat similar to those that led the celebrated Gombert to write popular secular pieces. Gombert's successes unquestionably were made in the cause of sacred music, but after hours of serious working, he found relaxation in the composition of light trifles. His fanciful imagination was allowed to run wild, and the pieces he threw off in these moments were what might be termed musical jokes. A "Bird Cantata" written in this vein is full of quaint humour. A humorous parody on the Church Alleluia was another instance of his musical pleasantry. From this it would seem that, notwithstanding the firmly-rooted belief in one God and the strict religious principles of the masters of that time, their religious faith was not at all impaired by such sacred burlesques. Lastly, we quote "Le Berger et la Bergère," a really funny piece. This humoristic worldly bent of Gombert had an attraction for Master Jannequin. But Jannequin's pleasantry took a more serious and thoughtful turn. He did not play with notes for the sake of sporting with sound, but strove to reproduce the sights and sounds of nature in a manner that has been productive of much good to the modern musician. The master evidently felt an irrepressible longing to illustrate by *tone-colouring* nature under its ever-changing aspect, and life with its multifarious incidents. And his success was undeniably great. With the exception of a

few modern composers, no master who has attempted similar writing can be credited with having achieved an equal triumph. If by his jesting tendencies he was led into excesses, still they were accompanied by so much that was simple and natural, and were worked with such consummate skill, that if one cannot sometimes suppress a smile, one cannot deny their masterly writing and importance as an art-historical feature. In his "*Cris de Paris*," published in 1529, the cries of the street vendors of fish, brooms, shoes, &c., are imitated in a strikingly clever manner. Another composition, "*La Bataille*," portrays the approach of troops, accompanied by the sound of drums and fifes, the thunder of cannon, the rattling of musketry, the clanking of swords, bugle signalling, and above all this is heard the voice of the commander. And be it remembered "*La Bataille*" was written in the strict *a capella* song style, and therefore was to be entirely executed by the human voice. Other tone-paintings by this master still extant are "*Chansons de la Guerre et de la Chasse*," "*Chansons des Oyseaux*," "*La Louette et le Rossignol*," "*Prise de Boulogne*," "*Jalousie*," "*Le Caquet des Femmes*" (a five-part song), "*La Chasse au Cerf*" (a seven-part song), "*Le Siège de Metz*" (another song for five voices), and many other similar compositions. We cannot help remarking after such a long list of descriptive pieces from one composer, that programme music is not, as it is now the fashion to believe, a thing of yesterday's growth, but that it was known and practised as early as the sixteenth century.

Judging from Jannequin's great love for tone-painting, and observing the *esprit* of the French and their tendency to amuse themselves with art in a piquant and effervescing manner, we should on this ground (especially when we remember the obscurity in which the master's origin is shrouded), be more inclined to regard him as a Frenchman than a Netherlander. The circumstance that most of his works were published in Paris, and that all his life, excepting his early student-days, was passed in Paris and Lyons, would also go far to confirm our assumption. As the French school did not exist during the sixteenth century as an independent and self-existing institution, we have referred to Jannequin in connection with the Netherlanders, because no other opportunity will present itself for our treating of this original and prolific composer.

Turning now to Master Gombert, no one will be surprised that we

include him among the semi-apostles of the Netherland school, when they remember that his greatest successes were achieved in Madrid. It is very probable that the teachings of the master exercised an influence over the neighbouring composers of Portugal. Damian a Goes, born 1560 A.D., a Portuguese musician, leans in his polyphonic Church writings unmistakably to the Gombert style. The same might be said of Vaqueras, a Spanish master who also here and there unmistakably shows the Gombert influence. But this is not so difficult of explanation, as Vaqueras was directly a pupil of the Netherland school, having left his home for the purpose of studying music under the Flemish masters.

Gombert was not the only representative of the Netherland school in Spain. Alexander Agricola (1466—1526 A.D.), a Belgian, spent the whole of his career among the Spaniards. He was a pupil of Okeghem, and not unfrequently indulged in fantastic and extravagant contrapuntal tone pieces, but he has left works the classical severity of which vie with the best of those of his contemporaries. A "Regina Coeli" and several Motets published by Petrucci and Maldeghem are all in this form.*

As we are dealing with the most important only of the Flemish musicians, the next to rivet our attention is the versatile and intellectual Tinctor, or Tinctoris. We have already spoken of him in connection with his home-life in the last chapter, and our first reference to him now will be at Naples, where, prior to 1476 A.D., he was probably exercising the office of teacher. About this time he was appointed principal chapel-master and cantor to Ferdinand I., King of Naples. In 1476 he published his treatise "De Natura et Proprietate Tonorum," and following this came the well-known "Liber de Arte Contrapuncti," which he tells us he finished in 1477 A.D. From this we should presume that he did not fully enter upon his duties until two or three years after his first appointment. Amongst Tinctor's theoretical writings, his "Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium" is the oldest known published musical lexicon. The book is altogether a superior work. One of its many good qualities is that it is written in classical Latin, contrasting most favourably with the monkish Latin of

* In a rare collection of Motets published in 1538 at Wittenberg, and containing a preface by Martin Luther, we find an elegy on the death of Alexander Agricola, presumably written by Johann Walther. The superscription to the elegy, "Epitaphium Alex. Agricolae, Symphoniastae regis Castiliae Philippi," proves that Agricola was admired in Spain no less than in his own country.

the period. It exhibits in the clearest possible manner the profound thinker and philosopher besides the practical musician. Tinctor was also an able mathematician and Doctor of Laws.* What have been transmitted as his compositions are only examples written to illustrate his theoretical works. From a letter to Tinctor, still in existence, it appears that in 1487 he was sent to his native country to engage trained singers for the choir of his royal master Ferdinand. In order that his mission might be certain of success, the letter stated that he would be furnished with letters of introduction to the German Emperor and the King of France; all engagements entered into by Tinctor were to be considered binding on the king. According to Trithemius, Tinctor was living in Italy as late as 1495 A.D. The assumption by some that he returned to die in his old age in his native country is therefore somewhat improbable.

Besides Tinctor, two other masters have become celebrated in connection with the Neapolitan school: Bernhard Hykaert, or Ykaert, and Wilhelm Guarnerius. The first, it is presumed, followed his master Tinctor to Naples, and the second is generally regarded as having been one of the band of singers brought over by royal command at the time Tinctor introduced those large bodies of vocalists into the South. In the archives of the Neapolitan city of 1480 A.D., Guarnerius is referred to as "Royal Chapel-master of Naples," and in another place reference is made to him showing that he was in that city in 1478 A.D. There are still to be found several old-fashioned Motets by Guarnerius mostly in the style of Dunstable. Hykaert's compositions are also of a very primitive description. They were published by Petrucci and consist principally of lamentations. Some Church compositions by this writer are also to be found in a Codex now in the possession of the Carmelites at Ferrara.

In order to bring clearly before our readers the whole of the missionaries of the Netherland tone-school, we have not thought it advisable to adhere strictly to chronological sequence. The special schools to which the masters belong, and the particular lands in which they laboured, have, in a history of music, more importance for us. Their artistic styles, also, have

* Besides the works already named we may further mention: (1) "*De Origine Musicae*;" (2) "*Expositio Manus*;" (3) "*De Notis et Pausis*;" (4) "*De Regulari valore Notarum*;" (5) "*Liber Imperfectionum Notarum*," all by the same writer.

had their weight with us, as well as their relation to the founders of schools. Following these rules we have dealt with the apostles of the Flemish school who made their homes in Madrid and Naples. And more particularly too did we treat of these two schools first, as they are the oldest institutions, the offshoots of the Flemish school. Another strong stream of musicians wound its way from the Netherlands towards Venice and Upper Italy. The prominent masters of this section were Willaert, Cyprian van Roor, Van Boes, and Berchem. A third detachment bent its course to Rome and Middle Italy, and to this belong Philippe Verdelot, Jacob Arkadelt, and Claude Goudimel. Intimately connected with the Middle Italian apostles is that body of masters who took up their abode among the Germans living to the east of the Netherlands. The most prominent of these were Jacob Vaet, Christian Hollander, Orlandus Lassus, and Philippus de Monte. In France the efforts of the Netherlanders were more isolated and, as may be supposed, less successful.

Turning now to the schools founded by the Netherlanders in the north of Italy, that instituted in Venice claims our first attention. It was the second of the tone-schools established in Italy, and the name most prominently associated with it is that of Adrian Willaert. From the records of the master's foreign labours it seems that the original purpose of Willaert was not that of proselytising the Venetians. Our first notice of him is in 1516 A.D. at work in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. His relations with the Vatican choristers do not seem to have been of the happiest. It appears he had written a Motet "*Verbum bonum et suave*" which was very favourably received at the time. The choristers of the Papal Chapel praised it, but looked upon it, however, as a composition by the then world-famed Josquin. Willaert protested and asserted his right to the authorship. At this the Papal choir became angry and indignantly refused to sing the Motet any more. Willaert was enraged and left the city in high dudgeon. Whether the story be true or not (and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity), the master could have remained but a very short time in Rome, for shortly after 1516 we find him at Ferrara. Almost immediately on his arrival there he was offered, and accepted, the post of chapel-master to Ludwig II., the King of Hungary and Bohemia. In 1526 he resigned this appointment and turned his face in the direction of

Venice. This proved to be the most important epoch in his life. Within twelve months after he first set foot on Venetian soil he was installed in the office of chapel-master of the Church of St. Mark, at an annual salary of 70 ducats (subsequently increased to 200 ducats), a sum of much greater value then than now.

The Church of St. Mark possessed, and does to the present day, two organs, facing each other. This is supposed to have suggested to Willaert the advisability of dividing his choir into two, the natural outcome of which was the practice of alternate chanting, a usage always in favour throughout Christendom. The origin of the double choir, arising out of an almost purely accidental circumstance, is an incident that deserves to be specially remembered. For close upon 150 years this system remained without change in operation in Venice. It is of no less import to note that such an art arrangement was the work of a son of the north, and not, as might very naturally have been supposed, the work of a southerner. Willaert's compositions for two choirs impress one with a sense of majestic, unaffected grandeur. They involuntarily recall to mind those magnificent yet withal simple marble palaces that face each other on the banks of the Canale Grande and in St. Mark's Square. We do not intend it to be inferred that Willaert was the *originator* of double choruses, and that he alone introduced them to the Netherlands, for choruses for eight voices, and even more, were well known to the countrymen of Master Adrian. But their construction was not that of two complete and entirely independent four-part chorales. The voice parts were written according to strict academical rule. Harmony was purely an accident and altogether a subsidiary consideration. But in Willaert's double choruses harmony was the primary and almost the sole aim. In the former the parts were constructed according to the fixed rigid law of canonical imitation. The result was endless repetition. A oneness of melodic form and bareness of harmonic combination were produced contrasting very unfavourably with Willaert's double choruses. Only in the opening strains of the master's choruses are we reminded of canonical law, these immediately giving place to triads and common chords. It is in the compositions of Willaert that for the first time in the history of music we trace an endeavour to attain harmonic combinations which will at all coincide with our modern notions of polyphony. And Willaert, it must be said, showed a keen sense of divination as to what were well-

sounding chords, and what is more, used them to the best advantage. The old French, Gallo-Belgic, and Netherland schools were cognisant of independent *voice* movements only. They knew nothing of interweaving them so as to form one complete harmonic structure. If in examples of Brumel and Arkadelt, Nos. 178 and 179, we observe a stronger feeling for chords *as chords* than had hitherto marked the writings of their compatriots, yet it was not until Willaert's time that harmony was made the basis of contrapuntal working. The pupils of Willaert were alive to the immense gain to the tonal art under the new conditions, and in using the voice parts to form purely harmonic combinations, developed an almost new style of part-writing. We cannot refrain here from paying a special tribute of praise to our master, for prior to his pilgrimage to Venice he had written compositions in which the independent voicing of parts, as viewed from the old standpoint, were very praiseworthy, and equal to similar works of Dufay, Busnois, Okeghem, and Josquin. But with the acquisition of his double choir, he instinctively seems to have felt the true, natural subserviency of voicing to harmony. Indeed, it might with justice be said of him that he was the creator of the new style. The whole of his efforts in Venice were in the cause of harmony. This was his sole aim. He no longer sought to write part music in which the individual elements bore no relation to each other. The special movement of a part was important only so far that it constituted an harmonic element in the whole composition. At one step he went over from the use of the old Church modes to the modern system with its use of the triads built on the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, and all harmonic changes growing out of such a combination were used by Willaert in a musicianly and praiseworthy manner.

The alternating chant was first used in the service of the Psalms. The Psalmist's outpourings are eminently fitted for alternate song. Every verse may be divided into two parts, the second of which either intensifies or completes the idea expressed in the first half. Such a division seems to invite a double choir treatment. It is probable that the Hebrews may have sang their praises in the Temple of Jerusalem in responding choirs, but of this we cannot be certain; however, from the structure of the Psalms, such a method of chanting may very naturally have suggested itself, and indeed seems highly possible. Assuming this to have been so, Willaert, while reviving a practice for all succeeding generations, was perpetuating the

oldest traditions of Psalm-singing. It now becomes clear why almost all Italian Psalm composers since the time of Willaert adopted the double choir method. From Costanzo Porta, contemporary of Palestrina, to Gregorio



Fig. 183.—Adrian Willaert.

(From a Picture painted at Venice during the Master's Residence there.)

Allegri and Tommaso Bai, all sacred compositions of this kind were treated for two choirs. Even the masters of the Sebastian Bach period wrote their Motets by preference in the *a capella* style, uniting the choirs in the Fugue only. As may be supposed, the Venetians were extremely proud of their

“Messer Adriano,” as they delighted to familiarly speak of him, and called his double choir compositions *Aurum Potabile*—i.e., “drinkable gold.” And remembering the period and the state of art at the time Willaert wrote, this is really not so much hyperbole as on the first reading one is inclined to consider it. The grand and impressive effects of eight-part chanting were entirely new to the Venetians. Such massive tone-colouring must to their imaginative brains have found a ready parallel in the gorgeous shimmer of gold that glittered from the gilded cupolas of the Church of St. Mark. But even here Willaert surpassed himself. A “Magnificat” that he wrote was to be performed by three choirs. This was followed by several Psalms, also for three choirs. All these compositions were carefully studied by succeeding musicians, who saw in the complex polyphony, consisting sometimes of twelve and even fifteen parts, models of a new style worthy of the closest application. Now, remembering that the Venetians had instituted a school of painting celebrated for its diversity and harmonious blending of colour, and that it was in this very department of complex tone-colouring that Willaert so ably succeeded, then the master, by reason of his northern birth, becomes all the greater to us.

Willaert did not confine his attention solely to Psalms and Hymns, but also wrote largely and excelled in other kinds of compositions. The Motet form in which he had achieved success before his sojourn in Venice still furnished him the means of exhibiting skilled part-writing. One of his most notable Motets is that treating of the story of Susanna,* written in three movements for five voices. Caffi and Fétis affect to see in this work the foreshadowing of the Oratorio. But they are deceived, for although the subject is a Biblical one, it is not treated in epic form. The composition is nothing more than an ordinary hymn developed in a fuller manner. The birth of the Oratorio demanded other premises.

Willaert's name, too, will ever be remembered as the creator of the Madrigal in its present form, a style of composition that grew rapidly into favour, all Italy and Europe generally soon becoming acquainted with it. The Madrigal, i.e., a secular lyrical poem of either a love or pastoral theme, was first known in Provence. Thence it travelled to Italy, the first

* As a passing remark we may observe that the name of Willaert's wife was Susanna.

noteworthy composer being Casella, a friend of Dante. In its typical form the Madrigal originated in Venice. With his musical genius the Netherland master reduced the stiff and heavy *Frottole* of the local composers to the form which has remained the model for all subsequent Madrigal writers. The Madrigal was popular both with the artist and the people. The subject elected by Willaert was always that of noble and pure love. As a form of composition it was free and unrestricted by any old *cantus firmus* law. Seldom, in all his Madrigal writings, did Willaert leave the realm of feeling and love enunciated by himself as the theme of the popular song. The sole instance, perhaps, is a gondola song, "Un giorno mi pregò una vedovella," and a few others of the same class. Almost at the same time that Willaert was engaged in propagating the Madrigal song, two of his compatriots, Verdelot and Arkadelt, were likewise actively engaged in perfecting and disseminating the form. Amongst the Italian composers, and especially those of Northern Italy, there were many enthusiastic and zealous imitators of the Netherlanders. Palestrina, however, only wrote sacred Madrigals. Luca di Marenzio, who died 1599, and who, in honour of his sweet writings, was called "Il più dolce cigno," wrote exclusively secular part-songs that became the classical form of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Monteverde and Cavalli enlarged the form, adding *recitatives* and *cantelines* for single voices and instruments.

With these additions the form almost imperceptibly glides into the *Dramma per musica* of the Tuscan school, by which expression the Venetians meant the initiatory stages of the Opera as developed by them. The intellectual attainments of Willaert were of a far higher order than those of any of the masters of his own time. A glance at the classical subjects he selected for his compositions will at once evidence this. Chief among them is a setting to Virgil's verses, "Dulces Exuviae," known also by the name of "The Dying Dido." Originally it would seem that Willaert had been destined for the law, and his pupil Zarlino tells us that even in the master's old age he oftentimes referred to his early studies in jurisprudence with enthusiasm. Notwithstanding the honour universally paid him and his brilliant position at Venice, he remained true in his affection for his fatherland. On two occasions, in 1542 and 1556, we find him undertaking the arduous journey from Venice to his beloved Bruges, the latter visit extending over a period of eleven months. Feeling old age gradually overtaking him, he longed to

return finally and lay his bones in the land of his birth. But the Venetians were loud and earnest in their entreaties. Public addresses were voted him. Poems were indited in his honour. On all sides he was begged to stay, and at last he yielded to popular pressure. In his will, however, he desired his wife to realise all his property and return to his much loved Bruges.

His most prominent pupils were Zarlino, Viola, and Costanzo Porta. Willaert's countryman, Cyprian van Roor, who it will be remembered followed the master to Venice, was also one of his pupils. People contended with one another for the honour of being a pupil of the erudite master. The highest personages in the Venetian Republic were proud of possessing his friendship, and vied with each other in honouring him and receiving instruction at his hands. He numbered among his friends the oldest patrician families and the Doge himself. It may not be out of place to note that the Venetians were strongly opposed to the introduction of strangers into their republic, and that at first the Procurator's family firmly set their face against Willaert. The Doge Gritti, however, convinced of the great gain to the State of an artist of Willaert's talents residing and teaching among them, overruled the opposition, and, as we know, the Bruges master located himself in the Italian free State in 1527 A.D. Musical Italy owes a debt of gratitude to the Venetian Doge, and the Italian nation at large is indebted to this patron of art, not only for his patronage of music, but also for the erection of the Logietta on the Piazzetta, the Palace on the Grand Canal, the Library, and Mint. It was also he who invited the great architect and sculptor Sansovino to Venice in 1523.

It is recorded of Alphonse D'Este, Duke of Ferrara, that in 1562 he begged Zarlino and his own chapel-master Viola, who at that time was in Venice, to obtain an introduction for him to the grey-haired musician. On the 7th December of this year Willaert died, and was succeeded in his office at St. Mark's Church by his pupil and countryman Cyprian van Roor.

The new chapel-master was born at Malines, in Brabant, in 1516, and died 1565. At a very early age he left his home to follow the famed Willaert to Venice, where he was placed among the choristers of St. Mark's. Possessing undoubted musical talent, he soon rose into prominent notice, and on the recommendation of his master was ad-

mitted into the service of Hercules IV. of Ferrara. Our portrait of Van Roor is taken from the Ambraser collection at Vienna. Another is still in existence, taken when the master was in the zenith of his popularity. It was painted at Venice, and is surrounded by allegorical groups, among which Apollo and the nine muses are represented. Surmounting the whole are six cherubs depicted in the act of ascending steps, representing the hexachord of Guido of Arezzo, the syllables *ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la* being written underneath.*

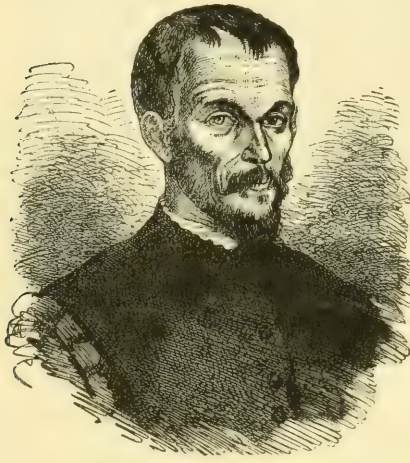


Fig. 184.—Portrait of Cyprian van Roor.

(From an Original Painting in the Ambraser Collection at Vienna.)

In 1563 Van Roor succeeded Willaert as chapel-master of St. Mark's. He could only have held this post for some time less than a twelvemonth, as in 1564 we find him *chori praeffectus* to Ottaviano Farnese at Parma. This office also he enjoyed for one year only, as in 1565 he died at the comparatively early age of forty-nine. Of the works of Van Roor, and of the system of the musical declamation of Willaert based on chromatic progression which he perfected, we shall speak later on.

The third of the Netherland apostles to the Venetians was Philipp Verdelot, his residence in Venice extending over a period of nearly ten years—viz., from 1520 to 1530 A.D. Verdelot, or Verdelotto, was born in Belgium about 1490 A.D. His name appears on the roll of choristers of St. Mark's. After leaving Venice, where doubtless he had been attracted by the fame of his countryman Willaert, he took up his abode in Florence, remaining there until about 1540. Guicciardini supposes him to have died in 1567. His fame as a composer dates from 1526, at which time he had obtained celebrity throughout Italy. Later on he was known to all

* The faded portrait of Van Roor which is given by Van Maldeghem in his "Trésor Musical" is ascribed by some to a Venetian painter. Others, however, ascribe it to Johann Melich, a German contemporary of Van Roor.

the Netherlands and France. Amongst his voluminous works some excellent Psalms and Motets deserve the most praise. One of the finest of these is "In te Domine speravi." Verdelot was also successful as a Madrigal writer, Willaert arranging several of this master's compositions for solo song with accompaniment of lute.*

The fourth and last of the Netherland apostles who worked in Venice is Jacob van Boes, or Buus. Fétis believes him to have been born in 1505 A.D., either at or near Bruges. His death may be taken to have occurred in 1560. Van Boes went early in life to Venice, where he founded a musical printing establishment. In 1541 he was appointed deputy organist at St. Mark's. This was a great step for the Fleming, as there were many candidates for the post, and among them several Venetians by birth. But the procurators unanimously decided in favour of Boes. The salary attached to the office was 80 ducats. Boes did not retain his appointment long, for shortly after entering on his duties he applied for an increase of pay. This was refused, and under the excuse of pressing private affairs he left the country, promising to return in four months. Instead of keeping his word he left Bruges for Vienna, and took service under the emperor. The procurators now began to lament their obdurate treatment, and sent instructions to their ambassador at Vienna to use all his influence to induce the master to return to Venice. Van Boes was willing to return, but fixed his own terms. These, in the opinion of the Venetians, were exorbitant, and after much unsuccessful negotiation they appointed Parabosco to the vacant office in 1551. Of the works of Van Boes we may mention a very meritorious *Ricercari* for his favourite instrument—the organ. The *Ricercari* is an art form of which we shall have occasion to speak later on. He also wrote several Motets in four and five parts for an *a capella* choir, and a number of Masses. The six-part Mass with the *cantus firmus*, "Surge Petre," is worthy of special mention. It is, however, not certain that all these works are by Jacob van Boes, as this master has frequently been confounded with Jacob Berchem. Berchem was a Belgian by birth, and flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. If we were guided by his name we should fix his

* Willaert's arrangement bears the date 1536. A copy of the work is to be found in the library at Vienna under the title of "Intavolatura de li Madrigali di Verdelotto da cantare et sonare nel liuto, intavolati per Messer Adriano."

birthplace in the village of Berchem, near Antwerp. He laboured among the Northern Italians, but without mingling with the Venetians, taking up his residence in Mantua. On account of this he was known as Giachetto di Mantova. The most fruitful part of his life may be dated between 1535 and 1565, during which time he was in the service of the Duke of Mantua. During his lifetime he was celebrated through all Italy. Excellent Motets and Madrigals by this master are to be found in several musical collections of the sixteenth century. Two of his six-part and three five-part Masses enjoyed a fair amount of popularity in his day. Among the many of his published works the Capriccios must be specially referred to. These were polyphonic compositions for the voice only, no instrument whatever being introduced. A four-part Capriccio by this master to stanzas of Ariosto's "Roland," published in 1561 by Antonio Gardano in Venice, signalises the ushering in of the Renaissance era in music. As we know that Berchem was still living in 1580 in the north of Italy, we presume that he died at a ripe old age in the arena where his early years had been spent.

Turning now to those apostles who disseminated their art among the people of Central Italy, we come first to Jacob Arkadelt, already referred to in the last chapter. There, staff in hand, we left him with his face turned towards Rome, ready to cross the Alps. He arrived in the city of his intended labours in 1540 and was at once admitted a singer in the Papal choir.* About 1544 he was appointed *Camerlengo*, an office which he held, according to the archives of the Papal Chapel, till 1549. At what period he entered the service of the Cardinal of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, is not exactly known, but in 1555 we find him with that prelate in Paris. This was the last of the master's wanderings, for shortly after he ended his days in the French capital. His compositions for the Church, all of a grand and noble character, were for the greater part written during his sojourn of nineteen years in Rome.

As a tone colourist he must be counted almost equal to his great countryman Willaert, to whose Venetian style he closely approached. In a criticism on Arkadelt's writings, Ambros draws special attention to the master's love of impressive and solemn endings; and Fétis, in his "History of Music," quotes Pitoni as having considered Arkadelt to be one of the most gifted of early Madrigal writers. The master's best efforts in

* Fétis dates his arrival four years earlier, therefore in 1536.

sacred composition were the two Masses "Missa de beata virgine" and "Ave Regina." But he was also equally successful when writing in the strict canonic style, as in the popular melodic vein. The "Ave Maria" which we printed in our last chapter, written according to rigid canon law, was received with universal favour.

The second prominent Netherland apostle to the middle Italians was Claude Goudimel. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it was probably between 1505 and 1510. Nor is his birthplace agreed upon. Some writers, and among them Liberati, contend it was in Flanders; others, and their cause is championed by Pitoni, in the neighbourhood of Avignon, whilst Duverdier asserts that Besançon was the debatable city. Our opinion coincides with that of Duverdier. The poet Melissus, one of Goudimel's most intimate friends, wrote a dirge on the master's death, in which allusion is made to Willaert's birthplace as being washed by the waters of the Doubs. It was between 1535 and 1540 that Goudimel first entered on his work at Rome. His success there was of the most unequivocal kind. By his efforts a school was founded, which afterwards became the most celebrated institution of its class in Italy. There he instructed Palestrina—the pupil whose genius was soon to outshine that of the master—Animuccia, Bettini (also called Il Fornarino), Della Viola, and Nanini. In 1555 we meet him in Paris, partner of the literary and musical publisher Duchemin. Through this friendship he was enabled to publish his setting of a selection of the Odes of Horace, treated according to their metrical measure. The genius which he displayed in illustrating the chief points of his subject, the scholarly and musicianly interpretation of the poet's thoughts, and the classical and elegant Latin in which his letters to Melissus are couched, prove Goudimel to have been a man of no mean intellectual attainments.*

In 1558 he wrote a Mass for the Catholic Church, which seems to have been the last of his writings for the Papal service, for shortly after he enlisted as a follower of Calvin.†

* The Odes were published under the title of "Horatii Flacci, poetæ lyrici, Odae omnes, quotquot carminum generibus differunt, ad rhythmos musicos redactæ. Parisiis, ex typographia Nicolai du Chemin et Claudii Goudimelli," 1555 A.D.

† Ambros is inclined to discredit this statement. But Fétis, in referring to the period 1554—1558, asserts most positively: "Qu'il n'a embrassé la religion réformée que postérieurement à cette époque." And this would seem to be supported by Goudimel's celebrated setting

The most important of Goudimel's compositions, as may naturally be supposed, were those that formed the basis for the study of his pupils. The best of these were three Masses, "*Audi filia*," "*Le bien que j'ai*," and "*Sous le pont d'Avignon*," a six-part Motet "*Crux Benedicta*," and a "*Salve Regina*"* for three choirs of four voices each, all unmistakably showing the influence of Willaert. In several parts of these works we seem to hear already the refined tone-language of Palestrina. The pupil is eminently foreshadowed in the master. It has been often asserted that the clear style of Palestrina was originated entirely by himself, and that this is evidenced by the individuality of the master. Admitting this up to a certain point, we still insist, and nothing is more positive, that Goudimel not only wrote thus himself, but that it was he who influenced his pupil in this direction. Although Palestrina in his later works surpassed his master in fertility and grandeur, yet the influence of Goudimel's teachings was clearly apparent in the "*Missa Papae Marcelli*," a Mass written according to the strict canon law of the Netherlanders, which, without employing all the contrapuntal and mechanical contrivances that had crept into the service of musical art, proved that music could still be written intelligible to all without sacrificing melody.

After Goudimel's secession from the Church of Rome, the master published in 1562, at Le Roy and Ballard, "*Les Psaumes de David mis en musique à quatre parties en forme de motets*," and in 1565 at Jaqui's another setting to "*Les Psaumes mis en rime française par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze*." The first collection contains no less than seventy-six Psalms, all worked canonically, with the exception of the melody, which is unfettered by any rule. The four-part settings in the second collection, however, have the melody in the tenor. The fame of Goudimel, and as a consequence his religion also, were known to all Paris. He was, therefore, a marked man, and orders were given that he should be included in the general massacre that was to take place on the 24th of August. At this time Goudimel resided at Lyons, and together with others of his co-religionists, he met his doom on that fatal night, his body being afterwards cast into the Rhone.

of the Psalms, and also by the now generally accepted belief that he was among the victims massacred at Lyons on that terrible eve of St. Bartholomew, the 24th August, 1572. De Thou, Barillas, and other chroniclers of the French martyrs, all include one Claudius Goudimel in their lists of the murdered Huguenots.

* The score of this work has lately been brought prominently forward by Van Maldeghem.

Up to the present we have dealt exclusively with the apostles to the Italians. Now we are about to direct our attention to those who took up their abode among the people of Germany. The master who claims the honour of being the first German teacher is Jacob Vaet, who in the first half of the sixteenth century acted as chapel-master to Charles V. After Charles's death, Vaet continued in the service of the German emperors, taking service under Ferdinand I. and afterwards under Maximilian II. He spent, therefore, the greater part of his life at Vienna, occasionally moving with the court to Prague. As a composer he possessed no mean merit. His chief works are a plaintive *Miserere*, a triumphantly grand *Te Deum* in three parts for eight voices, and a *Motet* descriptive of the Judgment Day. The tone-colouring of this last work is exceedingly marked. It depicts in so realistic a manner the terrors of eternal damnation, and the apprehensive fears of divine justice, that we are really startled. His "*Pro defunctis*," full of the deepest musical feeling, is also an important work. The "*Judgment Day*" *Motet* was written "*In honorem*" of the Emperor Ferdinand, and this was followed in 1562 by a festal hymn written for the coronation of Maximilian at Prague. A second *Motet*, "*In laudem invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Maximiliani II.*," was also inscribed to Maximilian. All the writings of this master show that he possessed a keen sense of euphonic expression and a complete mastery over all choral effects, yet they are conceived in such a pompous heavy mood that we cannot shake off a feeling of disappointment. From existing documents we know that Vaet was still living in 1564. He probably died about 1567.

In Christian Hollander we meet the second of the apostles to the Germans. We have already referred in a general manner to Hollander's artistic career, and we will therefore only briefly recapitulate the chief incidents of his life. In 1557 he left Flanders for Germany.* There he entered the service of the emperor, and like Vaet, was engaged as chapel-master. When in Austria, he sought out Vaet, and worked conjointly with that master for the dissemination of the tonal art. We have also slightly alluded to the writings of Hollander. As state composer he wrote a *Motet*, "*Nobilium virtutum*," dedicated to Maximilian II. This was followed by another of a similar character, "*Austria virtutes*." One of his best works

* "*Christian Jan, son of the Hollander, was admitted to his discharge in 1557*" (extract from the register of the Church of St. Walburga, Oudenarde, in Flanders).

is a six-part composition on the subject of St. Paul's conversion. In 1570 to 1575 a selection of his writings was published at Munich and Nuremberg. It comprised sacred and secular songs for four, five, six, seven, and eight voices, all easy of execution, and to be accompanied *ad lib.* by various instruments. The publications at Munich and his mistaken identity with his compatriot, Sebastian Hollander, the predecessor of Lassus at Munich, has led to the erroneous assumption that Hollander, in his old days, entered into Bavarian service. The inference that they were published during the master's lifetime is, we think, far more probable, and therefore Hollander would be still living in 1575.

With Orlandus Lassus we approach the third and most important of the Netherland masters of this section. His earnest endeavours to diffuse a knowledge of his art, and his devotion to the cause, have gained for the south-western provinces of the fatherland an importance equal to that achieved by Willaert for Venice. In the last chapter we followed the master's life up to 1557. In that year he left his Belgian home for ever. Through the influence of the Fugger family, merchant-princes of Nuremberg, who had also a branch establishment at Antwerp, he was appointed chapel-master at Munich to Duke Albert V. of Bavaria. Before he set out for his new home he was directed by the prince to engage a number of his countrymen possessing good voices to take service under Lassus in the ducal choir. The new chapel-master and his choir left Antwerp together and journeyed to Munich, where they were received in the most cordial manner.* Albert V. was considered, and justly so too, by his contemporaries one of the most discriminating patrons of art. The magnificent library at Munich, with its invaluable collection of manuscripts, was instituted by him. The presence of Lassus at the court of the duke seems to have given that prince the liveliest satisfaction. To have in his train a man who was not only a great artist musically, but also endowed with high intellectual gifts, was a source of intense delight to the duke. Quickelberg tells us that when it was known that Lassus was coming to Munich, report was busy as to the character and disposition of the man. He was credited with being a great artist and

* "Ex eo loco (Antwerp) anno 1557, ab Alberto Bavariae duce, summo omnium Germaniae principum Maecenate, vocatus est Monachium cum aliis Belgis" (Henr. Pantal. Prosopogr., part iii., fol. 541).

a high-minded gentleman, and the Munich folk were not to be disappointed. The brilliant wit of the master, his amiability of temper, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the wide range of his knowledge, combined to make him a favourite with all. With the duke and duchess he was especially friendly, and owing to their personal favour was admitted to the highest social gatherings. His introduction to the court nobility resulted in his marriage in 1558 with Regina Welkinger, a maid of honour attendant on the duchess. By this union he had six children — two daughters and four sons. The two eldest boys, Ferdinand and Rudolph, were afterwards celebrated as composers, but they cannot be compared to their father. The youngest, Ernest, entered as an instrumentalist into the ducal chapel, and the second daughter, Regina, formed an alliance with Johann van Achen, court painter to Rudolph II.

In 1562 the master was installed as principal chapel-master to the duke, an office that was considered the highest prize in the musical world. The ducal choir consisted of both vocalists and instrumentalists, but the latter rarely united with the vocal section. Any such combination was not possible, as the *a capella*—i.e., the purely vocal style which had been in force up to the time of Lassus—was

POVR REPOS TRAVAIL



*Hic ille Orlandus qui Lassum recreat orbem.
Discordemq; sua copulat harmonia.*

**NOBILI ET EXIMIO VIRO D^{NO} ORLANDO
DE LASSUS, SERENISS^{IMO} VTRIVSQ; BAVARIAE
DUCIS GVILIEL^M MVSICI CHORI PREFECTO**
*Johān. Sadeler eiusdē Principis chalcograph^{us} observat^{us}
erga sculpsit et dedicavit. Monachij.
cum privilegio sac. Cai. M.*

Fig. 185.—Portrait of Lassus.

(By his contemporary Ameltingue, the French Engraver.)

still preferred by that master and his contemporaries. In the same year that Lassus received his appointment as chief chapel-master, he was despatched by the duke to Antwerp to engage more singers for the ducal choir.

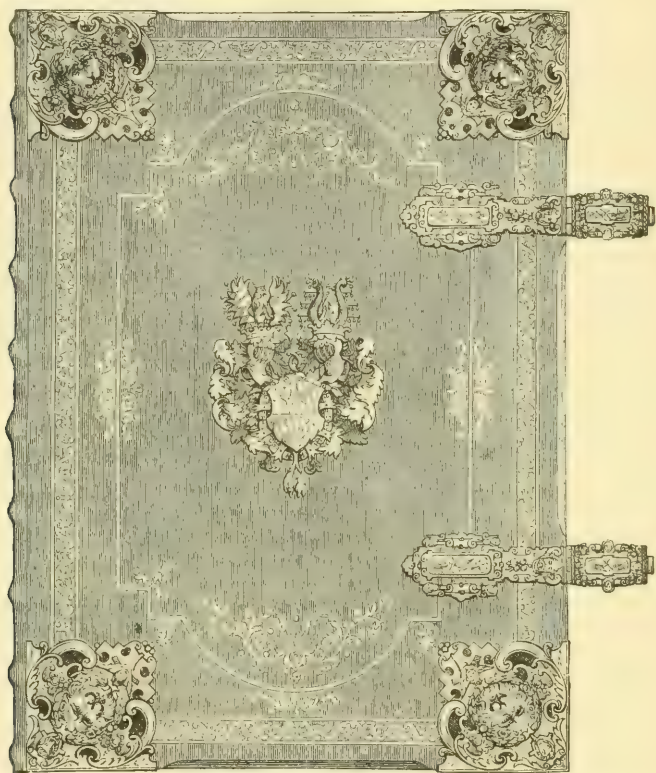


Fig. 186. —Copy of the Binding of an *édition de luxe* of Lassus' Penitential Psalms, now in the Library at Munich.

During the period 1563—1570 the master composed his now world-wide celebrated Penitential Psalms. Some of the finest of his Magnificats also appeared about this time. Although the famed Palestrina was a contemporary of Lassus, yet it was the latter master who was regarded throughout the musical world as the “Prince of Musicians.” All European princes showed their marked appreciation of his talent, and extended to him their patronage and favour. In 1570, at a general meeting of the

members of the Reichstag, the Emperor Maximilian II. voluntarily invested him with the order of knighthood. The following year Pope Gregory XIII. decorated him with the order of the Golden Spurs, the ceremony being performed in the Papal Chapel by the chevaliers Cajetan and Mezzacosta investing the master with the spurs and sword, the insignia of the order. The same year Lassus went to Paris, provided with letters of introduction to Charles IX., and was treated by the French monarch with the most marked distinction. The circumstance of the visit to Paris and the flattering attentions of the king to Lassus has given currency to a story that Charles, remorseful for the heartless murders on St. Bartholomew's Eve, sought with feverish anxiety to appease his troubled conscience by directing the master to write music for the Penitential Psalms. Notwithstanding the superficial probability of the story, it has incontrovertibly been proved a myth. At a time prior to 1565 Lassus, at the request of his princely master, had already composed his Penitential Psalms, and therefore long before 1572, the year of the massacre. The setting so deeply moved the duke that he ordered them to be bound in the most costly manner, the court-painter Hans Mielich, and other eminent artists, being commanded to illustrate them pictorially.



Fig. 187.—Albert V.

(Taken from the Series of Portraits that adorn Lassus' Psalms.)

The lavish style in which the work was executed testifies strongly to the appreciation of the duke for the "pearl" of his chapel, as he delighted to call his favourite master. The valuable manuscript was copied on parchment from the master's own handwriting, bound in four large morocco volumes, and embellished with silver-gilt shields and locks chased and enamelled in the most elegant manner. The weight of the silver alone thus used amounted to twenty-four pounds. The work is profusely adorned with portraits of the Duke, Master Orlando, Mielich (painter of the miniatures), Van Quickelberg (the descriptive annotator of the contents of the volumes), Frieshammer (the caligraphist of the initial letters done in colours and gold), Seyhkein (the worker of the gold and silver ornaments), Ritter and Lindel (the bookbinders and general superintendents of the getting-up of the work), the whole forming a unique monument of princely munificence.*

With these facts before us, we are at a loss to understand how the story of Charles IX. and his supposed commanding of Lassus to set the Penitential Psalms to music should ever have obtained credence. The only possible solution might be found in the deep impression that the work had made on the minds of the master's contemporaries and later generations, coupled with the known enthusiasm of Charles for Lassus, and his special invitation in 1574 to Master Orlando and his choir to visit Paris.

But the proposed visit was destined not to be accomplished. Lassus had become very popular at the court of Albert. His society was a necessity to the duke, and it was only owing to the strong wish of Charles, so often put forward, that Lassus was allowed to start for Paris. The permission thus accorded by the duke commands our admiration. After he had consented to part with his master, he gave him free permission to cast his lot entirely with the French king. And not only did he do this, but he also pointed out the advantages that would accrue in residing with so powerful a monarch as the French king, and bade Lassus not to sacrifice his welfare by endeavours to return to Munich, but to remain permanently in Paris. The parting on both sides was sad and painful. Orlando set out for his new home, but he had only reached Frankfort-on-the-Maine when the

* The financial records of the Bavarian court expenditure at this time, referring to the getting-up of Lassus' work, show the following item: "To the Hungarian goldsmith for affixing ornaments, 764 florins."

news of the death of his prospective master was brought to him. He was greatly troubled and grieved, but the thought that now was he free to return to his beloved Prince Albert filled him with delight. Immediately he retraced his steps towards Munich, where, on his arrival, he received the congratulations of his numerous friends. This was the last time he ever left the city. Albert was especially pleased, and in a practical manner showed his enthusiasm by confirming Lassus in his appointment for life. The duke's successor, Wilhelm V., was also a warm admirer of the master, and in 1587 added the gift of a house and garden to his predecessor's munificence; and on the death of Lassus he awarded a special pension to his widow. This was augmented by the sale of some property Lassus had purchased in Putzbrunn. It is with sorrow that we notice that the natural cheerful disposition of the master did not remain unimpaired to the end. During the last few years of his life, to the great grief of his family, he suffered much from depression of spirits, intensified by a morbid apprehension of approaching death. We are not surprised at this melancholia, when we consider the enormous mental strain his compositions must have entailed. He is credited with no less than 2,500 original works, a number which, while it appals us, yet carries in itself the ready solution to the master's dejection. He died on the 14th June, 1594, mourned by all Munich. A costly monument in red marble was erected by his widow in the Church of the Franciscans at Munich. The esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is tersely expressed in the following spirited distich playing upon the master's name:—

“ Hic ille est Lassus, lassum qui recreat orbem,
Discordemque sua copulat harmonia.”*

The monumental stone itself, 2 feet 4 inches high, 4 feet 8 inches long, was ornamented by bas-reliefs, representing on one side the Holy Sepulchre and the three Marys; on another Lassus, his wife, children, and grandchildren in the attitude of prayer, and the family coat-of-arms conferred on them by Maximilian II. In the year 1800 the

* The reader will observe that the distich is reproduced, with a slight variation, in our picture of Lassus. Fétis (vol. vi., page 213) gives it as above, and certainly the play upon *Lassus lassum* is more pointed here than that in the inscription of Fig. 185. As we know that the master broke down in his latter days through lassitude, it would seem as if the couplet quoted by Fétis was invented after the master's death. It is intended to say that though he himself is weary he can still refresh a weary world.

Franciscan churchyard was dismantled, and the Lassus monument fell into the hands of one Heigel, a warm admirer of the master. Next it came into the possession of a lady named Manntich, in whose garden it was to be seen as late as 1830, when we lose sight of it.

Lassus was perhaps the most prolific of all composers that ever lived. We have already referred to the apparently incredible number of works that emanated from his pen, and we will now endeavour to acquaint ourselves somewhat with the brilliant genius that shines through them all. On a rapid survey we are at once struck at the versatility of musical contrivance exhibited in all the master's works. Like Arkadelt and Brumel, he can move us just as much by plain homophonic chorales as by four-part hymns to which a popular melody is added as the discant. Like Josquin and Gombert he was also a master of that stupendous polyphonic style, elaborated with all the contrapuntal devices so often indulged in by them. Following Willaert, he composed several works for two and three choirs. On other occasions, notably in his Penitential Psalms, he restricted himself to two voices, without sacrificing any of that grandeur and depth of musical expression in which he so specially excelled. Sometimes he can be as characteristically Netherlandish as Hobrecht or Busnois; at others, when the theme requires to be treated in a subjective manner, he surpasses Clemens non Papa in that master's known skill over modern contrivances; and in chromatic writing he can be superior to Cyprian van Roor. His skill was undoubtedly the gift of genius. All his works are free from that one-sidedness characteristic of the writings of a special master. They exhibit the greatest refinement of part-writing, and a refreshing absence of any attempt at realising that which is purely theoretical. A sense of the beautiful and natural runs throughout, and we might with equal truth speak of an "Orlando Lassus style," as the polyphonic writing of the "*Missa Papae Marcelli*" leads us to speak of the "*Palestrina style*." Both these masters fused with the skill of genius the countless elements of musical lore that had been transmitted to them through generations into an harmonious whole that has insured for their names an undying celebrity. It is not by an accident that we have spoken of Lassus and Palestrina in the same breath. Beyond question they were the greatest composers of the sixteenth century. They tower so much above their contemporaries

that when the historian of to-day looks back at first he sees none but our two masters. All others are overshadowed by their genius and versatility, and their great eminence has naturally led us to bracket them. Such a juxtaposition materially assists us in forming a correct judgment of the relative merits of the two masters. Throughout Palestrina stands forth in bold relief as a true son of the South. In him everything is bright, soft, sweet, and delicately refined. The writings of Lassus, on the contrary, are all cast in a simpler mould and covered with darker tints. To him characteristic expression was more important than beauty of form. As a natural result all his music is impregnated with a seriousness that everywhere stamps him a native of the rude Germanic North. The comparison of the two masters might be further explained by an architectural illustration. When not restricted by concessions to the text of the Catholic liturgy, Palestrina transports us as it were into the magnificent churches of Italy. Before us we see the splendid and beautiful San Paolo fuori le mura, with its costly columns of marble and malachite, its unique mosaic pavement, its altars streaming with gold, its magnificent paintings charming and delighting our senses. The symmetrical simplicity of its colonnades, the ornamental delicacy of its vaulted roofs, the bright Italian sun shedding its beams through the coloured windows, tranquillise us and induce a soft feeling of holiness. But the emotions engendered by the writings of Master Lassus are those that we experience on entering one of the Gothic cathedrals of Germany. Here everything is simpler. A more sombre atmosphere pervades the whole structure. The pillars are more solid and massive than those of the Romish churches. The pointed arch, too, gives to the aisles a greater and more imposing altitude than the circular roofs of the Italian churches. And so the writings of the two men are eminently characteristic of the two churches. Whilst Palestrina writes as if he had already the bliss of heaven and as a spirit utters the message of peace, Lassus, like a true soldier of the cross, is struggling to emerge from out this earthly darkness and doubt to attain eternal rest and peace. Ambros, when seeking to illustrate an opinion based on similar impressions, found his comparison in the "Stabat Mater" of the two masters. "The one (Palestrina)," he says, "brings the angelic host down to earth, and the other raises fallen man to eternal heights, both meeting in the regions of the ideal."

As it is impossible to mention in detail the whole of the works of Lassus, we select those most prominent. It must not be inferred, however, that such as may not be referred to here possess any the less artistic merit.

We should have wished to reproduce a selection of the master's works in full, but, owing to the restricted scope of this history, can only find space for one of the shortest, "Adoramus te Christe." In this composition the skill of Lassus in producing great effects through the simplest means is strongly apparent. The "Adoramus" is a chorale for four male voices, each provided with gently flowing phrases. The first glance suffices to show the entire absence of all contrapuntal devices. Neither do we perceive that intertwining of tenors and basses which the earlier masters were prone to delight in. Only here and there do we find slight *imitation*, and even then it seems to be more the natural evolution of the part than the artifice of the writer. The spirit of humble adoration that breathes throughout these solemn tones is most touching. And how profound and impressive is the 1st tenor, bars 13—20, on the words, "By Thy holy cross hast Thou saved the world." And again in bar 21 a thrill of awe runs through us when we hear the supplicating cry to God for mercy on suffering humanity. The modulation from C to E flat major through its dominant B flat major and the return to C, in so condensed a phrase would to-day even be regarded as an imaginative and bold transition.

"ADORAMUS TE CHRISTE," BY ORLANDO LASSUS, BORN 1520 A.D.

No. 188.

Andante. *p* *cres - - cen - - do.* *f* *di -*

TENOR I.

TENOR II.

BASSO I.

BASSO II.

min. p sempre pia - no fp
 - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 Chri - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 Chri - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus ti - - -

p cres -
 - ti - bi, qui - a per
p
 ti - bi, qui - a per tu - am sanc -
p
 ti - bi, qui - a per tu - am
p p
 - bi, qui - a per tu - am

cresc. fp *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 tu - am sanc - tam ————— cru - - - cem re -

cresc. p *cres - cendo* *f* *dimin.*
 tam, — per tu - am sanc - tam, per tu - am sanc - tam cru -

cresc. fp *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 sanc-tam cru - - - cem, per tu - - am sanc-tam cru - - cem re -

cresc. fp *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 sanc-tam cru - - - cem, per tu - am sanc-tam cru - - cem

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 de - mi - - - sti mun - - - - - dum, Do - mi

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 cem re - - - - de - mi - sti mun - - dum, — Do -

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 - - de - mi - - - sti mun - - - - - dum, — Do -

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 re - - de - - - mi - - sti mun - - dum, — Do -

p *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - ne, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, mi - se - re -
p *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - - re - - - no - bis, mi - se - re -
p *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis, mi - se -
p *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - - re no - - - - bis, mi - se - re -

di - min. *p* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.
di - min. *p* *cresc.* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.
f *di - min.* *p* *f* *di - min.* *poco rit.*
 - re - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.
di - min. *p* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

No adequate notion can be gained of the piece by its performance on the piano. To be understood it must be sung, its effects being purely vocal. The composer has infused into his work a grand and noble feeling which, like the legitimately musical effects produced by the parts diverging, crossing each other, and then uniting, will only be properly appreciated and understood when rendered by varied voices. As nearly every family contains some musical members, it can be a matter of no difficulty to bring together the required number of vocalists, when a very correct impression might be gained of the tonal works of the early Netherland and Italian masters. Where this is possible, the strictest attention should be paid to the marks of expression which we have added. We have deemed it advisable to insert these, to help to an intelligible rendering of the concerted pieces, as the sacred compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were totally void of any indications of expression. Some have crept into the works in the course of time, but none can be traced direct to the masters themselves, and there is no authentic document, as far as we can discover, which will help us to an understanding of the dynamics of the Netherland compositions. We are therefore thrown entirely upon our own resources. The theoretical treatises of the Flemish period, often extremely verbose, are on this point singularly silent, or at most give only a few vague and totally insufficient hints. There exist, however, among the choristers of the Sixtine Chapel, traditions as to the manner in which the works of the early masters were performed. But in the long years that have elapsed, tradition, as is well known, may so easily have lost its cardinal points and added others, that it is now extremely difficult to decide what is genuine and what is spurious.

But the master who enters into the interpretation of these works with a sympathetic heart, and determines to sink his own individuality, will, in their artistic construction, vocal technique, and the declamatory interpretation of the text, divine with little effort the composer's intentions. This has been the practice pursued by many able connoisseurs with varying success. None have, however, accomplished it in a thoroughly acceptable manner. There are many points of difference observable on a comparison of the various decipherings. But the attempts which have been made, however, are not antagonistic in every particular. There is a concord of opinion, first, that the *a capella* style of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries was not intended to be sung in the *strict* time of our period. The speed was to be increased or decreased according to the text. Sudden transitions from *forte* to *piano*, like those indulged in by Bach, Handel, and subsequent masters of the Rococo era of the eighteenth century, were inadmissible. The compositions of the old Italian and Netherland masters require the most minute shading, and allow only in the rarest cases unprepared *fortes* and *pianos*, and those solely when demanded imperatively by the text. As a general rule, a gradual increase or diminution of tone is the indispensable requisite. In our opinion these masters, though separated from us by three or four centuries, approach, by reason of their nuances, much nearer to the tonal romanticists of our day—Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner—than a great number of the writers of the latter part of the eighteenth century. It corroborates what we have before asserted, that musical romanticism, like the romanticisms of all arts, originated in the Middle Ages, and was perpetuated in music, as the youngest of the arts, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The marks of expression to the “Adoramus” which we have inserted are the result of an earnest attempt to enter into the feelings and intentions of the composer. We have also endeavoured to interpret the Passion music of Palestrina in the same manner, and those students who have acquainted themselves with the style of the sixteenth century will easily trace the principles which have governed our marking.

It is not to be supposed for one moment that the few bars we have reproduced from Lassus can any more enable us to estimate the worth of the master than the simple woodcut of Dürer the artistic individuality of the gifted painter. Yet they may be the means of creating an interest in the respective masters, and induce the musical student to acquaint himself with other works of Lassus, which, considering the number of choral societies now interesting themselves in classical compositions, might be easy of performance.

Lassus is credited with the composition of fifty-one Masses, and these may be divided into two classes. In one the text is treated in a full and comprehensive manner, and altogether on a more extended scale than the second, represented by the “Missa Brevis.” This latter form of Mass was in use in the early days of Mozart. Both forms are treated in the

grand, noble mood of the Netherlanders, which, combined with the deep religious spirit infused by Lassus into all of his works, will ever render them worthy of the closest study. They are written for four and sometimes five voices. Lassus was also a most prolific writer of Motets. By some historians he is stated to have written the large number of 516, others asserting that 780 is the correct total. Of these we single out four: first, one in six parts, "Timor et Tremor," full of brilliant tone-colouring and vocal effects; "Dixit autem Maria," and "Improperium expectavit cor meum." The best of all is the masterly "Gustate et Videte." A curious story is connected with this Motet which invests it with an interest quite apart from its musical worth. Heinrich Delmotte, one of the most reliable biographers of Lassus, relates that on the Thursday of the Corpus Christi festival of 1584 a terrific thunderstorm, accompanied by a downpour of heavy rain, broke over the city of Munich. The reigning Duke Wilhelm viewed the storm in sorrow, as the hour was approaching when the Prince Bishop of Eichstädt was about to issue from St. Peter's at the head of a solemn procession to perambulate the city. Wilhelm, anxious for the well-being of the processionists, directed watch to be kept from the church tower, and report to be made to him of any likely change in the weather. But storm-clouds darkened the heavens, and after a weary delay the duke ordered the sacred Host to be removed from the altar and carried as far as the portals of the church only, the ceremony to be accompanied by the usual song. In this instance the sacred chant was the "Gustate." But scarcely had the choir, led by Lassus, sang the first few tones of the Motet, when lo! the rain ceased, and the sun in all its splendour shed its bright rays on everything around. Great was the joy of the duke. The procession left its halting-place, traversed the city, and returned to the church without suffering any ill-effects from the elements. But as soon as the processionists had regained the church doors, and the song had ceased, the rain again descended in torrents, and thunderclaps rent the air. The multitude were filled with wonder. One and all had observed that whilst the song was heard the sun shone resplendent, but immediately it ceased, the storm broke forth afresh. The people cried with loud voices, "Miracle," and in their simple enthusiasm fell on the altar-steps acknowledging in Lassus a superior being. Henceforth the "Gustate" was sung on all occasions when prayers for fine weather were offered up, a practice that remained in force for many years

after. The two sons of Lassus—Ferdinand and Rudolph—published 516 of their father's Motets in seventeen volumes, under the title of "*Magnum opus Musicum*," at Munich in 1604 A.D. They are written for from two to twelve voices.

A third class of composition in which Master Lassus excelled, and which made him one of the first masters of the *a capella* style, were the "*Magnificats*," written for four, five, six, and eight voices. Of these he is said to have composed about 180, of which number the Munich library possesses fifty. A fourth kind were his "*Sacrae cantiones*," of which there are still extant 429. He also composed a number of works for Matins and Vespers, also Litanies, Antiphons, Responses, Lamentations, Penitential Psalms and Hymns. Several Requiems, Ave Marias, Salve Reginas, and Passion music, all full of depth and beauty, also testify to the genius of the master. Of this last section, there is one—a setting for five voices—which deserves special mention on account of its touching simplicity. A "*Stabat Mater*" for two choirs, and a four-part setting to some passages from Job, should also be noticed.

The name of Lassus is connected, too, with the composition of seven Penitential Psalms—viz., 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143—settings which neither before nor after the master's era have been equalled by any tone-poet. One is instantly struck with the extreme simplicity of the opening chords, the small number of voices used, and the manner in which the meaning of the text is brought out. According to the spirit of the text, the master has used sometimes two, three, four, five, and six voices. These settings have been justly admired. The musical genius and artistic mastery that are proclaimed throughout this world of word-painting, either in imitation form, or in the master's grand and impressive style



Fig. 189.—Monument of Orlando Lassus.

(By Widemann. Formerly before the Theatiner Church, now in the Promenade at Munich.)

of writing, gained for him the admiration and respect of all his contemporaries. Van Quickelberg, in touching language, alludes to the wailing and sorrowing tones that run through his friend Orlando's Penitential Psalms. In our opinion, however, Lassus has not only portrayed with masterly hand the fear and trembling of the penitent sinner, but has in an equally masterly manner foreshadowed the pardon of a loving God.

It is a curious fact that the composer who was able to paint the deep penitence of fallen man in a manner that literally thrills us through and through should have been at the same time the most prolific humouristic writer of his century. His musical pleasantry appears at its best in his German songs, which are conceived sometimes in a strain of simple naïveté, blunt comicality, or extravagant hilarity. A few Italian Villanellas that he wrote have a mixture of the grotesque and quaint in them quite of an original vein: a captain of a German infantry regiment is made to serenade his love in an extremely ludicrous fashion; in another a double chorus of festive monks are chanting the praises of the generous vine. The master's name became so intimately associated with songs of a convivial character that when carousals of an unusually jovial kind took place in Munich they were spoken of as being quite an *Orlandiade*. But, apart from the number of his humorous compositions, Lassus was a most fruitful writer of secular lyrical works, as the following list will testify—59 Canzonets, 371 French songs, 34 Cantiones latinae, and 233 Madrigals.

What the world—and more especially Munich, his adopted home—owes to this master cannot be properly estimated. During the present century, Ludwig I., King of Bavaria, a munificent patron of art, has erected a life-size statue in bronze to the great artist. The monument was set up in Munich next to the statue of Gluck, in an open space between the Theatiner Church and Ludwig Street. A few years ago both monuments were removed to the public promenade square of the city, a site better suited for the purpose. A second statue has been erected to Lassus in his native town of Mons.*

The last of the Netherland apostles of the Lassus period who worked in Germany was Philippus de Monte, or Philip van Bergen, a corruption

* The most valuable of the master's biographers, both early and modern, are Van Quickelberg (or Quichelberg), Delmotte, Fétis, and Kist. But Ambros, Proske, S. W. Dehn, and Van Maldeghem have treated the purely musical and æsthetical side of Lassus' writings in a more exhaustive manner.

according to some, of Mons, in Hennegau, the master's birthplace, which in Flemish would be *Bergen*. Others assert that he was born in Mechlin, Brabant, in 1521. If this latter statement be true he could not have been called Monte from Mons, but Monte might have been the family name. However this may be, before De Monte left his home, probably about 1555 A.D., he had held the offices of treasurer and canon of the Cathedral of Cambrai, appointments not usually given to a man so young in years as the master must have been. In 1594 he was acting as *Chori musici praeceptor* in the Court Chapel at Prague. We also know him to have held office under Maximilian II., and therefore the greater part of his active life would have been spent in Germany.

De Monte was one of the most prolific and best writers of the Netherland school, and posterity is

indebted to him for a large number of compositions, both sacred and secular. Of his sacred works, his Masses and Motets, the latter of which were written sometimes for five, six, and twelve voices, deserve special mention. Of his secular writings we may notice nineteen books of Madrigals for five voices, and eight books of French songs for six voices. These works prove De Monte to have been a master of the art of the contrapuntist, whose rules he did not, however, follow in any slavish manner. The "*Domine Deus*," published in 1557, is full of intricate



Fig. 190.—Portrait of Philippus de Monte.
(After Van Muldeghem. Engraved by Sadeler in 1594.)

work in this respect. Some of his Madrigals, too, evidence the skilled hand, and bear a striking resemblance to similar works by Arkadelt. It is in such compositions as the latter that we trace special characteristic features that indicate in the clearest possible manner the unity of work and the common origin of the Netherland masters, regardless of their emanating either from the Dutch or Belgian institutions, and irrespective of the large number of apostles who, for a period extending over more than a century and a half, disseminated the doctrines of the tonal art throughout Central Europe.

De Monte was highly esteemed at Prague. As a matter extraneous to our subject, but perhaps of interest to the general reader, we might mention that the odd-looking head-dress which he is depicted wearing in Fig. 190 was called an Austrian cap. An old English poetess who resided at Prague during the lifetime of the master indited many poems in his honour.

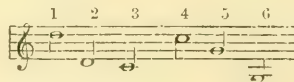
De Monte was the last of the great Netherland composers. With his death the school that had for so long sustained the traditions of the tonal art, increased its means of expression and improved and added to its rules, sinks into the background, not, however, to be entirely effaced. Its glory was partially revived in the eighteenth century by Grétry and Gossec, and in more modern times by Vieuxtemps and Verhulst. As musical historians the Netherlanders have become during the present century more celebrated perhaps than any other European nation. The bare recapitulation of the names of Fétis, Nisard, Coussemaker, Van der Straeten, Van Maldeghem, and Gevaert will suffice to show how much the musical world owes to them in this branch of musical literature.

CHAPTER XII.

EARLY ENGLISH MUSIC.

AT this point, before entering upon the modern history of music, let us turn aside to consider the early rise of music in England—a subject on which very little has been written, and for the proper elucidation of which, unfortunately, but scanty materials exist. This makes the treatment of it somewhat difficult, yet not so difficult as it would have been before the publication of the valuable investigations of Mr. Wm. Chappell and M. de Coussemaker. Of the original Celtic inhabitants of our island we know but little, nor have we any remains of their musical instruments, still less of the music they may have sung or played. Still, we may form a very fair estimate of the nature of their music by studying the oldest specimens handed down to us of the bardic songs of the Welsh. We are all aware of the marvellous tenacity with which the people of Wales have clung to their language, their traditions, their poetry, and their music. Probably no race of men has preserved so much, unaltered, from the great storehouse of the past as these Cambro-Britons; and it is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that in their oldest tunes we may have the remains of what was anciently the music of this country long before the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar. Now it is certain that the very earliest Welsh records seem to prove the existence of harmony in Wales. Possibly it was of the rudest kind; but it was far in advance of the miserable attempts at harmony (if we may call it so) which we find in the works of the early writers on musical theory. Such men as Hucbald, for instance, would not admit of any harmonic intervals except octaves, fifths, fourths, elevenths, and twelfths, and these were used, as has been already shown in former chapters of this work, in long consecutions of similar perfect concords, such as would offend all modern ears, and drive any musician of our own times to desperation. There is every reason, however, to suppose that the popular harmony of the very early times to which we refer was of a very different kind from this. It admitted major and minor thirds among its consonances, and was framed to please the natural ear rather than to satisfy the requirements of

ill-understood Greek theories. In order to make this statement plainer, I would remind the reader that all the early treatises on music were written by ecclesiastics, who were bound to take the Church-scales, and the Plain-song founded on those scales, as their starting-point for melody; and whose ideas about intervals and their ratios were entirely based on the work of Boethius. Now Boethius followed the teaching of Pythagoras on these points (so far as he understood it), and consequently regarded the major third (or Ditone) as a harsh and discordant interval. In fact his major third, formed of two major tones, was sharper than the true major third by a comma, or interval of 81 : 80. Hence the rejection of the third by the early writers on music, and the adoption of what we now call the perfect concords only, in their attempts to accompany one melody by another, in what was then termed the “Organum,” which has been already sufficiently described. As long as these doctrines prevailed there could be no great advance in the music of the Church. But the music of the people was not so limited; it was the spontaneous, and I might say instinctive, growth of natural musical inspiration, unfettered by arbitrary rules and false analogies, and trusting for guidance only to the dictates of an unspoilt musical ear. Hence the originality and tunefulness of the most ancient Welsh melodies; hence also the very early knowledge and practice of harmony which appeared to have existed among this ancient people. Two circumstances may be adduced as proofs of the early addiction of the Welsh to harmony. One is the construction of the ancient violin of Wales, called the *crwth*. It was one of the very earliest known instruments played with a bow, and consisted of an oblong-shaped body, with a neck and a finger-board. It had six strings, four of which were over the finger-board, two being open strings beyond it. The bridge was so nearly flat that it was extremely difficult to make any string sound alone. Harmony of some sort must have resulted from the use of this instrument, the mode of tuning which was as follows—



the two last being the open strings. And yet we find this instrument, so suggestive of harmony, mentioned by its Latinised name of *Crotta* by

Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who wrote about the year 609 A.D. :—

“Romanusque lyrâ, plaudat tibi, barbarus harpâ,
Græcus Achilliâcâ, *Crotta britanna* canat.”

Venant. Fort., Carm., viii., lib. 7.

The other circumstance to which reference has been made is the early use of the Welsh harp. There can be little doubt that the general form of this instrument has remained unaltered for perhaps fourteen or fifteen hundred years. It is mentioned in the “*Leges Wallicæ*,” as one of the indispensable possessions for every gentleman. Old Welsh poems and traditions speak of it as of almost fabulous antiquity. Pennant, writing in 1778, conceives that the Welsh harp had originally but nine strings, in a single row, but that it was then gradually developed to what it is now. He cites as his authority a poem written in the fifth century, in itself a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the instrument. More proofs may be found in Jones’s “*Relics of the Welsh Bards*,” for which we have no space here. The Welsh harp was a wonderfully perfect instrument for the time when it was introduced, for it consists of three parallel sets of strings, of which the two outermost are tuned in unison, and in the diatonic major scale of C, while the inner set is tuned to the semitones, thus presenting a complete chromatic scale, and suggesting most forcibly the ideas of modern harmony, and modulation. And that harmony was used by the ancient harpists of Wales is further shown by some very curious specimens of exercises for the harp, some of which Dr. Burney has printed in the second volume of his “*History of Music*,” pp. 112, 113, and which are taken from an old manuscript in Welsh, which is also cited by Bunting in his “*Dissertation on the Harp*.” At the beginning of this manuscript is a notice which is here reproduced. “The following manuscript is the music of the Britons, as settled by a congress or meeting of the masters of music, by order of Griffyd ap Cynan, Prince of Wales, about A.D. 1100, with some of the most ancient pieces of the Britons, supposed to have been handed to us from the British Druids, in two parts (that is, base and treble), for the harp. This manuscript was wrote by Robert ap Haw, of Bodwigan, in Anglesey, in Charles the First’s time, some of it copied then out of William Penhyn’s book.” This William Penhyn was one of the successful candidates at an Eisteddfod, held in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, at Caerwys, in North Wales.

We may then conclude fairly from these premises that in Wales real harmony was popularly in use long before it was admitted into the service of the Church or recognised by writers of musical treatises. Nor were the Saxons devoid of musical skill, although it is probable that they were not the equals, in this matter, of the Celts whom they supplanted in England. Amongst our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, however, as elsewhere in Western and Northern Europe, we find that popular and secular song was greatly in advance of Church music, both in respect of originality of melody and harmonic accompaniment. It appears, from the old Saxon poem of *Beowulf*, which was written before the Saxons came to this country, that music was a favourite amusement amongst them, and was used habitually at their banquets. And this music was both vocal and instrumental, the usual accompaniment being that of the harp. They had several other instruments in use, moreover, such as the psaltery, the viol or fydele, the rote or crote, with pipes and tabors, trumpets, cymbals, and drums of various shapes; and above all the organ, in a rudimentary form, was certainly known in the time of St. Dunstan, who constructed one himself in the tenth century. Indeed, this instrument is referred to by Aldhelm, who died 709, in these lines:—

“Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis,”

which would seem to show that the pipes were *gilded* then as at present. But the largest organ recorded in Anglo-Saxon times was one at Winchester, erected towards the end of the tenth century. A poetical description of this is given by the monk Wulstan, and printed in Rimbault and Hopkins's “*History of the Organ*,” 3rd ed., pp. 20, 21, also in Wackerbarth's “*Music and the Anglo-Saxons*,” pp. 12—15. The latter author tries to show that this organ must have had keys and stops like those of our own day; but Rimbault has conclusively proved that this could not have been the case, as in a treatise by a monk named Theophilus, on the construction of organs, reprinted in Rimbault's work, and originally written early in the eleventh century, no mention of keys, registers, or draw-stops is to be found.

But the Saxons not only indulged in instrumental music. They also

encouraged minstrelsy of song. The glee-men of those days were the true forerunners of the minstrels and troubadours of a succeeding age. Our good King Alfred was a great proficient in poetry and music; indeed, his restoration to the throne after his defeat by the Danes, followed by his retirement and supposed death, was brought to pass mainly by his skill as a harper and singer. He determined to penetrate into the Danish camp disguised as a harper or glee-man. This he succeeded in doing undetected. "His harp and his talent excited notice; he was admitted to the royal tables, heard the secret counsels of his foes, and beheld their exposed position unsuspected. He left the encampment and reached Etheling Island in security. It was now Whitsuntide. He despatched confidential messengers to his principal friends in the three adjacent counties, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Somersetshire, announcing his existence, requiring them secretly to collect their followers, and to meet him in military array on the east of Selwood Forest."* All this was carried out successfully, and the Danes were consequently attacked by surprise and utterly routed. Some writers have referred to the works of our great Saxon divine and historian, the Venerable Bede, to show that he also may be claimed as an authority on matters musical, on account of the treatise on music to be found in the first volume of the Cologne edition of his collected works. But it has been conclusively proved by M. Bottée de Toulmon that this treatise was really written by a musician of the twelfth century, whose *nom de plume* was Aristotle. But still, enough has been said to prove that music, both vocal and instrumental, was cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons. Among the Danes also music was in equal repute; indeed, had it not been so, Alfred's ruse to enter the Danish camp could not have led to a successful issue. But besides this, we know that the same stratagem was employed subsequently by the Danish King Anlaff, in order to reconnoitre the camp of our Saxon King Athelstan. On this occasion, however, the result was not so successful, for a soldier having reported that the supposed harper had been seen to bury the money he had received as a guerdon (either through conscientious scruples or from superstition), investigations were made which exposed the deception which had been practised, and averted its consequences. On the whole, then, we may conclude, from a consideration of the facts which have come under our notice, that the ancient

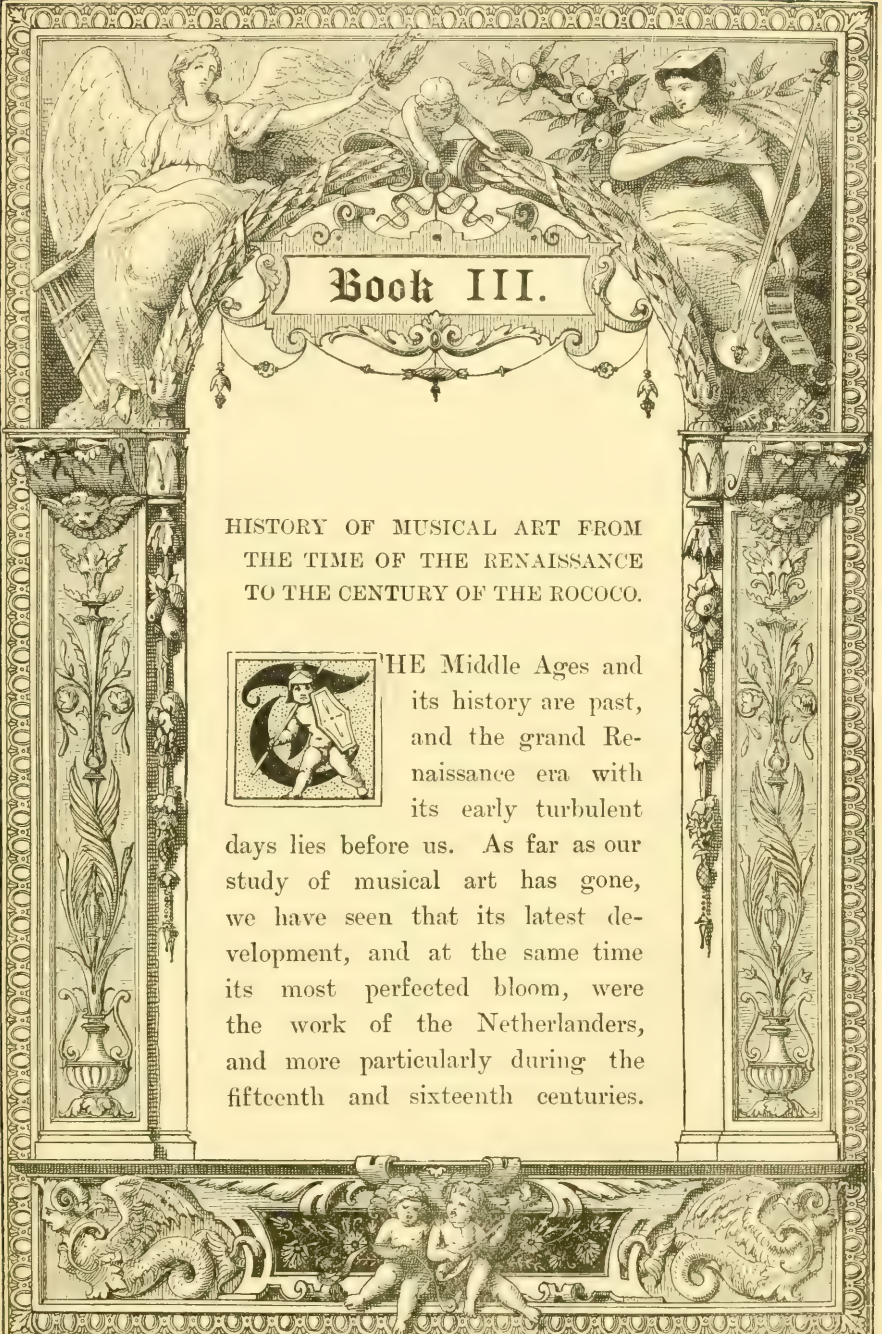
* Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i., p. 262 (ed. 1807).

Britons were more musical than the Saxons, and that the Danes were almost their equals. Nor were the Normans inferior to the races they conquered; indeed, they were originally of the same northern extraction themselves, for they were the descendants of the old Scandinavian tribes, among whom the Scalds, or ancient Bards, had already achieved a great renown before Rollo, afterwards called Roland, made his descent upon Northern France. As Mr. Chappell truly observes:—"Many of those men no doubt accompanied him to the Duchy of Normandy, and left behind them successors in their art, so that when his descendant William invaded this kingdom in 1066, he and his followers were sure to favour the establishment of the minstrel profession here, rather than suppress it; indeed, we read that at the battle of Hastings there was in William's army a valiant warrior, named Taillefer, distinguished no less for the minstrel arts than for his courage and intrepidity. This man, who performed the office of herald-minstrel (*Menestrier Luchier*), advanced at the head of the army, and with a loud voice animated his countrymen, singing a war-song of Roland . . . then rushing among the thickest of the English, and valiantly fighting, lost his life." What the melody of this *Chanson Roland* really was we do not exactly know. There have been published several supposed versions of it by Dr. Crotch, Sir H. Bishop, and others; but none of these can have been the original tune. It would lead us into details too minute to be of general interest were we to enumerate all the notices of minstrels and minstrelsy which are to be met with in the ancient chroniclers who tell us of the time immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. These are mentioned, however, by Chappell, in his "*Popular Music of the Olden Time*," vol. i., chap. i.; and we recommend all those who feel an interest in the musical antiquities of England to read that most entertaining and trustworthy work. It may suffice us for the present to refer to two events in Richard I.'s reign. First, the discovery of that king, and his release from the Castle of Durrenstein, on the Danube, by the skill and fidelity of his minstrel, Blondel de Nesles; and second, the similar discovery and release of the captured heiress of D'Evreaux, Earl of Salisbury, from her relations in Normandy, by a knight *disguised as a harper*, who carried her off in triumph, and presented her to the king, who gave her in marriage to his natural brother, William Longespée, who thus became Earl of Salisbury in his wife's right.

But it must not be supposed that in England Church music was not cultivated alongside of the popular and secular song which we have been describing. We do not know what sort of music was sung in English churches before the year 668, but we learn from Saxon annals that in that year Pope Vitalian sent singers into Kent to instruct the people in sacred song. And from the Venerable Bede we learn also that in 680 Pope Agatho sent John, Præcentor of St. Peter's at Rome, to teach Church music to the monks of Weremouth, and that he opened schools for that purpose in various parts of the kingdom of Northumbria. There is also a tradition that King Alfred, in 866, founded a Professorship of Music at Oxford for the scientific cultivation of music. We are told, too, that when Thomas à Becket went to Paris in 1159 to negotiate the marriage between the eldest son of Henry II. and the daughter of Louis VII., he entered the French towns "preceded by two hundred and fifty boys on foot, in groups of six, ten, or more together, singing English songs, according to the custom of their country." But perhaps the most remarkable account of English singing at that date is to be found in Gerald Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's, in his "*Cambriæ Descriptio*," cap. xiii. His words are as follows:—"The Britons do not sing their tunes in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts: so that when a company of singers meet to sing, as is usual in this country, as many different parts are heard as there are singers, who all finally unite in consonance and organic melody, under the softness of B flat. In the northern parts of Britain, beyond the Humber, and on the borders of Yorkshire, the inhabitants make use of a similar kind of symphonious harmony in singing, but with only two differences or varieties of tone and voice, the one murmuring the under part, the other singing the upper in a manner equally soft and pleasing. This they do, not so much by art as by a habit peculiar to themselves, which long practice has made almost natural; and this method of singing has taken such deep root among this people, that hardly any melody is accustomed to be uttered simply or otherwise than in many parts by the former, and in two parts by the latter. And, what is more astonishing, their children, as soon as they begin to sing, adopt the same manner. But as not all the English, but only those of the north, sing in this manner, I believe

they had this art at first, like their language, from the Danes and Norwegians who formerly occupied, and long retained possession of, those parts of the island." This passage is a strong corroboration of what we had already observed concerning the relative excellence of the Celts, the Danes, and the Saxons in the art of harmony. We hope to take up the history of the development of music in England from this point in a future chapter. Suffice it to observe that as we go on we shall see more and more of the influence exercised over the art by ecclesiastical theorists and teachers. We shall also see the gradual fusion of the secular, popular, and harmonic music with that of the Church, which was originally melodic only, and more or less antagonistic to harmony.

F. A. G. O.



Book III.

HISTORY OF MUSICAL ART FROM
THE TIME OF THE RENAISSANCE
TO THE CENTURY OF THE ROCOCO.



THE Middle Ages and its history are past, and the grand Renaissance era with its early turbulent days lies before us. As far as our study of musical art has gone, we have seen that its latest development, and at the same time its most perfected bloom, were the work of the Netherlanders, and more particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

True it is that the latter half of the fifteenth and the whole of the sixteenth centuries cannot properly be included in the mediæval period; but inasmuch as music is the youngest of the arts, and only begins to generate that which has already been fully developed in the other arts, we have felt ourselves justified in regarding a period as belonging to the mediæval history of music which would not be allowable in the other arts.

In the classical and pre-classical eras music was closely associated with and subservient to poetry, the drama, and the dance. But during the Middle Ages it developed into an art claiming for itself an existence independent of exterior aid. This happy state it enjoyed in common with painting and architecture—two arts that during the early ages were in a great measure dominated by the plastic art. Another, and we should almost say the most important, feature of mediæval music, was its universality of character. In the classical and the pre-classical eras musical art was tinged with distinctive national tints. Each nation enjoyed its own peculiarly developed music; but now it assumed a character which, excepting a few minor national individualities, was common to all Christian peoples. Although at one time the French, and later the Netherlanders, led the van of musical progress, yet their achievements were at once the common property of the whole Christian civilised world. In the early ages, however, this was not so. Then almost every cultured nation possessed its special tonal system. Indeed so varied, and sometimes antagonistic, were the conceptions of the world that then dominated national life, that not even the Romans were able to assimilate either the contents or form of the plastic art bequeathed to them by the Hellenes. The tragedy, too, so powerful in the hands of the Greeks, suffered terribly in its transfer to the bellicose Romans. The ethical significance which the art of music had acquired among the Greeks and all cultured peoples was entirely transfigured in the Middle Ages. With the people of the classical era music was the vehicle for the expression of visible nature, the seasons, the elements, the starry firmament, &c.; but in the Middle Ages it was made the medium of devotional outpourings. The innate strivings of man's spirit, and his ever seeking after the one true God, tinged the whole of the writings of the composers of mediæval times. The music of the classical and pre-classical era was that of the material world, but

with the Christian religion it was raised to the sublime regions of the immaterial.

Only in one point do we find a similarity of purpose engaging the earnest attention of the musicians of the early and Middle Ages. This was in the direction of musical speculation, a phase of musical art that, during the Middle Ages (especially the first two-thirds of that era), attracted a large number of gifted writers from the practice of their art to the praiseworthy attempts to construct and consolidate a system of tonal theory. The explanation of this fact is not to be sought in a lack of reverence among mediæval musicians for the theoretical treatises of the Greeks and Romans, but in the inefficiency of the transmitted grammars. Their respect for classical tradition, especially in the time of Charlemagne, would have entirely prevented them from seeking new theories; and it was not till the growth of the Mensural song that they were superseded altogether, the number of theoretical works then given to the world being equal to that supplanted. The reason for the infusion of so much energy into theoretical speculation, at two such totally opposed periods of the world's history, was not owing to any dragging influences of the Greek art on that of the early Christian religion, but because music was the only art that had not its material or means of expression already formed and waiting to be used. The other arts found their material already existing. The poet possessed his language in the vernacular of his country; and stone, wood, and colour supplied the requirements of the plastic artist. Musical art was of necessity forced first to form the material by which it was to express and manifest itself. The language by which it was to speak was first to be created. What the sister arts found in nature had to be invented and moulded in the art of music, and this could only be accomplished after long years of untiring perseverance. Rules had to be formulated and their worth tested by practice. Every music system which a nation has invented, every theory which an age has erected, every treatise in which musicians have propounded their doctrines, are but indications of the innumerable stages by which a perfected system of tonal theory and practice has been attained. The musician had to construct the vehicle for logical utterance which the poet already possessed in the philosophy and grammar of his mother-tongue, and which the plastic artist enjoyed in the laws of nature,

gravitation, perspective, and the organic membering of the whole visible world and its created beings. How many long years of striving did it not take the Egyptians, Hindoos, and Chinese to fix even a normal tone and to form their initiatory scales? For how many years did not the Pythagoreans give themselves over to the mathematical systematising of tonal intervals and their vibrations? And to what useless ramblings were not the Greek theorists led by their painfully laboured enharmonic scale, which has now fallen into desuetude? And what re-arrangements of the old scales were not rendered necessary before Gregory was able to use them for his service? And even after all this earnest striving of countless years, what had musical theory accomplished? Had it arrived at even a fair state of perfection? No; new and great efforts were still required. The growth of the Mensural song and polyphony gave to musical outline—*i.e.*, the melody—depth, contents, and body. Now was it required of the musicians to systematise and formulate into a grammar for the whole musical world and future generations the knowledge they had thus gained in the development of popular song. And it was not till the Netherland era that the mass of musical elements first began to be classified and arranged. The first two periods of this school were devoted to the improvement and perfection of the laws of the old French system, the value of which they enhanced tenfold. What Arkadelt, Brumel, and Josquin foreshadowed found its completion in works of almost all their successors, especially after the time of Gombert. With this master music entered upon a new existence. It might be said that then—*i.e.*, towards the close of the mediæval period—it had reached a state of comparatively brilliant perfection capable of the fullest poetical expression. It had created, after thousands of years, a material, and evolved a language peculiarly its own property, by which it could express itself freely and intelligibly to all.

Therefore, with the consideration of the epoch on the threshold of which we now stand, music has assumed a totally different aspect. It was now no longer embarrassed with the want of adequate means of expression, but, provided with a technique full of vitality, it stood ready for its future work. Important historical events and the influx of newly-acquired cultured lore which had hitherto exercised its power from afar, or given it but a faint impetus, influenced it from the moment that it

stood proudly forward as an independent art in a far more powerful manner than it had been possible in previous years when struggling to establish a firm basis on which to stand, and when it must have been much less sensitive to all the influences of extraneous circumstances.

Now for the first time are we confronted with music as a free, self-relying art. It has shaken off its subserviency to the other arts, and has acquired a material vitality that invigorates it with a strength enabling it to go on its way without concern of worldly events. Yet it was not strong enough of itself to take its place in the cultus of civilisation. It required still an accession of inherent vitality to enable it to free itself from the shackles that kept it, as an art, outside the world's progress, and to bring it into immediate contact with that powerful stream of advancement that overran the Middle Ages and gave birth to the new epoch—the Renaissance.

The first, and we might say the most important event that affected musical art, shaking it almost to its very foundations, was the Reformation. The struggles of Luther dealt a heavy blow to Church-music of the hitherto strict form. The effect was observable not so much in an altered practice as in the new character music now assumed. It will be readily conceded that the great upheaval of all former Christian notions, and the entire reversal of the European conceptions of the world, must have greatly influenced the style of Church musical composition. So far-reaching were the teachings of the reformers that with the lapse of centuries, an art, science, and literature, distinctly Protestant in their characteristics, were created, strongly contrasted with their Catholic origin. Music acquired a very distinctive Protestant character. But the evangelical art that sprang up at the time of the Reformation arose less from a want of concord with existing forms than from a new conception of certain fundamental principles of Christianity which hitherto had been treated in a manner strictly Catholic. The Reformation itself was the outcome of an accession of new thoughts and new discoveries that considerably enlarged the intellectual horizon of humanity. The achievements of science that added so much to our knowledge of the solar system, the finding of America, the opening up of the new waterway to the East Indies, the discovery of gunpowder, and the invention of printing, combined with the resuscitation and popularising of the art

works of classical antiquity, and the enlarged and enlightened humanitarian principles that had swayed the intellectual world from the fourteenth century, generated the Renaissance, inducing an elevated social refinement and preparing the way for that great eruption of religious thought out of which the Reformation was evolved. Such a complete revolution in the intellectual and social world could not but have exercised a great influence on the progress of art. And thus it was that the art of music, which up to the present had been of all the arts the most foreign to the social existence of man, now received as it were its first breath of civilisation.

The era in which these important historical events occurred, so full of moment to the tonal art, might be included in that which we have long since regarded as the Renaissance, followed by the Baroque and the Rococo periods. We are led to this conclusion by the most positive evidences. Changes that were then brought about in architecture, sculpture, and painting, as regards form, construction, and identity, find their indisputable counterparts in the tonal compositions of that period. The Baroque and Rococo were evolved in music from the same internal causes that had earlier influenced the other arts.

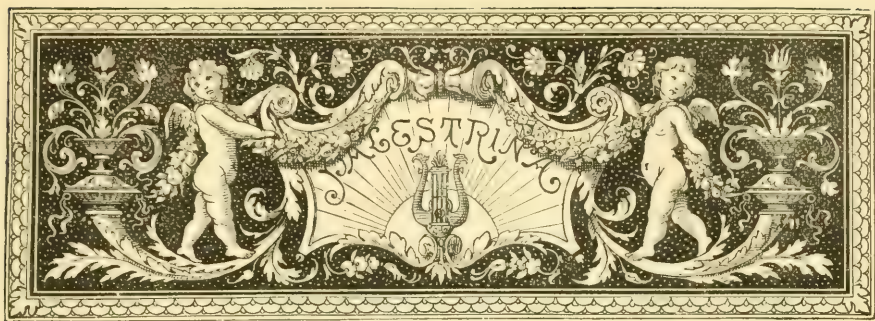
The evolution of the degenerated Baroque and Rococo from a refined art style has a deeper historical significance than would at first appear. In the early days of the great intellectual and social revolution, the multitudinous ideas generated by the accession of so much learning infused into the art of music a vitality which it had never previously enjoyed. The regenerated art brought forth abundantly in inventive power and new form. But later, from about the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, when the enthusiasm for revived classical antiquity began to decline, there was an attempt to compensate for the absence of constructive genius by multiplicity of contrivance, a way ready to hand by reason of the newly-acquired elements generated by the Renaissance, but which became distorted and forced. This constrained artificiality was naturally more easily discernible in the more matured arts—architecture, sculpture, and poetry. But it was not long before music also became infected with the same factitiousness. The craze for the classical on the one hand, and what was incorrectly termed the “natural” on the other, developed a mannerism and affectation that produced a

superficiality in the former and an *unnaturalness* in the latter. A work was considered classical if it preserved the names and outward resemblances only of the tales of Greek mythology. Their conception, too, of the natural was most one-sided and narrow-minded; indeed, it often led them so far from what was true that they called that natural which was in reality its complete inversion. Only such a perverse affectation can explain their draping of swains and rural nymphs in velvets and satins, and making them speak the polished elegances of princely discourse. The fanciful distortion of trees, too, into pyramids and various kinds of animals all betray an aberration ending in a degenerating art. This perverted tendency showed itself in music in a shallowness of form and a lavish embellishment by superfluous ornamentation, by which they sought to hide the absence of intellectual contents.

Following the development of art generally, of which music forms a part, at the end of the Middle Ages as we have attempted to sketch it, we shall divide our third book into two sections, corresponding with these two subdivisions. The first will deal with the tonal art, its expansion and the impetus it received from the enlightened humanitarian principles of the Reformation, and the influence of the classical revival, with its æsthetic poetry and chaste plastic art. The second will show us music leaving the high road of those polyphonic principles by which it had reached its independence during the Middle Ages, to adopt an affected artificiality ending in tasteless decoration and unnatural mannerism. But it is with satisfaction that we observe the inherent strength of our art, so that notwithstanding these deplorable aberrations, it never entirely forsook the path that was to lead ultimately to its latest stage of perfection, a highway that had been opened up for it by the grand natural tone-masters of the twelfth century. The first departure from the grammar compiled with so much care through countless years occurred, as might almost be expected, among the impressionable masters of the south of Europe. In the north there were those whose isolation kept them aloof from the degenerate tendencies of the south. Intuitively they felt themselves on the right road, and they never swerved from that path which they felt to be the only true way to musical appropriateness.

But we are now about to concern ourselves with a period of the tonal art which well deserves to be regarded as one of real blossom. Even more

than the grand work accomplished by the Netherlands school, this epoch will prove that the endeavour to form and consolidate a theory that should help to a perfected musical practice was but the metamorphosis of the chrysalis into the golden butterfly, winged for flight into the region of a higher and purer ideality. And the land from which all this was to spring was Italy.



MUSICAL ART INFLUENCED BY THE TEACHINGS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



IF we were to examine closely the history of civilisation, we should find that the two most antagonistic conceptions of the world were those of the Early and Middle Ages. And as it is with the world's history, so is it with musical art. The musical historian has observed that the music of these two periods is of two distinct kinds. The art is presented under two aspects so dissimilar, and bearing such pronounced peculiarities, that of themselves they indicate two distinct epochs. But the keen observer who enters into the study of music with the determination to penetrate below the surface of the two epochs, will discover a substratum common to both. That which was apparently so totally opposed will present a homogeneousness of construction, and notwithstanding the many superficial dissimilarities it will be found to be tinged with the same ground-tone, and chiselled as it were out of the same block.

That which was a necessity to the existence of art, viz., the systematising of undigested theory and formulation, a completion of suggested rules, was brought about in the era of Renaissance by the fusion of the teachings of the Early and Middle Ages. Prior to the thirteenth century this was not possible; but from the Renaissance, and more especially from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the acquisition of so much that was new in science and literature, &c., prepared the ground for the speedy sowing and realisation. It was in this era that Luther appeared, and that new discoveries began to work startling changes in man's conception of the universe, leading ultimately to the subversion of the Papal sway. The

names of Columbus, Galileo, and Copernicus will at once present themselves to the student as those of men to whose indefatigable exertions we are indebted for an enlarged and extended knowledge of our world. Hitherto the most erroneous notions of this terrestrial sphere were prevalent, but with the discoveries and teachings of the energetic men whom we have named, people no longer thought of this earth as a fixed sphere, but saw it as the satellite of a more powerful body, round which it revolved in endless space. With the opening of this new and enlightened era, the natural concomitant of a third world's period dawns on the horizon of humanity. The new conception of the unfathomableness of the universe, the enthusiasm for the revived art of the Greeks, and the influence of mediæval culture, produced an agitation that has no parallel in the world's history since the overthrow of the effete Roman empire by Christianity.

It cannot be a matter of surprise to us that, now that the teachings of the Early and Middle Ages were brought into such prominent juxtaposition, contradictions, apparently irreconcilable, appear side by side with theories and doctrines that find their consummation in the utterances of mediæval thinkers. Leaving the world's events and confining ourselves to art alone, we find that the assimilation of early teachings took place sooner than other elements of culture. The reconciliations which were brought about in science, in politics, and in the life of states and peoples, after long contentious strivings, took place in art at a much earlier period. The apostles of art seem to have been gifted with the power of prophetic working. The spirit of the early teachers of art was caught up by their mediæval successors, and infused into their own work in a manner that was not possible in any branch of literature or science. We have no difficulty in tracing in the art-works of this period the completed fusion of classical and mediæval elements, or that progressive state in which apparently contradictory teachings were soon to find their reconciliation. In the sixteenth century we have the erection of St. Peter's at Rome, Michael Angelo's plastic group depicting the Virgin Mary tenderly watching the sleeping Babe on her lap, Raphael's Madonna in the Sixtine Chapel, and Titian's celebrated painting, "The Tribute Money"—all of them works in which the classical and mediæval, the antique and Christian, the divine and human, are combined and used in a harmonious manner that was only possible in art. In the history

of States the clashing of the teachings of these two epochs, even as late as the seventeenth century, was so violent as to bring about the terrible Thirty Years' War that raged throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and also the Seven Years' and the Seven Weeks' Wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Parallel cases are also to be met with in the other cultured phases of humanity. The contentious struggles in natural science, philosophy, and theology have not, even at the present time, been settled. Out of such endless contests has arisen that series of political revolutions of which France is the hotbed, and which began as early as the fifteenth century. One of the most reliable chroniclers of the first and most terrible of these political upheavals says: * "One of the principal causes that brought about the Revolution of 1790 A.D. was the rebellion of Luther against the authority of the Pope." Theology, natural science, and philosophy, with their contradictory teachings, await to-day that reconciliation which a few art-masters as early as the sixteenth century, and certainly the eighteenth century, had already effected. What Raphael, Shakespeare, and Goethe accomplished in the pure and noble regions of art, clothing the ideal with a tangible form, and gaining for it a language and expression, politics and social life anxiously await. They still lack a reconciliation of the material with the spiritual, and these contradictory elements will only be brought into harmonious concord by the practice of self-denial and an anxious striving to act up to the grand teachings of the Christian religion.

This apparent digression is necessary to a proper understanding of the position of musical art at the opening of the third epoch of its existence. We are now about to discuss music as it was among the people of Western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But as music was the youngest of the arts, we cannot anticipate a reconciliation of heterogeneous and contradictory art elements such as we experienced in architecture a century earlier, and which the art-world has designated the Renaissance. Urbino, the great master of that period, did not only attempt such a fusion, but was so successful that he reconciled and harmonised what had hitherto been considered as the most antagonistic of art elements, proving thereby that such a reconciliation was possible.

We have ever kept before the reader the youthfulness of music as

* Lamartine, preface to vol. i. of "L'Histoire des Girondins."

compared with the other arts, and in this will he find the key to the changes that occurred during this period. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, music, even as a purely Christian art, had achieved only half what the other arts had accomplished. The unalterable laws of organic development demand that every art should attain its perfection uninfluenced by the standpoint of observation of another art. It must begin from the beginning and traverse the whole route by its own unaided light. What architecture, sculpture, poetry, and painting had achieved since their embodiment of the principles of Christian art, and this was certainly their more important half, music had yet to accomplish.* The tonal art at this period was employed almost exclusively in the service of the Church, and how was it possible that it could assimilate elements which, though classical, were none the less heathenish?

But the case stands differently with other phases of the tonal art, which now attempts to accomplish it for the first time. Should we not, however, meet in these a fusion of the art cultures of the two opposed epochs, we shall find either one or the other, according to which reigned pre-eminent in social life at the time, permeating the music of that era. The art of music presented two sides which were peculiarly liable to be affected by either Early or Middle Age culture. These were the Oratorio and the musical drama, both then in their initiatory stages. Instrumental music, too, was just beginning to assert itself as an independent phase of musical art. It was just now that it made a great effort to free itself from the vocal *a capella* style, and in a great measure it was successful, replacing its subserviency by an ascendancy in social life.† In the Oratorio we shall become acquainted with the epic element as evolved by the Italian masters of the last part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries out of the fusion of Israelitic and classical musical theories. In the musical drama we have exhibited in the most striking manner the influence of the Renaissance; indeed, the poetry of the Greek tragedy, which was first pressed into the service

* "Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte," by E. Naumann. (1869.)

† The instrumental music referred to here must not be confounded with that which formed the scanty accompaniment to the music of the people, *i.e.*, folk-music performed by the wayfaring minstrels and town pipers. Neither do we regard the organ as "instrumental" music, as the organ was also used formerly as an accompaniment only for vocal song.

of the musical drama, seems pre-eminently to invite a musical treatment. And the assertion of music as a self-relying art is further shown in instrumental music too, which began to unfold itself at this period, severing its subservient connection with its elder sister—poetry.

It was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the music of the peoples of Central Europe began first to show signs of national characteristics, features which we will show it was hardly possible for it to have evinced during the Middle Ages. In Europe, especially from the time of Gregory the Great, we have the spectacle of one Christian faith opposed to the whole heathen world. All the votaries of this one faith, no matter what their nationality, worshipped the same God, and, with but slight variations, in the same manner. And thus it was that in the Middle Ages there existed but one Christian art, the disciples of which, under whatever sky they were born, were but as shades of the same colour. This might be made clear by a comparison of the works of the oldest Christian Italian, Flemish, German, and French painters and sculptors, *i.e.*, of the works of the art-masters of these nations who flourished at a time prior to the thirteenth century. The principles of architecture, with all the cultured people of Central Europe without exception, were the same; first came the Romanic and then the Gothic style, adopted by all peoples in their general character and form. The slight variations, the outcome of nationality, have quite a subsidiary importance, and are observable to the connoisseur and the discriminating layman only. All that we have asserted in reference to art generally is still more decidedly applicable to music. During the Middle Ages distinct waves of thought and theory swept over the tonal art wherever it had taken root. First we have the Ambrosian and then the Gregorian chant, with which were intimately connected the Organum and the Diaphony. All these theories exercised a sway over the art wherever it was to be found. The first indication that we have of a special national colouring appears in the compositions of the French masters of the Middle Ages, collected and brought to light for the first time as the works of a special school in this history. This was followed by its two offshoots, the Gallo-Belgic and the Netherland. But even these national colourings are but of very moderate tint, and indeed might be more correctly regarded as special theoretical laws (and the polyphonic style growing

out of such), rather than as decided individualities exclusively peculiar to the people. They constituted part of the general development of musical art rather than the individual expression of a particular people. This will explain why the theories, art-forms, and musical expression developed by the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders became the general property of all the nations of Central Europe. The compositions of Palestrina, notwithstanding the master's decided individuality, Italian origin, and also that he belonged to the sixteenth century, have not prevented them from being confounded with the writings of his Netherland predecessors and contemporaries, so much do they resemble in every detail the models of the Flemish school. We might also say that the same family likeness exists between the works of some German and Netherland masters. Heinrich Isaac and Ludwig Senfel, two German composers, bear in their writings a striking affinity to the Netherlanders Josquin and Pierre de la Rue, the special national tendencies of the masters being discernible more by the professor than the layman.

Such a similarity of form, style, and expression, effacing almost all traces of national peculiarity, we shall find drawing to a close in the period upon which we are now about to enter. But this cessation did not take place in every department of musical art at the same time. In sacred music this sameness of form, &c., survived longer than in any other kind. National characteristics are to be found in the most decided manner in the art-forms generated during this period, viz., the oratorio and the musical drama, and we would add in instrumental music also, after it had emancipated itself from subordination to the voice.

In certain provinces and capitals sacred music also was susceptible to the influences of the cultured streams of the new epoch. This was why in the last chapter we pointed to the foundation of the school of sacred art at Venice by the Netherlander Willaert with a decided individual character. Rome and Naples could also boast of a sacred characteristic school. And in these three schools it will be observed we have peoples of the same nationality, *i.e.*, the Italians, with different styles and individual characteristics, whilst during the period that the Netherland school reigned over Europe, not even whole nations, *e.g.*, the French, Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese, exhibited as much divergence of style as did the people of Venice, Rome, and Naples.

It was in the beginning of this new period that music received a most powerful impetus from the invention of the art of printing. Composers saw now within their reach a wider circle of disciples, and were consequently spurred on to new works, and the dilettanti began to possess greater facilities for acquainting themselves with the writings of the masters. We have already referred to the publication of several compositions with printed notes: the first masters whose works were thus issued were Duchemin, Van Boes, and Petrucci. Of Petrucci and other early masters whose compositions had the advantage of being printed, we shall speak later on.

In conclusion, we would draw attention to the fact that the rise of the national school of Italy and the decline of the Netherland school belong to one and the same period. If we have treated these two nations in separate chapters, it has not been because of their different nationality, but because the Italians began with the sixteenth century a supremacy in the musical world that lasted for 200 years, whilst the Netherlanders in the same century terminated a leadership that had begun long before.

CHAPTER XIII.

LUTHER AND THE MUSIC OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

THE influences that Luther is usually supposed to have exercised over the tonal art have never up to the present been rightly estimated. The work of the great Reformer in this direction, owing to the bigoted partisanship of its critics, has been most erroneously judged. The antagonistic religious standpoints from which it has been viewed have led Roman Catholics and Protestants to the extremes of denunciatory and laudatory criticism. The Papists vehemently asserted that nothing new was added to the music of the Church, and declared that all that was claimed as new was to be found already in the old Gregorian *Cantus choralis*. As to style and contrapuntal working, they even said that better was to be met with in the polyphonic compositions of the older Church masters. Indeed, to such a length did they carry this party spirit, that they denied to every work from the pen of a master of the Reformed Church even an

equality with those of the early masters. This feeling has been perpetuated down to our own time, although now one might expect that a more impartial and generous treatment would be extended to an opponent. A modern German historian has, in the most positive manner, denied the authenticity of two chorales hitherto attributed to Luther.* And what the Protestants in their misguided zeal have claimed for Luther is even more irrational than that denied him by the Roman Catholics. They speak of him in the most eulogistic language. They call him the Palestrina of Germany, the founder of German musical art, and the man to whose sole efforts the improved music of the Church is owing. And it is surprising, too, to observe that even so valuable a musical historian as Von Winterfeld cannot free himself entirely from this religious bias. But the changes which were wrought by Luther in the tonal art cannot be properly estimated from either of these points of view. A higher and more independent standpoint is necessary—that of a universal Christian art unshackled by the narrow-mindedness of sectarianism. Neither must we, in our endeavours to judge fairly the work of the Reformer, be led astray by the enthusiasm of the musician; our judgment must be such a one as shall be as high above that of the musical professor as it must be beyond that of the religious partisan. From this elevated and just standpoint we observe that what one has been accustomed to ascribe to the Reformation had already been originated and partially developed in the Middle Ages, and therefore at a time when the conflicting dogmas of Romanism and Protestantism were yet unborn. All misconceptions, and consequently erroneous judgments, have arisen when considering the relative influences of Catholic and Evangelical doctrine upon the progress of art, either from the desire on the one side to depreciate the accession of the enlightened elements from which the Reformation was evolved, or on the other to exaggerate that which produced a religion of which Protestants are the exponents. Again, it has hitherto been the practice—and we can only deplore such one-sidedness—to regard music apart from the general progress of art, as if it were not a constituent element of

* *Vide* Wilhelm Bäumker's "History of the Tonal Art in Germany, from its First Beginnings up to the Time of the Reformation," published by Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1881. From Boc's "Journal of Music" of the 2nd March, 1882, we learn that Mr. Bäumker holds the appointment of Chaplain at Niederkruchten.

a complete art-culture. Such a proceeding is as if, in a consideration of the growth of our mental life, we looked upon one special phase of it as unconnected and outside the influence of the general development. Music has been looked upon as an art quite apart by itself, and as bearing no relation to any branch of culture. There were some thinkers, however, who, at the time that the humanitarian principle had taken deep root in the social life of the comparatively educated classes, divided the period of the world's history from the time when Hellenic philosophy ruled mankind to the Reformation into two epochs, which we now know under the names of the Classical Era and the Middle Ages. In art, too, they did the same. In their view there existed two distinctly separated art-epochs, which they termed Greek and Christian. But Christian art did not, as is often believed, cease with the beginning of the fifteenth century, it has continued far into modern times. This applies with greater force to the tonal art, which, as a Christian art, entered with the birth of Sebastian Bach on the last stage of a development that had begun 700 years ago in the French capital. The acorn seed then sown in Paris had grown with grand old Bach into an oak of gigantic dimensions, among whose branches the sweet songs as of birds were heard. Between the polyphonic style of the old Catholic master Busnois and that of the Evangelical Bach there is nothing that the musical historian could lay his finger on and say this is Catholic and that Protestant. The harmonic and contrapuntal working of the one are the germs crystallised and consolidated by the other. The one indicated what the other accomplished. The writings of Busnois were the starting-point to the goal of Bach. Their art-technique and art-ideal were the same. And so it was with the spirit that brought about the Reformation. In its innermost depths it was not an anti-Catholic one, but a freer interpretation of accepted dogmas. It was foreshadowed by countless indications in the Romish Church itself, just because that was the only Church then in existence. The beginning and the end, new religion and new art, can only seem antagonistic to him who is unable to trace the mental thread that runs through the whole Church-life of the Middle Ages, and who fails to observe the common principles, though differing in degree, that unite an Arian with a Savonarola and a Huss, and these again with a Luther.

The first unmistakable signs of the coming reformation in art-life are

to be found in the older arts, and chief among these stood architecture. From the earliest days of the Middle Ages architecture seems ever to have striven to rise higher and higher from its basis or ground-line. "Excelsior! excelsior!" appears to have been the motto of its masters. And from this upward tendency they sought to develop new and varied art-forms. These newly-invented and freely-developed offshoots find their counterpart in the bolder independent development of religious conceptions; the desire to be no longer tied and bound by the rites and ceremonies of a bygone generation. Thus the flat Roman basilica, the chief feature of which was its prominent horizontal line, gradually became so altered and raised in the Catholic churches of Germany as finally to be capped with towers, which in their turn were surmounted with the crucifix pointing to the heavens. These additions, and their concomitant multiplicity of form and style, were conceived among a people in whose minds the ferment of reformation had already begun to work, and which in the minds of the tradition-steeped Italians had never been thought of.

The columns and ceilings of the churches of Northern Europe, designed at this period, exhibit what is known to-day as the *Transition* style. Its characteristic richness of details and their systematic arrangement, together with what may be termed its general *upward* tendency, prepared the way for the Gothic style, wherein all these elements find their due proportion and proper place. Arguing from a religious basis, we may assert that the growth of Gothic shows all the signs of the growing Protestant spirit. The natural development of the Gothic cathedral was a heavy blow to the worship of images. Increased power over architectural form and style rendered the introduction of pictures into the service of the Church unnecessary. Where the walls were formerly adorned with pictorial illustrations of Bible teaching, architectural embellishment began to reign supreme. Both sculpture and painting were now restricted in the service of the Church. Whereas formerly they had been the chief elements in the structure, now they were subordinate, and only of service as ornaments to its style and principle. This principle was the complete spiritualising of matter; the symbolising of the Word, that "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth;" or, in the words of Schiller, "above the starry firmament there lives a loving Father." This restless striving to etherealise matter was now the chief end and purpose of architec-

ture. Formerly utility and appropriateness were its guiding principles, but these gave place to a craving for the symbolical, which has been carried to such an extent that, when we reflect, it must, notwithstanding its apparent unsuitableness, command our praise. It literally forced its material—*i.e.*, stone—from its primary purpose of utility, to the structure of light and graceful forms rising upwards to the sky, a service clearly the opposite to the ordinary uses of the material. This was the yearning after the immeasurable and infinite. No style of art so persistently adopts an emblematical characteristic sign as the Gothic does its cross of Calvary. The cross is the distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture. It dominates everything, both inside and outside the building, from the altar to the top of the steeple. And who is there who will not readily admit that in this, the elevation of the cross is the foreshadowing of that Protestant faith wherein the Passion and Death of our Lord are the chief features, as contrasted with the previous adoration of the Virgin and Saints? The sufferings of Christ permeated all phases of the new art. They concreted themselves as the very essence of music, poetry, and the plastic arts. This is the unmistakable mood reflected throughout the works of Christopher Bach and his nephew Sebastian, the two great Protestant masters of musical art. The double-choir motet of the former, "I wrestle and pray," and the vocal, piano, and organ fugues of Sebastian, induce such a holy feeling of adoration and love for the crucified Saviour as none of the writings of the early masters had prompted.

The union of French and German art during the last centuries of the Middle Ages also seems to us to furnish another proof that Protestant art was but a continuation of Catholic art. Both the Gothic and fugal styles sprung up, as we know, in Catholic Paris; but their latest and most perfect development was on Protestant ground. Notwithstanding the imposing grandeur of the cathedrals of Nôtre Dame and St. Denis, we cannot divest ourselves of a certain sense of heaviness and incompleteness of style which contrast curiously with that induced by the minsters of Cologne and Freiburg. The bold and towering steeples of the latter rising majestically towards heaven suggest a sense of completeness that is absent when we gaze on the square turrets of Nôtre Dame. And as it is with architecture so is it with music. The comparison of Nôtre Dame and the Cologne minster finds its parallel in the double counterpoint of

the old Parisian masters and the yet unapproached fugues of the great Sebastian Bach.*

Evidences of the approaching Evangelical spirit are not wanting also in the Catholic sculpture of the Middle Ages. And it is a curious coincidence that these should be found principally on reliefs, groups of figures, porches, portals, and niches and pillars of those churches most directly related to the Gothic style. On the reliefs of the Frauenkirche at Esslingen, and the Church of St. Sebald at Nuremberg, devils are depicted rudely clutching popes and bishops and thrusting them into flames. / Such, we would almost say, offensive references to the degrading treatment of the papal clergy do not at all seem to have affected the faith of believers. Dante, the greatest poet of the Middle Ages and a pillar of the Roman Catholic Church, was not prevented by his faith from aiding the German Emperor in his struggle to overthrow the authority of the Pope; nor did he scruple to reproach the clergy with their shortcomings. And neither did Luther refrain from denouncing the worldliness of the priesthood, and their arbitrary interpretation of the Gospel; and this, be it remembered, while yet a monk, and at a time when he had no thought of separating himself from the Church of Rome. If we regard these evidences in the right light, we must admit that the opposing elements of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were very faint. And so it was with art. That which a few fanatical enthusiasts point to as distinctive features of Roman Catholic or of Evangelical art have really no existence but in their own excited imagination, inflamed by the passion of bigotry.†

* The Gothic style in Germany was not moulded directly and exclusively on the lines of Parisian art. It was aided by the Romanesque and the Transition styles, both of which forms existed in the cathedrals at Spire, Worms, and Mayence. And so was it with the fugues of Bach. Their polyphony was not, based directly on the counterpoint of the old Parisian masters, but more immediately on that of the renowned Italian organists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Frescobaldi, Claudio Merulo, Alessandro Poglietti, and Pasquini, who, of course, had first modelled their style on that of the Parisian school, colouring it with their own individuality.

† It is clear, that what remained in the service of the Church of the adoration of saints and the worship of images formed no part of the Protestant faith, as Protestantism arose partly, at first, from its antagonism to these elements, rigorously excluding from its service all matters of a kindred nature. This divergence must not, however, be attributed to any supposed antagonistic spirit of Roman Catholic and Evangelical art, but more to their common historical development, which, instead of causing two streams of art to flow forth, rather

The plays of the Middle Ages, too, afford a deep insight into the religious feeling of the times. The "Thuringian Mystery, or the Parable of the Ten Virgins," performed at Eisenach, in Thuringia, for the first time on April 24, 1322 (therefore two centuries prior to the Reformation), is perhaps the most striking of all. It also deserves a special reference at our hands as being one of the oldest works of its kind in which a greater importance was assigned to music than had hitherto been the practice, owing to the prominence given to the choruses introduced into the play. In the Mystery it was sought to show that prayers to saints, and even to the Virgin, are of no avail to save a soul from the judgment of Jehovah. That which a penitent man could not gain by atonement during life was not attainable by intercessory prayers and supplications in the last hour. This is the lesson most powerfully taught in the Thuringian drama. The foolish virgins are seen supplicating the mother of God to intercede for them. Mary pleads with her Son for the suppliants, but is rebuked by Christ in the following words:—

"Be still, mother dear, I command thee;
For this prayer of thine cannot be."

And who, it will be asked, were the writers of this sacred play? Certainly not heretics, but ordained priests of the Romish Church. From evidence which we shall adduce, it must have been both written and composed either by an Augustinian monk of Erfurt, or a Dominican of Eisenach. Latin documents are still extant, from which it appears that the play was performed by preaching monks and monastic students.*

connected them indeed, inasmuch as the child-like piety of the early Christian era was transformed into a less circumscribed and more elevated worship.

* The oldest authentic document relating to the play of the "Ten Virgins" is the "Chronicon Sancti Petri, vulgo Sampetrinum Erfurtense: Anno Domini MCCCXXII., feria secunda post misericordias Domini, dum in eadem die dominica dedicatio fuisset praedicatorum, ludus est factus apud Isenach in orto ferarum (should be: in *horto* ferarum) a clericis et a scolaribus, de decem virginibus, cui ludo marchio tunc intererat." Hieronymus Tilesius republished the play at Eisleben, in 1565, and in a preface asserts that it was written by an officiating mass-priest named Theodorich Schernberk. A modern German poet, Ludwig Bechstein (see a paper bearing the date 1855 in the Wartburg Library), pronounces the work to be that of a Thuringian poet, and most likely, therefore, one of the monks of Eisenach; and in reference to this latter possibility he says "there can be no doubt." The words of the old chronicle of 1522, "dum in eadem die dominica dedicatio fuisset praedicatorum," evidently refer to the dedication of the Dominican church at Eisenach, and was probably the earliest representation

The pointed teaching of the "Mystery," that God allowed of no mediation between Him and fallen man, seems almost prophetic in its foreshadowing one of the cardinal features of the doctrine taught by Luther 186 years after the first performance of the play. And it is a curious and at the same time remarkable coincidence that the play should have been performed for the first time to the assembled people of Eisenach, at the foot of the mountain on whose summit stood the Castle of Wartburg, that nearly two centuries after was a "city of refuge" for Luther, the exponent of the doctrine of non-mediation, and where the Reformer hid himself when translating the Bible.*

The art of painting, too, both before and during the Reformation, unmistakably foreshadowed the teaching sought to be enforced by the Thuringian play. The "death dances," so prominent a feature of the church pictures of Germany at this period, evidence a bolder view of life and contempt for death, and this in a manner extremely ludicrous. Paintings grew in abundance, treating of the Christian's life in a spirit totally opposed to that of the worship of the Virgin and the saints which up to that time had reigned supreme. From this freer and more secular treatment of the Bible-teaching rose the representations of the

of this play by the Dominicans. It is also not impossible that the author may have belonged to that order. It might have been a pupil of the prominent Dominican monk, Heinrich Eckart, who died 1329, about seven years after the first performance of the Mysteries. Eckart was held up to scorn as a heretic, because, following the doctrines of the Mystics, he declared faith to be higher than works, and dared to philosophise on the relation of the creature to his God. In any case the author was a monk of Eisenach, and if not a Dominican, he must have been an Augustinian priest, who would then but be re-echoing the teachings of Augustine, the great founder of his order—that man could not be saved from eternal perdition except by the grace of God.

* We do not claim to be the first to have drawn attention to the teaching of the "Thuringian Mystery" as foreshadowing the Reformation, and the break from hitherto accepted traditions. During the progress of the first performance of the play at Eisenach an incident occurred which shows that the Catholics were then fully conscious of the blow dealt at their faith. The story is of such importance that we deem it well worth repeating. It is the enactment of a drama within a drama, and seems to have created a great stir at the time. When the scene was reached where the Virgin Mary pleads with her Son for the foolish virgins and is rebuked by Christ, the Landgrave of Thuringia, Frederick the Joyful, excitedly rose and, turning to the audience, exclaimed in passionate tones, "What will now become of Christian faith, and to whom shall we turn for hope if the intercession of the Mother of God and the holy saints availeth nothing?" The Landgrave then hastily left the performance and hurried to his castle, the Wartburg. Here his rage continued, inducing such a state of mental fever that it brought on a fit of apoplexy, which terminated five days after the incident in his death, November 11, 1324.

Passion of Christ. The assertion of the manhood of the individual that rode upon the wave of the Reformation claimed for itself an existence in art also. During the early stages of the progress of Christianity and art (and especially during the Minne service era), the ideal of *woman* was pre-eminent; but with the growth of the independent spirit of the Reformation, the female ideal gave place to the male. What the Roman Catholic painters began, the Protestants continued wherever the devastating war of the seventeenth century did not entirely check the progress of art.

To him who proclaims that Protestantism has arrested the growth of the fine arts, and bases his assertion on the Puritanism of England and a one-sided Protestant fanaticism in Germany, we would reply in the words of Martin Luther:—"I am not of opinion that the teachings of the Gospel tend to check the growth of art, as some deluded clericals pretend. It is my belief that all arts, especially music, might advantageously be used in the service of Him who has created them." *

The great painter of the Reformation century, Albert Dürer, showed in all his works his strong sympathy with the doctrine of the Reformers. His "Head of Christ," in the National Gallery at Nuremberg, as grand as it is simple, and human as it is divine, finds, it seems to us, a fitting parallel in the grand St. Matthew Passion music of Sebastian Bach. His "Reformation Knight," sometimes known in the art-world as "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," his woodcuts illustrating the Passions, consisting of twelve and thirty-six cuts respectively, and another engraved in copper consisting of sixteen plates, also evidence his Protestant feeling. Again, in his diary of a journey undertaken by him to the Netherlands, he speaks in terms of great warmth of Luther. And from all this might we not surmise what would not Protestant graphic art have become had it not been rudely interrupted by the Thirty Years' War? †

* See C. von Winterfeld's "Sacred Songs of Luther," Leipzig, 1840; also sacred song-book of Wittenberg, by Johann Walther, 1524, edited by Otto Kade, and published in the Robert Eitner collection, vol. vii., Berlin, 1878. Luther could not have more strongly expressed his appreciation of all the arts than by this prefatorial reference to them in a work treating exclusively of the tonal art, on which poetry and the graphic arts would have no direct bearing.

† The celebrated painting, "Knight, Death, and the Devil," by Dürer is well fitted to illustrate the mental connection that existed between the Reformer and himself. It is recorded

Another great German painter of this period, Lucas Kranach, a follower of Luther and friend of Frederick the Wise, the protector of the Reformer, devoted his artistic gifts to the cause of the Reformation. The celebrated altar-pictures at Schneeberg, Meissen, Wittenberg, and Weimar, all show his strong sympathy with the new religious movement. The younger Holbein, born at Augsburg in 1495, and therefore a contemporary of Luther, was also a warm adherent of the Reformer. His portraits of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Sir Thomas More, the minister of Henry VIII., his service under the English monarch, and his master-works illustrating the Passion of our Lord, are all so many evidences of the artist's sympathy with the Reformation teachings. As a last illustration of the attitude of the fine arts towards the reformed religion, we would draw attention to the style and structure of the sacred

by Luther that, on hearing the "*Mors et vita duello confluxere mirando*," from the Easter Sequence "*Victimae Paschali*," he said, "Whoever composed that song must have been imbued with true Christian faith, for this alone could have enabled him to so graphically depict death and the devil attacking life." On reading these words we are struck with their appropriateness to a study of Dürer's work, and we can almost fancy that we see the picture before our eyes for the second time. When in 1521 Dürer was at Antwerp, the news of the supposed capture of Luther by his enemies on the return of the Reformer from Worms was carried to him, he notes the incident in his diary in the following words:—"Ten horsemen have taken captive the pious man basely betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Does our dear Luther—a man filled with the Spirit of God, and a disciple of the true Christian faith—still live, O Lord, or has he been cruelly put to death? If death has been his lot, before Thou judgest him, O my God, Thou wilt remember that, like Thy Holy Son, he was betrayed and done to death by wicked persecutors. What might he not have given to the world during the next ten or twenty years? Oh, all ye pious Christians, mingle your tears with mine, and pray our Father that He will send us another Luther. Who of you is there who has not followed with admiration the holy man's clear exposition of the Gospel truths? Therefore should such of his teachings as have been committed to print be sacredly preserved, and not weakly given over to the flames, unless, indeed, they be cast in to feed the fire that consumeth his opponents." One of the most intimate of Dürer's friends before and during the Reformation was his compatriot Willibald Pirckheimer, the author of a satirical dialogue having reference to the celebrated Leipzig disputation, in which he scoffs at Dr. Eck, the notorious opponent of the Reformer. Another of his friends was Lazarus Speugler, a Nuremberg follower of Luther, a literary defender of the Reformer's teachings, and the writer of the Protestant hymn, "*All is lost by Adam's fall*." Dürer painted a special portrait of the Elector Frederick the Wise in 1524 in token of his admiration for the prince's strong defence of Luther, and the favour with which he regarded the new teachings. The last portraits of Dürer were those of Erasmus of Rotterdam and of his intimate friend Melancthon, both engraved on copper. The greater part of Dürer's fortune was left by his widow to the Protestant University of Wittenberg, greatly to the joy of his fellow-worker Melancthon.

edifices in which Protestants worshipped. With the exception of those originally Catholic and afterwards appropriated by the Protestants, we find that they were all of the simplest kind. Often, indeed, they consisted of no more than the bare walls and roof. But what a change has now taken place. From the middle of the present century the supporters of the Protestant faith have almost universally adopted a Gothic style of the purest kind. Where this new feature of glorifying the Church by architectural embellishment will lead to, especially when combined with the vastly improved Evangelical plastic and painting of to-day, cannot yet be determined.

But notwithstanding that architecture has of late so largely introduced itself into the service of the Church, poetry and music (especially the latter) contribute the greatest share of the aid rendered by the arts to Protestantism. Since the time of Luther musical art has ever held an important part in Christian worship. This has been owing chiefly to the comparative youth of music as an art. It was not till some years after the Reformation that the art of music arrived at a state of perfection equal to that which the other arts, especially the plastic, already enjoyed. Again, from the time when Luther began his crusade against the worship of images and pictures, the arts of sculpture and painting fell greatly into desuetude in the Church service. Their sphere of action, perforce, was very much restricted. Then it was that the Protestant religion had recourse to music as its art-handmaid. It will be at once understood, therefore, why the blow struck by Luther at the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church reverberated more strongly in musical art than even in those which had foreshadowed the Reformation.

The simultaneous development of the Christian Church and Christian art is strikingly illustrated in the case of music. We find Protestant music growing out of and completing Catholic tonal theory and practice. The music of the Reformed Church retained three of the chief elements of that of the older Church. In the music of the Papal Church these three combined to make one form of tonal writing. In the Reformed Church they were often employed singly. The first and most important was the old polyphony. This was adopted and used by the German writers of the Reformation period in exactly the same spirit as it had been developed and worked by their Catholic predecessors. An examination of the part-writing of the Evangelical master Johann Walther, and the Catholic Ludwig Senfel,

both contemporaries and friends of Luther, will disclose a oneness of polyphonic working that is very striking. As a musician Senfel was highly esteemed by the great Reformer, and notwithstanding his Catholic faith, Luther strongly advised that the style and form of the musicians of the Protestant Church should be modelled on those of the Catholic master. From this it is evident that Luther desired to construct an Evangelical choral-service on the basis of Catholic art. In the best compositions of both these masters, and especially in those of Senfel, who as a musician was greatly the superior of Walther, we are again brought back to the skilful counterpoint of the Netherland school, moulded, however, in that severely restricted form and style which it had acquired through the inventive genius of Heinrich Isaak, the greatest German tone-poet of the fifteenth century.

This reappearance of Netherland polyphony brings us to our second point—the use of the *cantus firmus* by the Evangelical composers of the Reformation period. Like the old Netherlanders, they made this their principal theme, working their other parts around it. Their treatment of the *cantus firmus* gradually led to its adoption in the Evangelical Church as a melody for the whole congregation, and from it has been evolved the important German Chorale. With the introduction of the *cantus firmus* into Church music we lose sight of those characteristic features that indicate its origin. But this is not so in art-music. Here it retains enough of its distinguishing traits to show its derivation from the *Volkslied* or people's song.

Thirdly, the Evangelicals appropriated for their service certain parts of the Catholic psalms, gospel, lessons, and collect tones, as well as antiphons, hymns, sequences, and other forms and melodies of the old Gregorian chorale. The Catholic hymnology was adopted by the Protestants and used for their Liturgy, the text of which was the purest outcome of the Reformation. They also kept certain Gregorian melodies, and that peculiar kind of chant recitation which the Catholic priests adopted when celebrating the Holy Eucharist, and the Mass (translated into the German tongue by Luther), or when reading the Gospel and Epistle from the altar. Sometimes the Gospels and Epistles were chanted in alternate verses by priest and congregation, or priest and choristers; occasionally the choir joined their voices with those of the people, but throughout the

rhythm was the same as that of the *accentus* and *concentus* of the Catholic Church-song.*

In pointing out the influence which Catholic music exercised over that of the Evangelical Church, we must not omit to refer to a growing feature of the Reformation period, and one which has subsequently assumed great proportions. This was the German congregational hymn. Its value as a medium for bringing the congregation into closer communion with the spirit of the service cannot, when compared with that of the hitherto used Latin chorale, be over-estimated. Although there was no lack of hymns in the mother-tongue in the Catholic Liturgy, yet their use was so restricted that when Luther assigned to them so prominent a part in the Reformed service it was regarded as quite a new feature. With the Catholics, hymns in the mother-tongue were only used at processions and on high festivals, and were then sung by the congregation only at Christmas, Easter, and certain other high feast-days. With these exceptions, the Catholic congregational song consisted of short musical phrases chanted by the priest, to which the people either responded or added their voices to the refrain sung by the choristers from the altar. The part assigned to the people then was but a very subordinate one. According to Bäumker, the Catholic Church before the Reformation recognised only one liturgical song—viz., the Gregorian chorale—the introduction of hymns in the mother-tongue being considered *ex liturgica*.†

Luther's ardent desire was to bring the Liturgy well within the understanding of every one. This was why he allotted so prominent a part in the new service to hymns in the people's vernacular; indeed, the Liturgy, as compiled by him, was written almost entirely in the native tongue. The congregational song, constituting almost the chief element of the musical portion of the service, was based on the form of the Catholic chorale. To mould a service in the people's tongue was a step in the right direction, for fifty years after the death of Luther the musical service of the Reformed Church had attained comparatively a state of efficiency

* It is to be regretted that these various musical items have not been preserved in the Evangelical service, especially, too, because of their importance as representing pure vocal song. In the long years since the Reformation they have either almost entirely disappeared, or have become so merged into modern Church music as to have lost their original characteristics.

† Bäumker's "History of the Tonal Art," p. 136.

which it had taken Catholic music a thousand years to acquire. Luther did not restrict himself to translating only the chorale into the German tongue. Other portions of the service, which the people hitherto heard in the to them unintelligible Latin idiom, were also dealt with in the same way. Later we shall see how he strove to create a Mass that should be wholly German. The Reformer was anxious, too, that the use of the congregational hymn as evolved by him should not be restricted to Church service only. He strongly urged its introduction into all scholastic institutions, feeling that by this means the way would be prepared for a general practice of sacred song.*

The chorale of the Reformed Church compares favourably with that of the Catholic Church, in that it retains more of the form and spirit of the Volkslied than that of the older Church. Its musical phrases, each complete in itself, are more akin to the several *closes* of the popular song than the hymns of the Catholic Church, which were all conceived

* Luther was greatly assisted in his endeavours to disseminate the chorale by the Volkslied, which was increasing in popular favour daily. Since the end of the fourteenth century the Volkslied had become a powerful factor in tonal practice. First we have its adoption by the masters of the Netherland school under the form known to us as the *cantus firmus*; and secondly its gradual incorporation into the Church song of the congregation, and this, be it remembered, in the vernacular of the people, whether Flemish, Dutch, or French. It was this which proved of so much assistance to Luther. The first German translator of Latin hymns was Johannes von Salzburg, a monk who is accredited with the translation of about twenty. In some parts of Germany the people sang a mixture of Latin and German in the Church songs, producing, as may be imagined, some curious effects. We may give just two examples:—

“Puer natus in Bethlehem,
Des freult sich Jerusalem.”
(Joyous was Jerusalem.)

And one to the Virgin entitled “Ave Maris stella;” in the couplet which we quote it will be observed that one word only is Latin:—

“Ave Morgensterne (morning-star)
Erleuchte uns miltrichlich.”
(Gently shed thy light.)

This gradual insertion of responses in the mother-tongue is one of the signs of a nation awakening to consciousness, stirred by that tumultuous upheaval of thought among the peoples of Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, which closes the Middle Ages, and introduces us to the modern era. It was this use of the vernacular of the people in their Church service that enabled Luther to pilot his German Mass triumphantly into port. The great Reformer asserted, with a power equalled by no other German of the sixteenth century, his nationality against Rome and Romish influence.

in the traditional fixed cadences of Gregorian song. In Luther's time the Protestant congregational hymn was not yet written in the measured bar phrases of a few years later. It was still dominated by the cadenced rhythm of Gregorian melody, though in a much milder manner.

One of the principal causes that led to the change in spirit and character of Catholic song by the Protestants was the entire abolition of all hymns to the Virgin Mary. These were superseded by plaints to the crucified Lord, and hymns of praise that by the sufferings and death of Christ a way had been opened by which eternal life might be gained. One of the latest and best of the new chorales of the period is by the poet Paul Gerhardt (1695), "O Bleeding Head." It was sacred songs of this class that supplanted settings of the Ave Maria, Ave Maris stella, Regina Coelorum, and Salve Reginas, leading to an entire change in text, expression, and melody; and it was this change that gave birth to a new class of music—Cantatas, Passion-music, and Oratorios. Into these two new forms was infused a dramatic expression which the hymns of the Catholic Church had never known. This was generating a new spirit and a new life in musical art.*

The strenuous exertions that Luther made to bring the art of music well within the service of the Church deserve our unstinted praise. He did not, as might at first be supposed, improve the chorale only, but music as a whole was benefited by his labours. The polyphony of the older Church was made by him the basis of new work. He adopted many elements of the old Church music, and chief among these the strictly worked out contrapuntal motet and the *cantus firmus*. Many beautiful old melodies of the Gregorian chorales were also adopted by him, some of which he kept in their original form, while others he re-modelled.

* We have not intended to deny the existence of any hymns in the Romish ritual in which the text was one of supplication to the Saviour. There are several instances recorded in the history of the older Church of fathers, popes, saints, and leading clericals inditing hymns to Christ; indeed, one of the favourite of Luther's congregational songs was in use at the time of Gregory—"Rex Christe factor omnium." Nor is there any lack of popular songs addressed to the Saviour in the Catholic Passion-plays, and in Catholic praise and procession music. But during the Middle Ages congregational music was but a subsidiary feature of Christian worship, whereas in the Reformed service it was the principal feature. Therefore it was that Protestant art-music was affected by it to a much greater degree than the music of the older Church.

Congregational song, as developed by Luther, was quite a new feature in the worship of the people. With the gifted intuition of a master-mind, the Reformer felt the necessity of making the people participators in the service of the Church, and the congregational hymn presented itself to him as the fittest medium for this. With this end in view he steadily brought the chorale to the front, even writing words himself. But in the poems of Luther, of course, the prayers to the Virgin and Saints gave place to supplications to Christ. Whether the melodies supplied to the Reformer's verses were also expressly composed by him or by contemporary musicians, or whether he fitted his lines to existing popular tunes, we shall now endeavour to discover. In order to do this we must try to find out exactly to what degree, more or less, Luther was capable of influencing the development of musical art. This we shall be able to do by comparing the state of music in Germany before and after the Reformation. Such a comparison will, even after making allowances for all adventitious help, give us a tolerably accurate estimate of what the Reformer, either by gift or tuition, accomplished for music.

Dealing first with the state of musical art prior to the Reformation, we find that the first great German composer of note was Franco of Cologne. It will be remembered that Franco has ever been regarded as one of the most prominent pupils of the old French school, whether owing to his adoption of the theory of the Parisian masters, or from his residence in the French capital, it does not now much concern us. From Franco's time, *i.e.*, the end of the twelfth century, the Germans, like all other nations of Christianity, were pupils of the French and their successors, the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders. As regards the development of a theory and practice independent of either of these three nationalities, the Germans have as little claim to be considered the representatives of a strictly national music as the Italians, the Spaniards, or the English.* And this, too, for a period of 300 years, *i.e.*, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There can be no possible doubt that all this time Germany was dependent upon its north-western neighbours for its musical grammar. At first one

* From this opinion of our Author I must be allowed to express my dissent, for I am strongly convinced that each of these nations did possess a popular and national style of rustic melody, which has unfortunately been lost, having probably never been committed to writing.—F. A. G. O.

might be inclined to dogmatically assert that Konrad Paumann, born at Nuremberg, 1410, Paul Hofheimer, of Styria, born about 1449, and Adam von Fulda, 1460—1530, represent the German school during this period, the first two by their skilled contrapuntal compositions, Church choruses, and instrumental music, and Fulda by his Mensural song. But an examination of their works unmistakably points to their pupilage under the Netherland tone-masters.* The only music during this period that exhibits any trait of national colouring is the German Volkslied; and this more especially at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. That a faint national tint did run through the popular song we cannot doubt, since the collection of melodies in the Lochheimer Song-book exhibits a characteristic which is distinctly proved to be German. We particularly observe the simple and appropriate tone-language with which the old masters, even in the time of Binchois and Okeghem, clothed the popular verse, both as regards harmony and accompaniment.† The treatment of the Volkslied, in its special character as a secular song, was freer, and we would say superior, to the secular chansons of the Netherlanders, when compared with the strictly canonic contrapuntal compositions of the Church, notwithstanding that the Netherlanders were at that period the leaders of musical progress. Such an early and rich harvest of folk-song, as well as the special treatment it received in art-music, are facts which we must keep well in mind when estimating what Luther accomplished for Protestant congregational song. He and his poetical and musical fellow-workers, with rare penetration, saw that the people's melodies were the outpourings of the soul. This then was the fittest medium by which to appeal to the people, and most successfully was it adopted. Popular melodies were pressed into the service of the Church, and were supplied with sacred in place of secular words.

But besides the influence of the Volkslied on Evangelical music, other important factors were at work—especially the advice and practical assistance Luther received from living musicians. The first and chief of these was Heinrich Isaak, born between 1440 and 1445, tone-poet and

* Adam von Fulda, in the ninth chapter of his celebrated treatise, completed in 1490, says that Dufay was the inventor of all the polyphonic compositions based on the canon.

† The three-part harmonies of seven (6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 40, and 41) out of the forty-four secular tunes in the Lochheimer Song-book support this in a very decided manner; of these, 15, 17, 18, and the two upper voice parts of 41, exhibit the purest part-writing.

contemporary of the Reformer. Master Isaak was unquestionably the best German musician of the fifteenth century. All his works evidence the deep thinker. Just at the time when Isaak was at his best as a composer, Luther was struggling to form his Liturgy. Again, Ludwig Senfel (Isaak's favourite pupil) was a personal friend of the Reformer. This in itself would be sure to have affected the construction of the new Liturgy, as Luther did not fail to obtain all possible assistance from such as were competent to advise. And Johann Walther also, the man to whom Luther says he was the most indebted, although not directly a pupil of Isaak, yet discloses in his works, especially the more ambitious, his indebtedness to the great fifteenth century master.*

According to most authorities, Heinrich Isaak was a native of Bohemia, Ambros and Kade believing him to have been born at Prague. Between 1480 and 1492 we find Isaak, together with several of his northern neighbours, and amongst them Josquin, Hobrecht, and Agricola, at the Florentine court. From the imperial archives of Vienna we learn that the master was accredited by Maximilian I. to the court of Lorenzo di Medici. From this appointment he received an annual income of 150 florins.†

Isaak was a great favourite with Duke Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the Florentines familiarly called the master Arrigo Tedesco, *i.e.*, Henry the German. After the death of the duke, Isaak entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian as "Symphonista regius," a title which is somewhat misleading. It had no reference whatever to any instrumental capabilities of the professor, but signified much the same kind of office as that of our modern royal court composer. As far as can be gathered from documentary evidence, the master would seem to have died about a year

* These evidences include unmistakable harmonies of peculiar and almost crude combination. In reference to this Otto Kade, in the introduction to Johann Walther's "Wittenburg Sacred Song-book" of 1524, published in the Robt. Eitner collection, vol. vii., points out that Walther uses the interval of the third very often simultaneously with the suspension of the fourth before the third, a peculiarity by no means rare in Isaak's works.

† The appointment of Isaak to a diplomatic post speaks much for the social position held by musicians of note during the period of the Renaissance. As a court servant Isaak was the forerunner of men celebrated in the world of art. Peter Paul Rubens, the great painter, held a similar office at the Spanish court during the first half of the seventeenth century. And Astorga, the great Sicilian master, and composer of a renowned "Stabat Mater," seems to have held a diplomatic appointment at the court of the Duke Francis of Parma at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

before the Emperor Maximilian, who we know departed this life on the 12th of January, 1519, and therefore we place Isaak's death in the early part of 1518.*

The general character and contrapuntal working of the German master's writings bear a striking resemblance to those of the Netherland tone-masters. Most biographers consider Isaak to have been a pupil of Josquin. Kiesewetter and Ambros are both of this opinion, and also the writer of the article "Isaak" in Mendel's Lexicon. Kade, however, denies that Isaak could ever have been a pupil of Josquin; and in this assertion we concur, that is as far as concerns any immediate pupilage of the German to the great Netherlander. This does not preclude, however, the possibility of his having been influenced by the art-teachings of his reputed master.†

* More detailed information respecting Isaak may be obtained from Otto Kade's excellent biographical sketch in Liliencron's "General German Biography."

† Kade's reasons for asserting that Isaak could not have been a direct pupil of Josquin are extremely poor. First he says it was impossible because the German master is generally admitted to have been four years the senior of the Netherlander. Such reasoning as this crumbles away as soon as we apply the test of history to it. In the world of art there are and have been innumerable instances where the master was younger than the pupil. To talk, as Kade does, of the greater experience of a man but four years the senior of another is really too childish to discuss, and especially when upon this he assumes that the older master must have been the teacher of the younger (see page 15 of Kade's article "Isaak" in Mendel's Lexicon). We cannot possibly conceive how it ever could have been asserted that, because one man happened to be four years older than another, therefore his mental attainments must have been superior; and yet this is what Kade lays great stress on, returning to the point no less than five times. Doubtless many instances have already occurred to the student where the elder has acknowledged his indebtedness to the younger. Haydn, twenty-four years the senior of Mozart, again and again admitted his obligations to his youthful friend. And this especially so after the appearance of what proved to be the last and best of Mozart's symphonies. Several of the symphonies which Haydn wrote during his stay in London for the celebrated Salomon concerts afford the clearest evidence of this. And if a master of Haydn's gifts, with his more than a score of years' seniority, profited by the genius of his pupil, was it not possible that Isaak might have done likewise with but four years separating him from the younger master? But whether the German was or was not the pupil of Josquin, unquestionably his music is the outcome of Netherland tuition. Another assertion made by Kade carries as little weight. He asserts that Isaak could not have used double counterpoint, because "it was not invented until the time of Swelinck, 1620." Professor Dehn, about thirty years ago, proved conclusively that double counterpoint was used by Lassus, and Lassus we know died in 1594; and we have already brought to notice that Jean de Garlande and Walter Odington, as well as other old French and English composers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, practised the inversion of two parts. And we have also shown how double counterpoint, for a century and a half, fell into disuse with the Netherlanders.

It would seem hardly possible that one single master could remain impervious to the teachings of a school that made its influence felt upon the whole development of music. With Isaak, too, it was especially improbable, for it will be remembered that he was accredited to a court where three leading masters of the Netherland school—Josquin, Hobrecht, and Agricola—were in attendance, the first two having already acquired reputation as musicians. It is hardly conceivable, therefore, that such European celebrities should have had no influence at all on their German companion in art; and still further, was it probable that the famous Josquin, who was then thirty-five years of age, should have put himself under the tuition of Isaak? The art of the Netherlanders at this time was too matured, and had received too universal an acknowledgment to make it at all probable. It would be far more within the range of possibility to have said that Josquin received instruction from his compatriot Hobrecht, a man fifteen years his senior. Whence, we would ask, was Isaak to acquire anything unknown to the Netherlanders? Germany could not boast of any national school of contrapuntists or canonic part-writers. Indeed, Germany should no longer contend for what has never existed; rather let it readily admit its indebtedness to the Netherland masters. The frequent intercourse which must have existed between Isaak and the then most prominent figures of the Netherland school points emphatically to the indoctrinating which he must have received at their hands. A further, and perhaps the greatest proof is, that the compositions of Isaak prior to his sojourn at Florence have a different stamp to those written subsequent to his intimacy with the Netherlanders. Kade involuntarily admits this when he denies that Isaak's most important work, the grand "*Choralis Constantini*," was written during his stay at Florence. This we at once admit. The German master had much to learn, and it could only be after that he had carefully studied and digested the new matter that his artistic individuality would begin to assert itself. If we accept this, and there is every reason why we should, then it does not need the searching for "*Netherlandish traits*" in the "*Crucifixus*" of the above Mass to prove that he had learned much from the Netherlanders, not even in the peculiar working out of certain passages. To our mind the "*Choralis Constantini*," published for the first time in its entirety in 1558, beyond all possible doubt points to Netherland influence. And this same influence is to be traced in the greater number of the thirty-

three Masses of Isaak which have lately been brought to light, and also, as far as is at present ascertained, in his forty-six motets.*

There was, however, one direction in which Isaak differed from the Netherlanders, and particularly from Josquin. This was in creating popular folk-songs. In this Isaak asserts his musical individuality and independence. The Netherland composers of the fifteenth century but rarely exerted themselves in inventing original melodies for the people. A very marked distinction was drawn at that time in Germany and the Netherlands between a *Phonascus* (i.e., an original composer) and a *Symphonetes* (i.e., a writer who merely put a counterpoint to an existing melody). It is curious that masters of this period should have thought it more praiseworthy to be considered a contrapuntist Symphonetes than an inventive Phonascus. It was for this reason that, when desiring to exhibit their skill as contrapuntists, they chose rather to set parts to existing popular songs than to invent both their own melodies and counterpoint. Isaak, however, preferred to create his own melodies. This he considered more meritorious than the mere working out of tunes already made, and it is to this commendable spirit that Germany is indebted for many of the finest old folk-songs that her musical treasury contains. The popular melody "Innsbruck, I must leave thee," still sung in some parts of Germany, is ascribed to him. Another, "A Peasant had a Daughter," much sung until within the last few years, is also said to have been written by Isaak. The former of these melodies was adopted by the Church, and became a great

* The "beauty of form and grace" that Kade points out in the later works of Isaak, and which he ascribes to Italian influence, must rather be attributed to the ennobling effect of a closer acquaintance with the best works of Hobrecht and Josquin. Many harmonic crudities noticeable in the earlier works of the master disappear entirely, or are toned down considerably, in the writings that appeared after he had formed a friendship with the three Netherland masters. Italy itself had not yet developed a distinctive national school. Like all other European nations, it was still dominated by the Netherland institution. Counterpoint was originally adopted by Italy from the Gallo-Belgians, and subsequently perfected by the teachings of Hobrecht, Josquin, and Tinctor. Italian counterpoint cannot be said to have acquired any "beauty of form or grace" until the sixteenth century, in the time of Constanzo Festa, Annimuccia, Andrea Gabrielli, and Palestrina, greatest of all. Kade affects to support his inference by what he considers the parallel case of Albert Dürer's sojourn in Italy, asserting that the ennobling of that master's style was owing to foreign influence. But the parallel cannot be accepted as such, for on Dürer's second visit to Upper Italy (1505-7) he found the brothers Gentile, Giovanni Bellini, Vittore Carpaccio, and Andrea Mantegna, native artists whose style not only exhibited "beauty of form and grace," but also distinctive national characteristics.

favourite. The Isaak melodies, "O World! I must leave thee," and "Now Peace reigns through the Forest," are as popular to-day as they were 300 years ago.

Besides the German Volkslieder composed by Isaak, he also wrote many Italian popular songs. The finest of these were the festival and masque songs, "Canti carnascialeschi," written by command of Lorenzo Magnifico for the Carnival of Florence, and set to music by the German master. That Isaak, by birth and tendencies a German, should write popular Italian melodies, is one of the earliest examples of a composer being influenced by that general upheaval of cultured life of the Middle Ages which had formerly affected sculptors, poets, and painters only. In his masque songs Isaak seems to be distinctly under the influence of the Renaissance style, whereas in his Church compositions, although a progressive master, there breathes that mediæval Christian spirit which had been diffused over Germany by the Gallo-Belgians. But the master stands out best in those Volkslieder created by him. They show Isaak swayed by that spirit of nationality which had been awakened in the peoples of Europe from the fourteenth century, and which during the lifetime of the master was asserting itself with great force.*

Ludwig Senfel, the pupil of Isaak, holds a still more important position among the prominent German composers of the Reformation. As a contemporary and personal friend of Luther, notwithstanding his Catholic faith, he took a leading part in all the changes which the great Reformer effected in the tonal art. Senfel (also written Senfl and Senfelius) was born towards the end of the fifteenth century, and died in 1555, nine years after the death of Luther. His works bear the impress of the style of his master Isaak, though conceived in a higher and freer spirit. The Reformer had a special predilection for part-writing of a certain kind, and he found his ideal realised in the motets of Senfel. At a banquet given by Luther on the 17th of December, 1539, to several singers, who after

* When treating of the Netherland masters we drew attention *en passant* to such influences, and especially to that of the Renaissance; *e.g.*, the setting of Ariosto's poems by Berchem, the tone-painting of Jannequin, and the dubbing of those Munich festive gatherings "Orlandiades," named after the tone-master Orlandus Lassus, &c. We did not then deal more fully with these signs of the beginning of a new epoch of civilisation, as we had not yet entered upon that era when the art-streams of cultured life began to incorporate themselves into European civilisation.

dinner sang several fine graceful motets of the Catholic master, he enthusiastically exclaimed: "If I tore myself asunder I could not compose one motet like any of those; but then Senfel cannot preach a sermon as I can; verily the gifts of the mind are manifold, like the limbs of the body."* The motets of Senfel are unquestionably the best specimens of German musical art during the Reformation era. They are imbued with a heartfelt expression which claims for them an acknowledgment of artistic merit. Their technique shows itself as the climax of the strict polyphonic writing which Germany, during the first half of the sixteenth century, and even after that, can produce. Senfel did not restrict himself only to the working out of the conventional *cantus firmus*, but added to it one or two other melodies which he made equally fixed tunes, uniting them by occasional imitative counterpoint and weaving them into an ideal artistic whole. As a special example we may cite that in which he has used the venerable Easter hymn, "Christ is risen," working it up into an elaborate motet for six voices. His thirty-one† settings of verses of Horace show



Fig. 191.—Ludwig Senfel.

* Bäumker points this out in proof of Luther's dilettantism; but one might the more easily prove the contrary by this, as the mere fact that Luther sought to draw a comparison between Senfel and himself with regard to motet writing, no matter in whose favour, proves that the Reformer must have essayed the composing of polyphonic works, or how else could he have asserted that Senfel as a writer of motets could never be approached by him?

† Published by Formschneider at Nuremberg in 1534. Johann Ott, manager of the firm of Formschneider, and contemporary of Senfel, says, in a dedication to 150 songs published in 1541, that "they (*i.e.*, Isaak and Senfel) have such a manner that if one wishes to understand them one must isolate oneself and follow with one's whole heart, and that unless the hearer does this he will miss the whole import of the work." This would show us that, besides Luther, other masters were also held in high esteem by contemporaries.

that, like his master Isaak, he was influenced by the cultured streams of the Renaissance period.

Among the masters who, considering the time and place, might have had some influence over the early musical training of Luther, was Heinrich Fink. We must not confound Heinrich with his nephew Hermann, a learned musician who is known to have lived at Wittenberg in 1557. Heinrich Fink was at his best as a composer from 1470 to 1490. In his old age he took up his residence at Wittenberg, where he was regarded with respect on account of his musical gifts. The predilection of the Reformer for German songs must have attracted him towards the writings of Fink, as this master excelled in composing and arranging popular melodies. Fink published a collection of fifty-five songs which found great favour in Germany—"fifty-five carefully selected songs by the celebrated Heinrich Fink, together with other original songs by celebrated masters, pleasing and well adapted for instrumental accompaniment." The master's nephew seems to have been a warm supporter of the Reformed religion. One of his chorales, "O let Thy grace remain," is sung to this day in German Protestant churches.

This closes our brief attempt to portray the state of musical art prior to Luther's time, *i.e.*, when Master Isaak was the acknowledged leader of German musical thought, and also of music during the Reformer's life and up to his death, *i.e.*, under Ludwig Senfel, recognised by Protestants and Romanists alike as the first of living musicians. But the account of the state of music during the childhood of Luther, and when the Reformer himself was actively engaged in moulding Protestant music, would be imperfect were we not to take into account the influence exercised by Josquin des Près, the head of the most celebrated tone-school, over all German masters, including Luther and all lovers of serious music. How highly Josquin was esteemed by the musicians of Europe we have already referred to in the tenth and eleventh chapters. And this admiration was not confined alone to his professional brethren. We might perhaps cite, as the strongest proof of this, the enthusiastic appreciation of Luther for the master. For although Luther himself pursued the study of music with passionate love, yet he considered he was but a dilettante by the side of the learned Netherlander.*

* We do not intend to infer that anywhere in the writings of the Reformer we shall find that he speaks of himself as a dilettante, but remembering well the undoubted high position

In enthusiastic admiration at the complete mastery of this great composer over all musical contrivances, and his elevation of sacred music to a height it had never before attained, he exclaims, "Jodocus (Josquin) is master of the notes, they must follow him as he wills, but the others are mastered by the notes and must write as *they* will." Further on he says, "Josquin's compositions are blithe and gay, free, gentle and graceful, neither forced nor unnatural, nor bound by rigid laws, but free like the song of birds." How intimately conversant with the rules of polyphony must the critic have been to have detected in how far Josquin was tied or not by academical lore. The admiration of Luther for Josquin was well known. Johann Walther, wishing to make a special present to the Reformer, gave him a book of songs, in which were several compositions by his favourite master. The following is a fac-simile of Luther's handwriting on the first page of Walther's book.*

*Hat mich erheitert mich sehr
 Herr Johann Walther
 Componist d. Meyser
 zu Torgau
 1530
 Dem Gott gnade
 Martinus Luther*

Fig. 192.—Handwriting of Martin Luther.
 (Fac-simile of page 4 of the Otto Kade "Luther Codex.")

which rightly belongs to this over-modest man, who never arrogated to himself the title of "master," and judging from our modern standpoint of dilettantism, this is the only just appellation with which to characterise him. Even conceding this to the Reformer, we doubt whether we should alight to-day on any one in the circle of dilettanti who can boast of musical knowledge so deep and thorough, and with such an interest at stake in the progress of the tonal art, as that which governed Luther's actions.

* The musical public are indebted to Otto Kade, musical director at the court of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh, for the publication and careful editing of this work, discovered

We cannot forbear citing a passage from Luther's "Encomium Musices" which seems to bear a direct reference to Josquin. If not to Josquin, then it must have been penned in allusion to Senfel, but we have strong reasons for believing it written in praise of the Netherlander. We know that Luther held Senfel in great esteem, but it is evident from the passage we have already quoted that he placed Josquin still higher, distinctly speaking of him as the *only* master whom the notes obey. He says: "Where natural music is improved and polished by art-contrivance, there one sees the boundless love of God who gave to man this power. Nothing is so strange and wonderful as a simple tune (or tenor) accompanied by three, four, and five other voices, which gambol about and ornament it in many ways. I can but liken it to an heavenly roundelay, in which the participators move hither and thither with marvellous skill. Those that listen and are touched by it cannot help thinking that there is nothing more marvellous in the world than the ornamenting so simple a melody with so many voices." *

It is a remarkable fact that nowhere do we find any criticisms of Luther on the polyphonic compositions of Isaak like those he has left us of Senfel and Josquin. This is all the more striking since Isaak was a compatriot, and one might have supposed that the Reformer would have devoted more attention to his works than to those of the foreigner Josquin. We might indeed infer from this that Isaak was a pupil of the Josquin school, and that Luther could not regard the pupil as equalling in any way his highly-lauded Josquin.

We have endeavoured up to the present to describe the state of the tonal art as it was in Germany when Luther first began to take an active part in its development as regards Church music.

Let us now see to what extent the Reformer was capable of moulding

only within the last twelve years. Kade has furnished some excellent critical notices which make the work very valuable. The indefatigable research of this musician, especially that concerning the Lutheran period, is deserving of the highest commendation. Kade published his work at Dresden in 1871 (the year of the reorganisation of the German Empire), with Heinrich Klemm, of the firm of Messrs. Schrag, under the title of the "*Luther Codex*."

* The author quoted the above in a "Book of Psalms," in 1850, in a work dedicated to King Frederick William IV. The book was published by Bote and Bock, of Berlin, in 1855. The author's intention was to show that Luther did not want to restrict Evangelical Church music to the congregational hymn, but was desirous of introducing compositions of a more ambitious character.

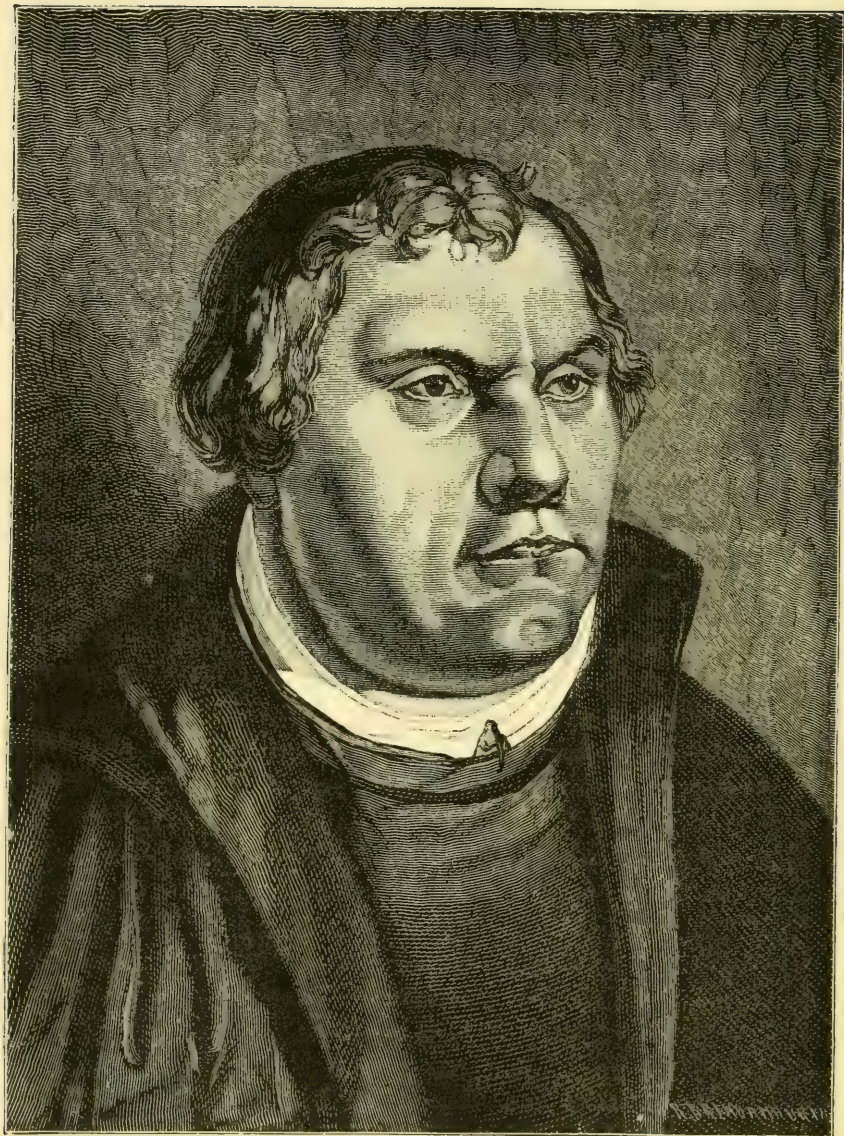


Fig. 193.—Martin Luther.
(From a Painting in the Wartburg by Lucas Cranach.)

music's art either by gift or tuition. His almost professional relations with Josquin and Senfel may help us to form some notion of his powers, but it would seem advisable to briefly glance at the early life of the Reformer, and trace the sources from which it was probable that he received his musical education.

Martin Luther, the son of a poor miner, was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483. As a boy he showed undoubted musical talent, and was fortunate in the possession of a bright and pure soprano voice. This gained him admission to the school choir, which brought not only musical tuition, but part of the means of existence. School choirs, known as *Currende*, were instituted some years prior to the Reformation, and were attached to most churches in Germany. The *Currende* consisted of a number of boys who, led by a cantor or precentor, joined in the congregational hymn, and oftentimes assisted the regular choir at certain Church services, morning and evening prayer, baptisms, marriages, and interments. As a general rule, the *Currende* boys were of the poorest class, and gained a scanty pittance by street singing in all weathers. Sometimes, by desire, they sang outside the houses of wealthy citizens, their reward being money, provisions, or in winter a warm drink.

Luther had often stood with others of his youthful companions in the streets of Mannsfeld and Magdeburg in the bitter frost and cold, singing for the meagre fare of a piece of bread and a cup of warm drink. A story is told that Luther was one day singing in the streets of Eisenach "*Panem propter Deum*" in tones so appealing, that Frau Cotta frantically rushed from her house, and returning with the boy, gave him a seat at her well-filled board. But the *Currende* was of more importance to Luther as a training school than as a means of bringing daily bread. All the boys were carefully instructed in homophony and polyphony. This early tuition was afterwards of inestimable comfort to the young man, and more especially during the years he entered into the cloister. The young Augustine monk often chased his melancholy away when in the monastery at Erfurt by playing on the lute. It is related that one day, after a self-inflicted chastisement, he was found in a fainting condition in his cell, and that his cloistered brethren recalled him to consciousness by soft music, well knowing that music was the balsam for all wounds of the troubled

mind of their "dear Martinus."* As an instrumentalist Luther excelled in the playing of the lute and flute, and as a singer was gifted with a clear and powerful voice, which he retained almost to the end of his life.

As a monastic student Luther's studies in the theory of music went much deeper than simple counterpoint. In the monasteries of that time strict counterpoint was studied as a daily exercise, and such of the brethren as by inclination were led to the more intricate subtleties of the art found ample time for both theoretical and practical study. Thus we may assume it was while at Erfurt that Luther acquired that knowledge of the higher branches of canonical contrapuntal writing. As a Curried boy he was taught the most elementary counterpoint, *i.e.*, note against note. On this point Luther says: "At the time that the festival of Christ's birth was celebrated, we went from house to house, and village to village, singing popular Christmas carols (common psalms) in four-part harmony." Notwithstanding the words "four-part harmony," we do not suppose for a minute that the boys sang an intricate counterpoint to village peasants, as "common psalms" implies a simple four-part chorale.

The "Luther Codex," to which we have referred, is at once a proof of the skill the Reformer had acquired as a polyphonic writer, more particularly at the time he was entering upon his war with the Church of Rome. It is well known that the masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not *score* their compositions as we understand that term to-day. They wrote each part separately in books, called "Stimmbücher" or "Partes." It was from such books that the singers studied their parts. The entering

* Whether this story be true or no it matters not, but that it has been disseminated all over Germany, and has obtained a certain colouring of authenticity, is sufficient to show that as a young man Luther was intimately associated with the development of the tonal art. A similar tale is told by Matthäus Ratzeberger in a biography of Luther. He says that when Lucas Edemberger, precentor to John Ernest, Duke of Saxony, went with a following of musicians to visit Luther at Erfurt, they found the monk fainting in his cell, and endeavoured to awaken him by strains of music. In the words of the story, "As they went on with their music Luther began to recover, his melancholy and sadness vanishing before the dulcet strains of the vocalists. Luther joined in their song, and, becoming bright and cheerful, entreated his friends to visit him as often as they found it possible, and not to be rebuffed by any excuse, no matter what they might be told, for whatever his occupation it should be immediately left, in order that he might join with his friends in their song, as he found that his melancholy and temptations fled as soon as he heard music, for," he added, "the devil is the greatest enemy to music, as that art renders man cheerful and hopeful, and what he least desires to see, as man falls an easy prey to his wiles when tormented by doubts and afflicted with temptations."

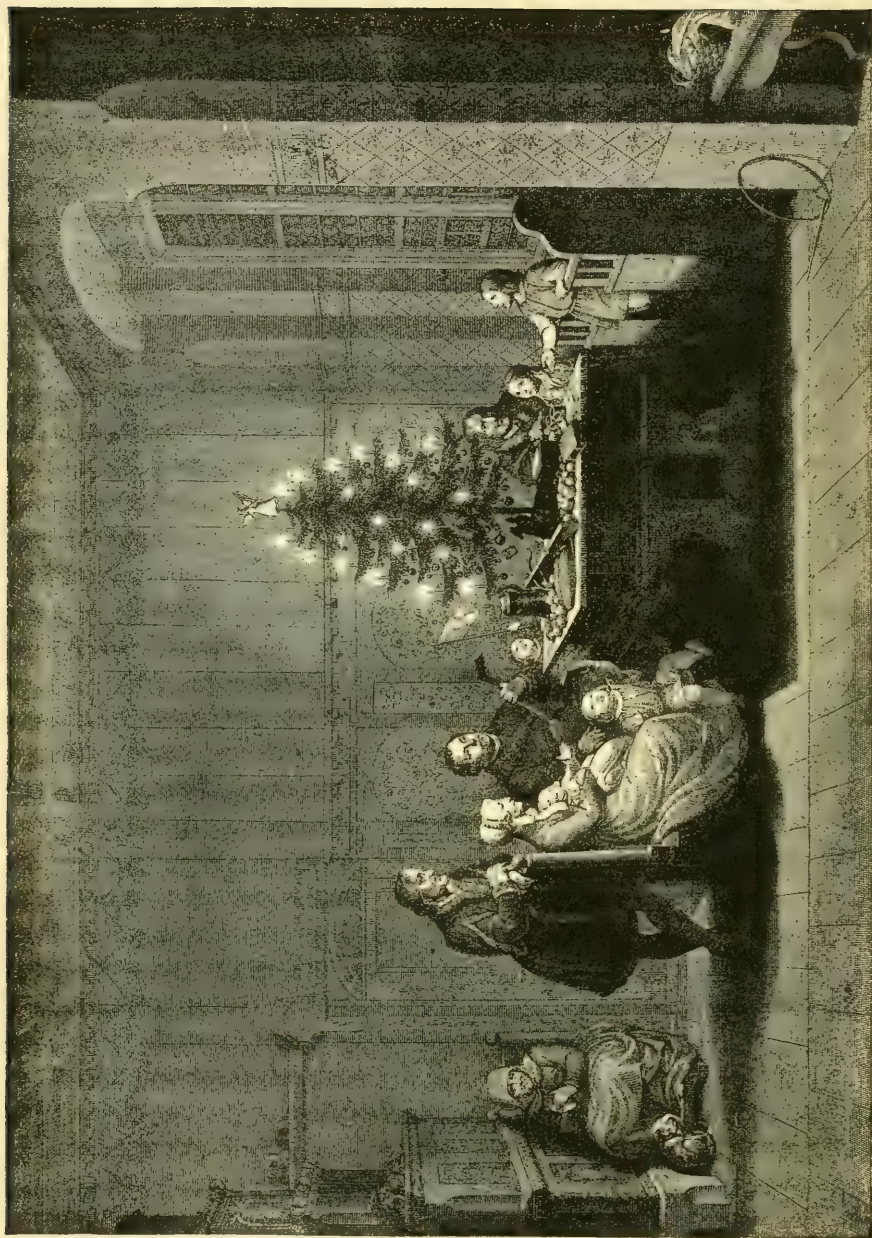


Fig. 194.—Musical Gathering of Luther and his Family at Christmastide.

of the several parts into one book, called a "Codex," round which the performers stood, must not be confounded with the practice known as scoring, *i.e.*, the putting part under part and bar under bar. The tenor part in the "Luther Codex," which the Reformer sang, is one of those "Stimmbücher," as they were written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the use of competent singers of part music. That Johann Walther should have collected for his friend Luther such a Stimmbuch looks as if he regarded him as a brother professor, and shows how far this "dilettante," as Bäumker calls him, must have advanced in the study of music. The Stimmbuch comprises contrapuntal compositions in the motet-form of the highest kind by Hobrecht, Josquin des Prés, Ludwig Senfel, Adam Renner of Lièges, Pierre de la Rue, Antoine de Fevin, Johann Walther, and others. The almost passionate love of the Reformer for singing from a Stimmbuch is authenticated by more than one witness. Matthäus Ratzeberger, in a work bearing the quaint title "The Prostration and Restoration of Dr. Luther by Music," says:—"It was the custom of Luther, when the evening meal was done, to bring from his study his 'Partes,' and with those who were inclined to hold a *Musicam*. He especially delighted in compositions of the old masters with responses, or *hymnos de tempore anni*. A *Canto Gregoriano* or a chorale was also greatly appreciated by him. If he found an inaccurate or faulty part, he corrected it on the spot. After meals his two sons Martinus and Paulus joined with him in singing the response 'De tempore.' At Christmas they sang 'Verbum caro factum est,' 'In principio erat verbum;' at Easter, 'Christus resurgens ex mortuis,' 'Vita sanctorum,' 'Victimæ paschali laudes,' &c. His sons always joined with him in such responses. In the 'Canto figurato' he sang alto."* Such family musical gatherings were by no means rare. The illustration opposite shows us Luther in the midst of the family circle, probably singing his favourite Christmas sequence, "Gratias nunc agimus," or Notker's hymn, "Eja recolamus laudibus." We are told that the melody set to the words in the last-named piece, "O culpa nimium beata qua redempta est natura," always unusually excited

* In reference to the statement that Luther sang alto, Kade says that it does not contradict the former assertion that the Reformer sang tenor, which is supported by the Luther Codex being for the tenor, as the alto was often sung by male voices, and in such cases was written low enough to be within the range of the tenor.

and touched him, and that therefore he loved to sing it whenever the holy season of the Nativity returned.

We must draw a distinction between the household musical gatherings and those which Luther enjoyed together with a number of learned musical professors. With reference to the former the great Reformer said: "We sing as well as we can at our meals; if we make mistakes it is not the fault of the composer, but of our art, which is yet incomplete, notwithstanding that we repeat our refrain twice or thrice."

After a retrospective examination of all the unquestionably reliable evidence which we have adduced in proof of Luther's musical capabilities, it would seem that his power of detecting incorrect passages and offences against strict canonical part-writing was the strongest of all. We have it authentically stated by Ratzeberger that not only was he able to point out faulty passages, but that where it seemed impossible to rectify mistakes owing to complications through incorrect copying, he re-wrote the particular bar according to his own intelligence. If by such references as these our admiration for the great man is increased, it is still more intensified on reading his opinion on Josquin's compositions. With reference to a six-part motet by this master, in which two *canti fermi* are skilfully interwoven with four contrapuntal accompanying voice parts into an organic whole, Luther says: "With what masterly skill has our composer fused the two subjects 'Haec dixit Dominus' and 'Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis,' and that too in a manner as clever as it is charming." When reviewing the Reformer's life, and in special reference to the passage just quoted, Kade justly remarks, "from this it is evident that he (Luther) had a closer acquaintance with the work than a mere hearing could have afforded." And we are also of opinion that only a man who possessed an intimate knowledge of part-writing could thus have expressed himself. And have we not already shown, in the passage in which Luther speaks in praise of music, that he must have been a master of no mean attainments? To us it appeals in tones of poetical beauty, and indicates with marvellous clearness that our great Reformer had a delicate sense of the relation of the *cantus firmus* to its accompanying contrapuntal parts.

And after such weighty testimony, how shall we treat those who deny that the Reformer was capable of inventing even so little as a popular melody, or those who, equally extreme in their judgment, see in him the

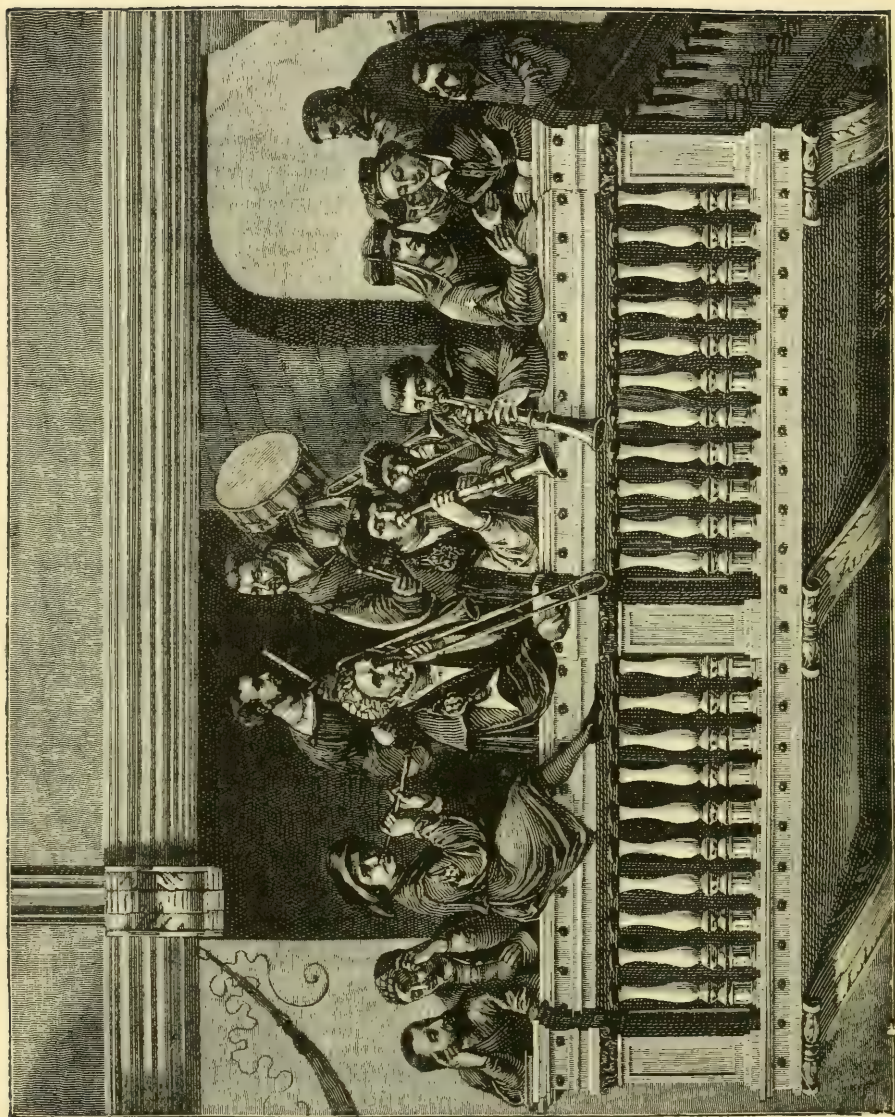


Fig. 195.—Nuremberg Town-Band.
(From a Mural Painting by Albrecht Dürer in the Nuremberg Town-hall.)

basis and corner-stone of a new style, and the founder of an Evangelical school of music growing out of and separating itself from old Catholic music? But what shall be our judgment of the Reformer, with a full knowledge before us of all the circumstances connected with his artistic career: the historical utterances, the authenticated events of his life—such as the presentation of the Walther Stimmbuch, &c.—his keen perception of the high moral significance of our art, his own undoubted musical gift, his skill as a singer, lutist, and flautist, and his shrewd discernment of the artistic dovetailing of canonic contrapuntal parts? Let us endeavour to form such a judgment as shall be free from the extravagances of both extremes, and seek for the probable and real, which generally is to be sought by taking a middle course. We then conclude that Luther was neither a professed musician, nor yet a man who listened to music with merely a sensuous feeling without reflecting on the cause and effect. If this be a just decision, then we must no longer look upon the Reformer as a mere dilettante, and certainly not in the sense as we understand it—*i.e.*, a mere empiric in art. Luther was what to-day would be described as a profound connoisseur in music, and at the same time a practical musician. To his natural musical gifts, and these were of a rich order, we must add an erudite theological and philosophical culture, an extensive knowledge of men and things, and above all a large heart, and the intuitive perception of a genius. It was this universal knowledge that enabled Luther to enter into the high mission of the tonal art more thoroughly than the average musician. His enthusiasm and his suggestions had the greatest influence on the development of the music of his period and the new Church he had founded. After this we may with some degree of safety assert that even if Luther did not compose in the polyphonic style—*i.e.*, as a contrapuntist—he undoubtedly possessed sufficient musical knowledge to enable him to judge as an expert of the construction and artistic merit of canonic writings. As to the actual compositions of Luther, we have up to the present time as little evidence for as against the Reformer having ever penned contrapuntal works.*

* It is still an open question whether the more advanced Currende boys might not have been instructed in the adding of two or three voices to any given melody, especially in the case of a single counterpoint *nota contra notam*. On an examination of documents of the years 1300, 1334, 1452, and 1742, referring to the Alumni (the senior Currende boys) in

We shall further be able to prove that Luther possessed the requisite musical knowledge to enable him to utilise old Church melodies for all kinds of sacred text, even when without metre—*e.g.*, introits, psalms, collects, epistles—sentences, fitting the appropriate Catholic tones to the Evangelical text. His work of this kind which has come down to us shows that the Reformer saw clearly the importance of the appropriateness of the tone to the word and the correctness of accent, evidencing a masterly grasp of the subtleties of musical rhythm, and a faculty, certainly not very common, of re-modelling old tonal phrases. Testimony to this is borne by Johann Walther, who is quoted by Michael Prætorius as having said: "Luther has written notes to Epistles and Gospels, and to the sentences referring to the 'true body and blood of Christ.' He has sung them to me, at the same time asking my opinion."* Further on Walther says: "Among other things every note has been fitted to the text of the German Sanctus with the right *accent* and *concent* in a masterly manner. When on one occasion I asked his reverence whence came this scholarly knowledge, the dear man, smiling at my simplicity, good-humouredly said: 'The poet Virgil has taught me this, for he appropriately does fit his poetry to the theme, and in the same manner, it seems to me, tones should be suitably wedded to the words.' " Luther had also the gift of singing in perfect tune any one of the four, five, or six parts of a contrapuntal *a capella* composition. These were not unfrequently very complicated, and often of such difficulty that in our time we should scarcely expect a perfect rendering except from a professed musician. But this Luther often did, as it sometimes happened that when taking part in a concerted composition he found himself the only representative of the part. Perhaps a striking proof of Luther's capabilities in this direction was the presentation to him by his friend Walther of the

the Gymnasium of the Holy Cross at Dresden, such an inference seems to be well within the probable.

* The tone-master Johann Walther clearly refers here to his friend Luther as a composer. This is important, coming from such a source, for, as Robert Eitner, in one of the numbers of his monthly journal of 1878 points out, Walther draws a marked distinction between the mere arranger or worker out of existing melodies and the inventor. The evidence adduced by Eitner on this point is most conclusive. But were we even to admit, for the sake of argument, that the melodies fitted by Luther to the Epistles and Gospels could be traced to the *Cantus Gregorianus*, then the musicianship required for such a work of reconstruction would be sufficient guarantee of the ability to insert a melody, which indeed would be an easier task than the altering and refitting of existing tunes.

Stimmbuch for his personal use, which, containing the tenor part, *i.e.*, the *cantus firmus*, and being written as a middle part, was therefore much more difficult of execution than a *discant*, or first soprano part. That Luther was also capable of singing other parts is beyond question; and we may take it, too, that they were well done. He was, moreover, intimately acquainted with the Gregorian *cantus choralis*. This he proves by entering minutely into the nature, special character, and distinctive expressiveness of each of the old Church modes, which then formed the basis of Gregorian song.

In further allusion to the musical capabilities of his friend, Walther adds: "When some forty years ago he (Luther) wished to introduce his translated German Mass at Wittenberg, he begged the Elector of Saxony and Duke Johann to allow the aged singing-master, Conrad Rupff, and myself to go to Wittenberg, to consult with him as to the use of certain chorales and old Church modes. We went, and there we saw the great man arrange and adapt the *Octavum tonum* to the Epistles, and the *Sextum tonum* to the Gospels, explaining at the time that 'since Christ is a gracious Master and full of sweet speech, for this reason we use the *Sextum tonum* for the Gospels; and because St. Paul is a stern apostle we use the *Octavum tonum* for the Epistles.'" From these words we gather that each of the Church modes represented to our great Reformer a certain feeling, that care should be exercised in all such cases in the selection of the applicable tone. They remind us of the tone-masters and philosophers of the classical era, who regarded their scales as severally representing special ethical characteristics. We will briefly summarise the stated opinions of two of the old philosophers on this point, Aristotle and Plato: the former considered the Phrygian mode to be the created medium of "ecstatic exaltation," while Plato thought the Doric unequalled for "vigour, manliness, and true Hellenic courage." To Luther the sixth mode represented *sweetness*, and the eighth *stern severity*. He even went still further in his sense of the descriptive character of these two particular modes, being strongly of opinion that they respectively identified themselves with the personality of Christ and of His Apostle.* So unbounded was the enthusiasm of Luther for the art of

* The sixth Church mode is like our present scale of C major; the eighth, the D minor scale without accidentals, and therefore without B flat or C sharp, *i.e.*, the scale of D on the white keys of the pianoforte.

music that he declared it to be directly related to divine things. Thus, in one of the many pieces of poetry written in praise of his beloved art, he says:—

“The heart is drawn to thoughts divine
By music pure and good;
And thus the conscience-troubled saint
Came to a happy mood.”

On another occasion he says: “Music is a beautiful and glorious gift of God, and stands next to theology. I myself would not give up my humble musical acquirements for a great deal.” In the opening sentences of his preface to Johann Walther’s “Sacred Song-book” of 1524, he says that “the singing of sacred songs is good and agreeable to the Almighty, and this, I believe, must be the feeling of every Christian.” Luther further ascribed to music the power of purifying the passions, and regarded its acquisition as an ever-present stimulant to the attainment of knowledge. Thus he says: “Music admonishes man, renders him mild, gentle, modest, and reasonable. It is also a disciplinarian. Singing is the best art, and a good exercise. He who knows this art is ennobled by it, and has aptitude for all things. He is elevated above the world’s strife, and seeks not the justice of the law. He is rendered happy and free from care. Singing dispels the clouds of anxiety. Youth ought to be innured to this art, as it tends to make man able and refined. It is imperative that music should be taught in our schools, and the schoolmaster must be able to sing, or else I will not look upon him. Kings, princes, and nobles should encourage music. It is their privilege to uphold the fine arts.”*

We have already referred to Luther’s proficiency on the flute and lute. Whether he was able to play the organ we are not in a position to say. Up to the present time we have no information one way or the other, but it is scarcely to be supposed that a divine with such remarkably musical gifts would not at some time have acquired a knowledge of organ-playing, especially when we remember that an organ was to be found in every monastery, and that it was the practice of the monks to exercise themselves daily on this instrument. In organ-playing Luther would have an opportunity of satisfying his love of polyphony, and it

* It is worthy of notice that the great Reformer here pays a tribute to all the fine arts.

is not to be supposed that he did not avail himself of every opportunity that would thus have presented itself. Even if not an able performer, he probably possessed sufficient skill to play a prelude, accompany a simple Gregorian *cantus choralis*, or close the service with an easy voluntary. Of his singing we have repeatedly spoken. With such enthusiasm did he enter into all his vocal exercises that it was difficult for him to leave off. Johann Walther confirms this when he says: "I attest truly that Luther, the sainted man of God, the prophet and apostle of the German nation, loved choral song. Many an hour have I sung by his side, and observed that when thus engaged the dear man became joyful and merry of heart. He never seemed to tire of singing and of speaking enthusiastically about music."

And how shall we, his judges of the nineteenth century, regard him? Endowed with musical gifts of a high order, both practically and theoretically a musician, and possessing unusual receptiveness, he stands out a prominent figure in the history of musical art. Music to him was a divine revelation, it was a necessity of life, and if we do not class him with professed musicians, it is because his powerful mind, his universal knowledge, and energetic life overshadow what in another man would seem the genius of the born musician. His unquestionable musical gifts were, and ever have been, treated as a subordinate feature of his active life. And yet, for all that, we are very little inclined to call him a musical layman. To our mind he can only fitly be described as occupying a position between the professed musician and the enthusiastic lover of serious music. This is his true place. We should experience a difficulty if we classed him with the acknowledged masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and he certainly was more than an ordinary amateur; we have therefore, after much careful consideration, adopted a middle course, and in so doing consider we have rightly placed Luther—musically.

And now, we would ask, is it to be supposed that such a man was incapable, as some critics assert, of inventing a simple melody, a practice in which even the most superficial of dilettanti delight? Is it conceivable that a man engaged so many hours a day in singing hymns would not have exercised unquestionably high musical attainments in the inventing and setting of musical phrases to words which were to be

the constant utterance of his followers? We might, we think, in fairness concede to him the ability of at least composing simple tunes to the poems of his own making, and, if we do this, may it not be that it was in the singing of these very hymns that, as Walther puts it, "he never seemed to tire." Those of his critics who have vehemently contended that he was incapable of musical invention seem to us to incline to the improbable and unnatural, for no other reason than that having once formed an opinion, they are determined to adhere to it even when confronted with overwhelming testimony to the contrary, and dispute what is really incontestable merely because it is in conflict with their own narrow-minded judgment.

Turning now to an examination of the evidence supporting the authenticity of original compositions usually ascribed to Luther, we must admit that the investigations of various historians have proved very unfavourable to the inventive ability of the Reformer. Many melodies which in years gone by were without question attributed to him have been shown to be the work of others; indeed, even those which are most intimately associated with the name of Luther, and which are almost universally conceded as his original work, cannot be proved to be so by any positive testimony. But while we cannot emphatically affirm on the one hand that he was an original writer, so no one can dogmatically assert the contrary. We are entirely without any conclusive evidence one way or the other. We frankly admit this; but having done so, it is not for critics biassed by religious bigotry or blinded by prejudice to thereupon assume the opposite, and declare that the Reformer was incapable of musical invention. It is a failing of our nature that having once begun to doubt, we not only reject the improbable, but also the closely related probable, even though it be supported by irrefutable testimony.

We have pointed out before that over-zealous co-religionists had credited Luther with the invention of a much greater number of poems and melodies than was his due. Of verses perhaps the greatest number was that ascribed to him by Sethus Calvisius in 1596, fifty years after Luther's death, the majority of the melodies also being considered his. As time wore on the number of his musical inventions has been curiously diminished, until now not one is left to tell of the gifted monk. Before Rambach's

work on "Luther's Merit as a Sacred Composer" appeared in 1813, the number had decreased to thirty-two. Rambach himself admits only twenty-four; Koch, in his "History of Church Song" (1882), nine only; Reissman, in Volume I. of his "History of Music," eight, and amongst these he considers three genuine and five doubtful; Schilling's "Universal Lexicon," six; Von Winterfeld and Mendel's "Musical Lexicon," three; Kade, in his "Luther Codex" (1871), only the well-known Luther hymn, "Eine feste Burg" ("A firm fortress," or, as it is rendered in the Anglican hymn books, "God is our refuge in distress"). Even Kade, when some six years later he published the "Oldest Wittenberg Hymn Book," inclines in his introduction to the belief that the Luther hymn was the work of Johann Walther; whilst Bäumker, in a pamphlet published in 1880, and again in his "History of the Tonal Art in Germany up to the Year 1881," emphatically denies Luther's right to the authorship of this celebrated melody, and rejects at the same time Kade's suggestion as to the probable composer. According to Bäumker, it would appear that the Reformed Church in its early days could not boast of one single melody which was the outcome of Evangelical thought or musical practice. This *testimonium paupertatis* disparagingly cast at the religious enthusiasm and musical invention of the earliest disciples of the new creed is both hazardous and extravagant.*

In considering how far the personal influence of Luther might have affected Church song, it is a matter of importance to know exactly the extent of his musical acquirements, and whether he was or was not capable

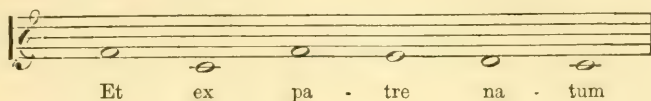
* Such a judgment argues a lack of historical acumen which is to be regretted. Great national agitations have at all times given birth to popular melodies, the outgrowth of an enthusiasm that seems to have identified itself with the feeling of the times. We have the Charlemagne "Plaint," besides a great number of mediæval sacred folk-songs and pilgrim hymns: the songs of the Hussites; "Richard, O mon Roy;" the song of Prince Eugène; "Rule Britannia;" the marches of Hohenfriedberg and Dessauer; the "Marsellaise;" the melodies invented to the poems of Arndt and Körner during the rise of the Germans against French oppression; and, lastly, the "Watch on the Rhine." Is it conceivable, then, that the Reformation era—perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most far-reaching in its influence—should of all national agitations have been without its popular representative melody? No; and neither can we doubt that the leader and principal actor in the religious war, endowed as he was with high musical gifts, would have been behind very second-rate musicians who, fired with enthusiasm, have proved themselves capable of the invention of popular melodies. What a musical layman like Rouget de l'Isle could do might surely be admitted in a man of Luther's capabilities.

of inventing an original melody. A man who has the ability to set his own poems to music might surely be credited with an understanding better able to appreciate and value the works of others, than that of those who do not and cannot feel and think in musical tones. The influence of such a master must have had great weight on the musical settings of poems, which formed so important an element in a religious service of which he was the acknowledged head. We will merely recount the names of those old Protestant masters who have made the "Luther Hymn" a theme for their own imaginative elaboration: Johann Walther, Georg Rhau, Stephan Mahu, Lukas Osiander, Johann Ekkard, Hans Leo Hassler, and Johann Sebastian Bach. If we accept Luther as the composer of this melody, which was used by so many Evangelical masters as a *cantus firmus*, and in which the spirit of the Reformation is, it might not be inaptly said, quasi-musically crystallised, then has the Reformer exercised a deeper and more lasting influence over the spirit and character of Protestant Church song than if he had been a mere adapter of existing popular tunes.

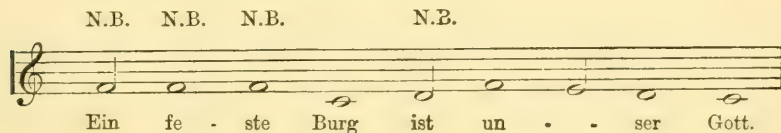
We will now carefully examine the reasons put forward by Bäumker in support of his contention that Luther was neither the composer of the melody to "Isaiah the Prophet" nor of that known as "Luther's Hymn," both of which, until within the last two or three years, were universally regarded as the original compositions of the great Reformer. Bäumker asserts—and this is his principal argument—that Luther constructed both the above hymn tunes from certain melodic phrases of Gregorian song which are still to be found in the old Catholic Liturgy, and quotes in support the *Graduale Romanum* (Liege, 1854) and Mettenleiter's *Enchiridion Chorale* (Ratisbon, 1853). We will endeavour to see how far our critic is right in his supposed suggestive phrases of the Gregorian chant. Bäumker begins his charge by selecting one of the old liturgical tone-phrases, and placing it side by side with the opening strains of the Luther hymn, points, as he thinks, to the reproduction of the former in the latter.* But this very first parallel falls to the ground, and we are convinced at once of the empty sophistry of the whole proceeding. It is almost idle to contend that in the half-dozen notes which he gives us from the *Cantus Gregorianus* we see the original of "Ein feste Burg." What

* See Part 10 of Robert Eitner's monthly musical publication of 1880.

musician or layman, we would ask, would recognise in the following succession of notes the beginning of the well-known hymn?—



This passage might be likened to almost anything, but certainly cannot with any sense of the fitness of things be said to resemble the Luther melody. In repeating the first note to the words "*Ein feste Burg*" (a firm fortress), Luther seems to symbolically paint the fixity of his belief. This characteristic defiant beginning of the old Protestant hymn is wanting entirely in Bäumker's supposed parallel. Unquestionably the thrice-repeated F was *not* an accident; and any composer who has due regard to the appropriateness of music to words would immediately admit the intention of the author. We print the first notes of the hymn as they appear in Walther's writing:—



The Luther song excised of the three powerful opening notes would be without helmet and breastplate, and would assuredly have failed to kindle that combative spirit in the followers of Protestantism which it is well known to have done. The repetition of the F, as every one must acknowledge, is the strong characteristic feature of the hymn tune, whereas in the old *cantus* no more weight can be attached to the single F than to any of the other notes. But Luther was the child of a different age to that during which the Gregorian song was created, and the warlike spirit of the Reformer is announced in the bold and vigorous opening of his melody.

Luther's feeling of tone, and the manner in which he expressed it by notes, was but the outcome of that new spirit which had been slowly developing itself prior to the great Reformation era. The form

by which he gave utterance to this feeling was that of the popular German Volkslied. The people's song had then nothing in common with the *Cantus Gregorianus*. They sang their melodies in flowing cadences; but the *cantus* was, in part at least, always executed a *parlando*. That intonation which was almost a necessity in the chanting of the *cantus*, would have been quite out of place in the popular song. In the Volkslied we have both rhythm and metre, but where are they in the Gregorian melody? These two classes of song are distinctly opposed to each other. In the Luther hymn we have a strongly-marked rhythm, whereas in the *Graduale Romanum*, as given by Bäumker too, the notes are all of equal length, and entirely lack any special *accentus*. And where, in Bäumker's supposed parallel, do we find the D of the Luther song, under which the Reformer has put the word "ist" (is)? Again, how can it possibly be supposed that Luther, a poet, thinker, and Latin scholar, would have chosen the Gregorian melody of "Et ex patre natum" for his text, "A firm fortress is our God," words having no mental connection with the old Catholic Graduale? Further, in the old notation of the Luther hymn, Walther has clearly indicated that the first part should be repeated; but we find no sign of any repeat in Bäumker's assumed parallel, nor do we trace the well-arranged melodic and rhythmic periods conspicuous in Luther's melody, tonal periods made all the more clear by rests which appear three times in the Luther hymn as given in the Eitner monthly publication of 1880. But how could we ever have expected to find any melodic or rhythmically terminated periods in the Bäumker reference, since he has associated for his purpose melodic phrases of the old Roman liturgy totally unconnected with each other? His specimen is entirely devoid of any organic membership of parts. We have made a careful examination of the *Graduale Romanum* and Mettenleiter's *Enchiridion*, and in neither do we find the same continuity of tonal phrases which Bäumker puts forward in this example, and which he has so wilfully and unnaturally brought into connection with each other.

If we add to this that the melodic outline of the Luther hymn and those ill-joined fragments of the *Cantus Gregorianus* have not even the most prominent intervals in common, indeed not even that which gives to the melody a special character, then we ask ourselves how could any question of similarity ever have suggested itself, since even

in so short a phrase as the following the Luther melody cannot be said to be like the Bäumker extract?—

The image shows two musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'LUTHER:' and contains a melody in G-clef with notes for 'bö', 'se', 'Feind', 'mit', and 'Ernst'. The notes are connected by a continuous line, with a '5' above the final note. The bottom staff is labeled 'BÄUMKER:' and contains a melody in G-clef with notes for 'a' and 'Con-'. The notes are disconnected, with a '(wanting)' label above the final note.

No, the melodies are dissimilar, and it is natural they should be so. The two examples represent two different styles of composition. The unity and organic construction of the outline of the Luther hymn, with its balanced descending tones at both ends of the two chief parts, and its continuous flow of melody, show a distinct imitation of the popular Volkslied with its incessant melodic flow. Bäumker's supposed parallel has none of these characteristics, and we cannot lay too much stress on the wilful association of totally unconnected phrases. Neither the *Cantus Gregorianus* nor the melodies of the *Concentus* can be compared to the song-like form of the Reformation hymn, nor were they sung in the same rhythmical cadences as the Luther hymn and Volkslied. In the *cantus* and *concentus* two and more syllables were frequently placed under the same note, and in such cases they were always intoned and not given forth in the distinctly separated tones of the Volkslied and Luther hymn. Before Bäumker set himself to judge of Luther's right to the authorship of the disputed hymn, we think he should have made himself acquainted with the two opposed modes of singing in vogue during the sixteenth century, *i.e.*, the intonation of the *cantus* and the cantabile singing of the German Volkslied. If our critic had done this—and we submit that this was the first necessary step to help him to a faithful judgment—he would never have attempted to force into a comparison with the bold martial Luther hymn scraps from Roman Missals, Graduals, and Antiphons. The Luther hymn was the outcome of a much later and altered time. And still more should our critic have been prevented from any such comparison by the indignant protest of Luther in 1525.

against the "neither agreeable nor honest mixture" of Latin songs and words with good German mother-tongue. Luther, in his essay entitled "The Heavenly Prophets," says: "I should to-day rejoice if we had a German Mass. I live with that hope constantly before me, and should much like that our Mass had a true German style and manner. The one we have now, with its Latin tone and Germanic rendering of the Latin text, must be accepted as things stand, but it is *neither an agreeable nor honest mixture*. Text and note, accent, melody, and method of enunciation should be dictated by genuine mother-tongue and voice, or else all is mere imitation like that of monkeys."*

Is it to be supposed that the man who in such unmistakable language condemned the uncongenial mixture of Roman and German elements in the German Mass translated from the Latin, would have suffered such a distasteful association in the hymns of his own Church, or still less *have done it himself*? Has any one the right to assert, after such an emphatic protest, that the Reformer would have wedded "Latin tone and notes," taken from the Gregorian Mass, to his popular German verses—a practice which, in his characteristic drastic language, he had jeered at as "monkeyish," and with his desire before us that he would have all tones and words dictated by an enthusiasm for the genuine mother-tongue? Certainly it is historically proved that Luther translated Latin ritual songs for the service of the Reformed Church—songs which had traditionally belonged to the older Church for hundreds of years, but to these he set melodies framed on the lines of those of the *Cantus Gregorianus*, and was particularly careful that such should be in the spirit of those of the Romish Church. It is highly improbable that a man of the mind and will of Luther would have ever countenanced, in the service of a Church which he desired to make so wholly German, any setting of Gregorian tone-phrases to the newly-written German songs, and especially his own. The oft-quoted Biblical text that "new wine is not put into old bottles" is also applicable here. In most in-

* Latin tones and Latin notes are nothing less than the Gregorian melodies which Bäumker puts in juxtaposition with the Luther hymn. We notice, as a curious omission on the part of our critic, that every utterance of the Reformer tending to support some theory of his own is readily enough cited, but all references antagonistic to his deductions are studiously avoided.

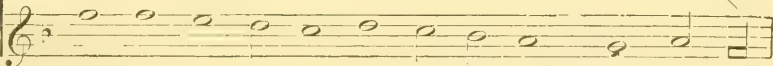
stances the hymns of Luther were but a re-casting of the Psalms of David, with the infusion of German mind and spirit; and so was it with the Latin melodies which he admittedly adopted in certain cases. These he re-arranged and coloured with his Teutonic feeling, permeating them with the spirit of the secular folk-song, both as regards form and melody.* And we think we are not claiming one jot too much if we assert that those verses which we know to be original, and which he took so much delight in singing, owe their melodies to the spontaneous flow of song which would probably have gushed forth when running them

* We direct the attention of the student to the close of the first and second parts of the Luther melody, and that as shown in the Bäumker parallel.

LUTHER: 

Auf erd ist nicht seins Gleichen.

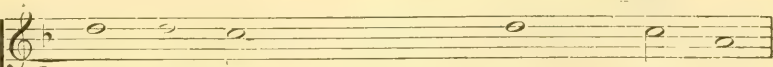
N.B. N.B. N.B. 3

BÄUMKER: 

Et iterum venturus est.

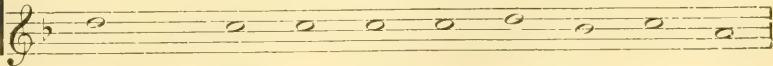
The suspended interval of a third shown by Bäumker could never have been favourably looked upon by Luther, as such an end would certainly never have been received, and as the great Reformer wished to make his hymn as popular as a folk-song, he adopted such a finality of tones as would at once find favour with the German people. The three N.B. indicate the dissimilarities with the Luther melody, not to speak of the rhythmical differences. In the same manner the whole of the tonal phrases cited by Bäumker differ from Luther's hymn. We give just one more of the parallels which Bäumker thinks he has found. In the liturgical extract we have the genuine ring of Catholic psalmody (the repetition of the C), and in the Luther succession the bold, defiant spirit of the Reformation era.

N.B.

LUTHER: 

sein grausam Rüstung ist;

N.B. N.B. N.B. N.B. N.B.

BÄUMKER: 

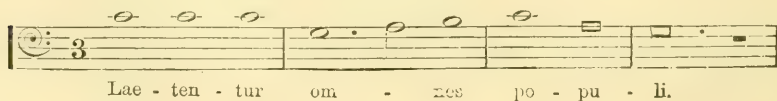
no bis sub Pon tico Pi la to.

The C in the Luther cutting with the doubly underlined N.B. was changed in a later edition of Walther to B.

over in his mind, and in such moments it might have been, as Walther says, that "he was joyful of heart from singing, and seemed never to tire." It does not seem at all possible that so enthusiastic and passionate a spirit as Luther would, in the hour of devotion, have turned to a dusty old Antiphonal to find a melody that should fit his fiery "Ein feste Burg." And be it remembered that it was neither a complete song with a continuous flowing melody, nor were the Latin words in keeping with his own verses, but detached phrases, gathered from five different parts of the old Gregorian song.* Is it to be credited that such a conglomeration should have possessed that kindling power which procured for the Luther song, with the rapidity of lightning, so firm a hold on the hearts of all Protestant people, whether of Germany or elsewhere, and which since the days of its inventor has been the battle-song of countless millions of Protestant devotees? We think not, unless there could be shown to exist a similarly patched work enjoying the same healthy longevity, and certainly not until more conclusive evidence is adduced than that brought forward by Bäumker.†

* The text alone of the fragments which Bäumker has associated shows that they were taken without any reference to their tonal or versical relation. One of his scraps begins and ends with the words, "Nobis sub Pontio Pilato;" in the melodic phrases which he asserts were the original of Luther's "Isaiah the Prophet" he couples "Mundi dona nobis pacem," "Mundi miserere nobis," and "Invisibilium et in unum Dominum." To assert that Luther or Walther formed the disputed melody out of such disjointed phrases would indeed be a curious and bold statement, seeing that the very phrases themselves are incomplete, the beginning and end being omitted, and only a few notes given selected from the middle. If such a proceeding be once admitted as the work of the Reformer, then all and everything might be proved in his disfavour.

† Since 1877 Otto Kade, whose merit as an historian of Luther and his time cannot be gainsaid, has ranged himself on the side of those critics who dispute the rights of Luther as the author of the "Luther Hymn." But Kade's testimony on this point does not seem to us to carry the same weight or show the same comprehensive knowledge as other portions of the work of this careful investigator. In his opinion Johann Walther was the inventor of the melody in question; and he bases his assumption on the fact that a tonal phrase almost identical with the opening bars of the Luther hymn is to be found in the Walther Song-book of 1524 (see page 98 of Eitner's edition of the Walther Song-book). From the second part of a four-part "Deus Misereatur" by Walther he quotes the following succession of notes used as a bass counterpoint to the tenor :—



Having now shown that Luther was something more than a layman unacquainted with tonal theory and practice, what shall we say of the influence which he exercised, either directly or indirectly, on the character and development of that music which he called into life by the service of

The issue then is narrowed down to this: because in one of the four parts of an *a capella* composition by Walther we find a group of nine notes bearing a certain resemblance to the beginning of the Luther song, was Walther therefore the inventor of the whole melody? We would at once throw up our brief if two questions which seem to us to sum up the whole case could be answered to our satisfaction: (1) Are the two successions of notes identically the same? and (2) does the reference from Walther form part of a *cantus firmus*? To neither do we obtain a satisfactory reply. It will be perhaps as well if we bring before our readers the two disputed passages, giving first the Luther song as noted down by Walther himself in the Luther Codex, and placing underneath the fragment from the Walther Song-book of 1524 as cited by Kade, further assisting the reader by putting both extracts into the same Church mode and the same *tempo*.

LUTHER
CODEX:

WITTEN-
BERG,
SONG-
BOOK OF
1524:

N.B. N.B.

The N.B. will at once show the point of difference, and the *inversion* of the phrase is to be noted. It is contrary to all historical evidence that Walther should have written his own melody differently in the Luther Codex to the "Deus Misereatur," and again in his two elaborations of the Luther hymn in the year 1544. As regards the second point we are equally unable to agree with Kade. If the group of nine notes which he quotes from the Walther Song-book formed part of a *cantus firmus*, it would have been marked in the tenor of the polyphonic part to which it belongs. But it does not belong to the tenor, but to the bass; and Kade himself points to this, though at the same time drawing an entirely different conclusion to that which seems to us the only legitimate one. He says in reference to Walther's nine-note phrase: "It does not appear in that part to which the melody was usually allotted, because if it had appeared as a *cantus firmus* it might have been supposed that, like most *canti fermi*, it was a borrowed melody, but being his own he put it out of the reach of such suspicion." But this explanation does not seem to us to be sufficient. We are not aware of a single instance in which a composer of the fifteenth or sixteenth century has assigned to an original invented melody a subordinate position. To quote Josquin, Senfel, and the masters of the Gallo-Belgic and old French schools as having interlaced several *canti fermi* in the same composition, would not be to the point, as the cases are not at all parallel. In such works the *canti fermi* are of equal importance; there is no question of chief and accompanying voices. If Walther's melody was not a *cantus firmus*, then his claim as put forward by Kade falls to the ground, as its melodic progression, like that of all accompanying voice-parts, was wholly dependent on the unchangeable *cantus firmus*, just such a one as we

his newly-founded Church? We know that one of his earliest efforts was to replace the Latin Mass by one sung in the German tongue. During 1524 he spent a great part of his time at Wittenberg devising, arranging, and consulting as to the shape it should take and the music to be set to it.

find in the "Deus Misereatur." As an accompanying part, therefore, it is neither entitled to, nor does it claim, our special attention. We emphatically deny that because one may discover a contrapuntal accompanying voice-part of a polyphonic work of the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth century that resembles a certain phrase of any well-known melody, that it necessarily follows that the same man wrote both themes. All melodic phrases that did not appear as *canti fermi*, i.e., as the tenor of a polyphonic piece, were not the outcome of the free invention of the composer, but were dependent on the restricting grammatical rules arising from the relation of the contrapuntal voice to the tenor and the other accompanying voices. Such parts were not free melodies. Their phrasing was contingent on the form of the *cantus*, and it was impossible to determine beforehand what the tonal outcome would be. It was an involuntary evolution, not a free-will development of the composer. Such reminiscences of the Luther melody as Kade believes he has found in the nine notes of Walther might easily be found in numerous instances, and we would engage to find among the mass of contrapuntal parts that grew into existence during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, any number of fragments which, when put into juxtaposition with certain well-known *canti fermi* of the same period, would disclose a very remarkable similarity of tonal progression. Indeed, we are fully persuaded that any musician learned in the grammar of part-writing of the time, were he to set himself to discover certain fragmentary tonal successions among the accompanying voices, akin to a given *cantus firmus*, would almost assuredly find them. We do not mean to assert that he will find interval for interval, and note for note, but certainly something remarkably like it. The composer to whom the accompanying parts owe their origin had only one thought, and that was to write as well as possible, according to the strict academical rules of counterpoint, an underlying part to the tenor or *cantus firmus*. The question of beauty and expression of any such part, if taken into consideration at all, could have been therefore but a subsidiary one. Fettered melodies of this kind cannot be compared to those freely developed by the musical genius of the master, nor can we regard them as the germs of such. But even were we to admit that there are instances in which composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries transferred their freely invented melody or *cantus firmus* from its original place of tenor to that of an accompanying voice part—and this is what it is asserted Walther has done—then we have the strongest conviction that he would have proceeded in a very different manner. We ourselves are not aware of a single example of this kind, but we admit it into the argument in order to show the fallacy of it. *Canti fermi* could only have been transferred either in their entirety, or a complete melodic phrase or a single *motivo* would have been taken. The latter is what Walther would have done, if we accept his group of nine notes as the origin of the opening phrase of the Luther melody said to have been invented by him, and as an accidental product, the result of conforming to contrapuntal law. If this were so, we are strongly of opinion that Walther would have worked his tonal group of nine notes more than once into his bass part, since such *motivi*, when used in a *cantus firmus*, always reappeared either in their original shape or augmented or diminished. Walther's nine-note tonal succession appears but the once, and is not even hinted at by any similarly constructed phrase. Again, we do not see how it can be contended that Walther

Walther seems to have been closely associated with his friend in this work, for he tells us: "He kept me three long weeks at Wittenberg to write choral notes to Gospels and Epistles, until the first German Mass should be sung in the parish church. I was present at the performance, and by direction of the doctor took a copy of the Mass to Torgau for presentation to His Grace the Elector." Walther further adds that about this time Luther himself "underlaid" choral notes to Gospels and Epistles, singing them to his friend as the criticising professor. In close sympathy with the spontaneous flow of music amongst his countrymen, the Reformer awarded the first place in the Evangelical Liturgy to the German Volkslied and all sacred melodies based on the popular form; whilst it is well known that the Volkslied in the Catholic Church, whether Latin or German, never attained any liturgical importance. Finally, until stronger arguments than those yet put forward are forthcoming to disprove the inventive capabilities of Luther, we must acknowledge him as the composer of some of the most touching melodies of the Reformation era, of which "A firm fortress" and "Isaiah the Prophet" form part. Of Luther we might say that he laid the foundation of Evangelical Church music, the models of which were the two hymns just quoted. We have every reason to believe that Luther, besides paraphrasing certain Psalms and introducing them to his countrymen in the form of congregational hymns, also made the Psalm itself, in the words of David, an integral part of the Church service. Such a proceeding would coincide with his expressed wish that the people might be brought into closer communion with the Word of God, making them

was the author of the Luther hymn, seeing that, according to Kade, the Reformer did not write his verses until 1529, and that Walther's phrase of nine notes, and therefore the Luther hymn from which it is asserted Walther adopted this fragment, was composed in 1524. Is it then suggested that the melody was written prior to the invention of the words? We cannot believe that Kade is of this opinion, since he so enthusiastically enlarges on the appropriateness of tone to word in his Luther Codex, and of its complete unison with the spirit and feeling of the Reformation. Should Kade be inclined to reply that in Walther's melody he recognises but the suggestion of the Luther melody, then we would rejoin that a mere suggestion is not the realisation, and an accidental resemblance to the beginning of a melody is by no means the whole of the melody. We have, then, arrived at the conclusion that Kade's arguments, like those of Bäumker, are not strong enough to disprove that Luther was the inventor of that hymn which for so many generations has borne his name. We believe that our deductions will not be altogether unwelcome to Kade, since he has ever acknowledged the musician in Luther.

actual participators in the religious ceremonies. His paraphrasing the principal Psalms would be but the preliminary to the introduction of the whole. With reference to his anxiety to make the people acquainted with the actual text of David's verses, he says: "To praise God in Psalms has been the practice since the earliest days of Christianity. St. Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians and Colossians recommends the praising of God in sacred songs and Psalms." And when writing to his friend Spalatin in the January of 1524 he says: "Peace be with you. I intend, following the example of the prophets and fathers, to make German Psalms, that by this means the Word of God might be propagated among His people." Luther's success in his translation of Psalms affected the whole of his contemporaries. In 1526 Stolzer published his German Psalms: then we have the congregational songs of the Calvinists chiefly constructed upon Psalms. Certainly we should never have possessed the latter were it not that the Reformer of Geneva, notwithstanding that he entertained different views on certain points of faith, had great respect for Luther, and felt that the introduction of psalmody into the Church was very desirable. And it is to the initiative of our great Reformer that we ascribe the partiality of the Evangelical composers of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and therefore subsequent to Luther's death, for creating all kinds of works with psalmodic texts.

But Luther was not content that the Word should be sung in congregational song only. He longed for something higher, and demanded that the art of music should furnish him with something better than the ordinary hymn tune for Church service. His desire was to press the polyphonic art-music of the Catholic Church into his service, for he knew that that represented the best kind of part-writing, especially that of his favourite masters Isaak and Senfel. In the same year (1524) that the first popular Lutheran hymn-book appeared, printed on three sheets, consisting only of eight hymns and five melodies, there was also published at Wittenberg, under Luther's direction, a "Sacred Song-book for three, four, and five voices," which clearly proves that the Reformer was anxious that hymns should be sung to the Almighty not only in one grand unison, but also in the polyphonic strains that he so well loved. This is the oldest monument of polyphonic song that the Evangelical Church possesses, and points to the

far-reaching influence of Luther over choral song, and song, be it remembered, of one part more than the usual choral quartet.

Taking now a retrospective view of the general work of Dr. Martin Luther in the direction of Church music, we are forced to the confession that, even after making ample acknowledgment of all that has been done during the past few years to strengthen religious fervour by the aid of the tonal art, the great Reformer was far in advance of our own time. We feel, with a sense of shame, that the musical portion of the Evangelical service has not progressed but gone back, and that to such a degree that we doubt whether it will ever again attain that high state of excellence which Luther gained for it; for, in the Evangelical Churches of Europe and America, the musical part of the service (if we except the choral service of the Anglican Church) is restricted to the homophonic singing of hymns with organ accompaniment, and the very poor defective rendering of congregational song which we have heard in some churches has occasionally recalled to our minds the caustic yet rude language of Luther with respect to slovenly singing of the chorale—viz. that it was like the “braying of asses.”* Art-music has so entirely vanished from the Protestant service that even the simple hymn is no longer sung in four parts by the congregation. But, notwithstanding the exclusion of art-music from Church service, Evangelical song did, thank God, wend its way upwards from the days of Luther, until it reached the glorious climax secured for it by Bach, and which, we might say without fear of contradiction, has never been surpassed. How many of the works of the great Protestant master or his important predecessors, we would ask, obtain a hearing now in the Evangelical Church as part of the service? Such performances as are given in sacred edifices do not take place during divine service but at other times, so that we can only regard them as sacred concerts.

After this digression we will now turn towards the man upon whom Luther so much relied in evolving and consolidating his Evangelical Church music. To Otto Kade belongs the honour of being the first to bring

* The “braying of asses” was originally applied by Luther to the Church singing of the clericals of German cathedrals and monasteries of the first half of the sixteenth century. He considered that it so destroyed the purport of liturgical song, that in censorious tones he exclaimed: “Some of them bleat the Psalms, and others shout in the stentorian halloos of the hunter, whilst some howl, murmur, and bray.”

the abilities of this modest and meritorious art-worker to the front and assigning to him his right and proper place. Von Winterfeld disputes his claim to any honours as an Evangelical tone-writer, but we incline to the views of Kade.*

Walther was born in Thuringia, not far from Cola, in 1496, and was therefore a compatriot of his great friend. About 1524 we find him holding the appointments of master of philosophy and bass-singer at Torgau in the chapel of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. It would seem that at that early period he had acquired some repute as a composer, for in 1526 we find Philip Melancthon speaking of him as "Composer to the choir." In the third edition of his hymn-book, published in 1537, Walther calls himself "Singing-master to the Elector of Saxony," and in 1545 he subscribes himself "Precentor in ordinary." In 1548 he was appointed chapel-master of the newly erected chapel at Dresden, the opening ceremony of which was publicly announced by order of the Elector Moritz at Wittenberg to take place on the 19th August, 1548. In 1554 he retired from this office on a pension, taking up his residence at Torgau, where he worked till his death in 1570. The musical genius of Walther shows itself more in the invention of melodies than in the treatment of scholastic counterpoint and the clever interweaving of polyphonic parts. Besides the disputed Luther melody "A firm fortress," Kade ascribes to Walther the melodies to the following verses of the great Reformer: "Be joyful now, dear Christians all," "O God, look down on us from Heaven," "Thus saith the foolish tongue," "A new song we upraise," and "In joy and peace I end my days." †

* Bäumker's reference to Kade's judgment on the merits of Johann Walther is in strange contradiction to the actual opinion which the champion of Luther's friend has actually put forward. The reader of Bäumker's "History of Tonal Art" would imagine from pp. 150, 151, that Kade thinks but poorly of Walther, whereas quite the reverse is the case.

† Although agreeing with Kade that the melody to this last hymn is not the great Reformer's, we do not admit it for the reason put forth by that critic. He is of opinion that the hot-tempered and passionate nature of Luther would not admit of his inditing a melody characterised by so much "calm placidity," "peaceful tranquillity," and "gentle submissiveness to God's will." To us, Luther is a man of universal parts, and we think that a quotation from Schiller might well be applied to him—that in him were coupled the "stern and the yielding," the "vigorous and the gentle." Side by side with heroic grandeur we find traits of the tenderest sensibility and the most inoffensive humour. Perhaps the most striking examples of such opposite characteristics are the "Plaint of the words to Luther" and "Frau Musica."

To Walther belongs the credit of being the first to harmonise the sacred melodies in the manner which hitherto belonged to secular song, for notwithstanding Walther's superior talent as a melodist, yet his gifts as a musician impelled him to harmonise hymns in the same way as the popular Volkslied. His was the honour of introducing the *nota contra notam* into the Evangelical service. The *cantus firmus* in Walther's



Fig. 196.—Title-page of the Tenor Part of the Wittenberg "Sacred Song-book," published in 1524.

compositions is almost always given to the tenor. In the year 1524 he published the first edition of his Wittenberg "Sacred Song-book," consisting of forty-three songs, and of these only one has the *cantus firmus* in the treble. In addition to the simple melodies we have referred to above,

This compound nature of the worthy man is also to be found in his sacred songs: his "I come to thee from Heaven above" is full of "peaceful tranquillity," and "Give us peace" of "calm placidity," and "In joy and peace I end my days" of "submissiveness to the will of God." And it seems to us that with the musical gifts of the Reformer he might certainly have been capable of supplying his own verses with a suitable melody. It is strange that this poetical proof should have received no attention at the hands of Kade.

the book contains a number of more highly-developed and ingeniously-worked compositions. From among the simpler pieces Kade singles out "In joy and peace I end my days" as deserving of special mention on account of its pathetically touching expression, and he does not laud it too highly when describing it as a "real gem." Amongst the more ambitious works, the opening phrases of the Pentecost song, "Now pray we to the Holy Ghost" stands pre-eminent for ingeniously developed themes. The thematic working of "God the Father, be with us," is also of a high order, and like "Now pray we," is written for five voices. A number of other compositions in this work, however, scarcely rise above the level of a mediocrity somewhat common among German musicians of that period. We are indebted to the researches of Kade for the discovery of the earliest edition of Walther's polyphonic hymn-book, the title-page of the tenor part of which we have given above.

We have been greatly touched by the warm friendship that existed between the Reformer and Walther; indeed, their personal friendship possesses for us as great a charm as the interest we feel in their musical connection. At the first meeting of the two men, when by the command of the Elector of Saxony the old chapel-master Ruppich (also called Rupf) and Walther went to Wittenberg to advise with Luther in arranging the first German Mass, the Reformer at once selected the younger man, Walther, as his coadjutor, and no doubt this was owing to the impression that Walther created in Luther as a man. On that day a firm friendship was cemented between the two men, a friendship which continued to their death. Luther always spoke of Walther in the most affectionate terms, referring to him in his correspondence as "his beloved *componista* of Torgau." The great reliance he reposed in Walther is shown by his sending one of his sons to school at Torgau with a warm letter of introduction to the master. The letter bears the date 26th August, 1542, and was therefore written by Luther just prior to his death. Among other requests he begged Walther to pay attention to the musical training of the young man, saying, "Ego enim parturio Theologos, sed Grammaticos et Musicos parere etiam cupio" ("I beget theologians, but I desire also to beget grammarians and musicians"). Kade also draws attention to the common bond of friendship that united Luther and Melancthon and Walther, and, we may add, that intimately associated

with their friendship was their common love for the practice of the musical art. A contemporary of Luther, after referring to the Reformer's habit of engaging in musical practice after the evening meal, goes on to say "beautiful and charming motets by Josquin, Senfel, and others were sung. Luther often invited experienced singers to his house, constituting a sort of family choir, Philippus (Melancthon) forming one of the number." Walther was not only a musician, but also a poet. The following lines are written by him in praise of his immortal friend:—

"Awake! awake! thou German land,
Thou'st slept full long enough:
Think what the Lord has done for you,
For what ye were created.
Think, too, what God has sent to you,
Confided you his highest pledge,
Now well may ye awake."

We do not think that there exists another document that can so well describe the simple, devoted, and modest character of the Torgau master as the short preface written by himself to the 1537 edition of his "Sacred Song-book." The master says: "It is not surprising that music at the present time is so much despised, since all the other arts which one should and ought to cultivate are counted as nothing. But thus it is, because the devil contemns everything pure and holy. However, by the grace of God, the Papal Mass and all that appertaineth to it has been overthrown, even though the devil on his side tries to destroy all that he can if he thinks it pleaseth God. But that our noble art may not altogether be destroyed have I, in praise of the Lord and in defiance of the evil one, again written down the songs printed some time before at Wittenberg, correcting and arranging the old ones with care, and adding several that are new, some of which are for five and some for six voices. I pray, therefore, all pious Christians to deal gently with my shortcomings, and in honour of God, and for the improvement of our art, to do the like or better. And although there may be much in my songs deserving of criticism, I leave them to the gracious judgment of all, as I am in this art but a pupil. And now I commend all devout souls to God the Almighty, and may He give us all His grace. Amen."

We have recognised in Walther the zealous and active co-operator of Luther in the arrangement of Evangelical Church-song. It would be a

matter of scarcely less historical interest to note those composers, be they Protestant or Catholic, who were influenced by the same musical feeling as the Reformer, and who have continued in the same spirit. Generally speaking, this would include all the prominent German composers of the sixteenth century, and those too of the musical dilettanti who recognised in the Reformer a man of undeniable musical genius, and accepting his teachings, expanded and improved on them, as far as their abilities admitted, the art-music of the Reformed Church.

Luther's influence is chiefly traceable in those writers who, during and subsequent to his lifetime, loved to set to music the Psalms and such versified Psalmodes as were then in existence. It will be remembered that this was the favourite work of Luther, nearly all of his hymns being paraphrased psalms. His first prominent imitator was Lukas Lossius, Rector of Luneburg. Lossius published at Nuremberg in 1553 a collection of melodies entitled "*Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta*," which bear a striking resemblance to those psalmodic melodies found in Luther's home subsequent to the Reformer's decease, and which are ascribed to him. The work gains an additional importance from a preface written specially for it by Melancthon in 1550. Ambrosius Lobwasser, Professor at Königsberg, made in 1573 a translation of Marot and Béza's French metrical Psalms, originally versified for the Reformed Church of the French-Swiss, the German master adapting to his translation the four-part tunes composed by Goudimel for the French verses. The energetic exertions which Luther made to propagate the Psalm-song were continued with undiminished vigour by German writers after Lossius and Lobwasser. In 1586, "Fifty Sacred Songs and Psalms arranged contrapuntally for four voices, so that a whole Christian congregation may unite in the singing of them," were published at Nuremberg by Lukas Osiander. In the polyphonic writing of this hymn-book the melody is to be found, without exception, in the soprano, thereby facilitating greatly the participation of the congregation in the hymn, the whole being harmonised in the manner of a chorale. In 1594 we have another setting of Lobwasser's Psalms by Marschall, also arranged for four voices. Between 1567 and 1578 appeared "*Secular and Sacred German Songs*," for four and six voices, by Antonius Scandellus, born at Brescia, in Lombardy, chapel-master at Dresden up to 1580. In this collection there are several with most expressive melodies, *e.g.*, "Praise

the Lord, for He is gracious," a melody popular with Evangelical congregations of to-day.

The next important master of this period is Jakob Kallwitz, according to his works a man of much individuality. After the fashion of the period he adopted the Latin rendering of his name, Sethus Calvisius. Born at



Fig. 197.—Sethus Calvisius.

Gorschleben in Thuringia in 1556, the son of a poor day-labourer, he became celebrated as a mathematician, chronologist, composer, and musical savant. In 1582 he was appointed cantor at Schulpforta, resigning this office in 1594 for that of cantor in St. Thomas's Church at Leipzig. Calvisius was the first of that celebrated roll of cantors of the Church of St. Thomas, a roll on which is inscribed the name of Sebastian Bach. Perhaps the best known of Calvisius' works is the excellent collection of musical compositions which he published under the title of "Church Chants

and Sacred Songs of Dr. Luther and other pious Christians, which it is the custom to sing among the Christian congregations of this country, together with several hymns, &c., contrapuntally arranged for four voices, and put into good order, by Sethus Calvisius, Cantor of St. Thomas's." This work was published at Leipzig in 1596, and before 1622 had run through five editions. The master's musical setting is distinguished by a rich and independent membering of the parts which form the chorale. His harmonies are based chiefly on the *nota contra notam* of the period. The Latin title of this work is "Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum a M. Luthero et aliis viris piis Germaniae compositorum 4 voc." His collection of "The Psalms of David, newly arranged for four voices" (Leipzig, 1617), is also an important work. As a master of harmony both rich and complicated, we have much evidence in his skilful setting of "The 150th Psalm for twelve voices and three choirs" (Leipzig, 1615). The library of St. Thomas's School still possesses among its manuscripts several psalms, motets, and hymns by this master. He died at Leipzig in 1615, having refused in 1611 an offer of the chair of mathematics at Wittenberg.

The abundant crop of tonal masters who enriched the Protestant service by psalms, motets, and German sacred songs was succeeded by a number of composers who devoted their attention to the musical interpretation of the Passion of our Lord as set forth in the Gospels. From among these we single out Joachim a Burck, who in 1568 had written four "Passions" according to the four Evangelists, for four voices, adding a second one according to St. Luke in 1597 for five voices. Burck was born near Magdeburg in 1546, the year of the birth of Luther. For some time he held the office of cantor at Mühlhausen. He is credited with the composition of forty Christian songs and forty-one short hymns in praise of the marriage state, besides several *Odae Sacrae*. The popular German melodies to "O how fleeting" and "Lord, I have sinned" are also generally ascribed to him. In the Leipzig Song-book of 1587 we find "Passion Music" by Nikolaus Selnecker. The whole of this work is, even after making full allowances for the period, oddly antique in its character. The discourse of the Evangelists and the ejaculatory utterances of the infuriate mob are treated for four voices, either semi-*recitando* or in the simple chorale form. The performance of this and other "Passions" in the Leipzig Church was always preceded by the singing of Luther's chorale, "In deep distress to Thee, O Lord, I cry,"

by the whole congregation. The Passion music according to St. John by Bartholomæus Gesius, published at Wittenberg in 1588, is a work of higher pretensions, and is conceived in true dramatic spirit. The opening chorus for five voices is furnished with the following appeal to "pious Christians"—"Lift ye your hearts to God, and listen to the sufferings of your Lord Jesus as described by St. John." The Gospel narrative is intoned by a solo tenor, whilst the words of the Saviour are everywhere given to a full four-part choir; Peter and Pilate are each represented by a three-voiced choir with the alto as bass, the shouts and cries of the crowd being rendered by a five-part choir. One of the earliest "Passions" in German is that of Stephani, written during the century of the Reformation, and published at Nuremberg in 1570. That the love with which all German people sang the music of the Passions and Psalms in their native tongue and in the language of Luther's translation can be traced to the influence of the great Reformer upon his countrymen, is an indisputable fact. Indeed, not only were Evangelical writers affected by the genius and work of the man, but also a few Catholic masters. We have already alluded to the composition of certain sacred German songs by the Italian Catholic writer Scandellus, and now we note his original Passion music set to words in the German vernacular. This is an incident which deserves to be specially marked, and in a history of music ought not to be forgotten. The story told by the Evangelist is given forth in flowing recitative, all the *personae* (with the exception of Christ and the mob) being represented by two and three voices, the parts of the Saviour and the clamorous crowd by four voices. The Catholic master Scandellus entered the service of the Protestant Elector of Saxony at Dresden, seceding in his riper years from the Romish Church to that of Luther. This is not the only case present to our minds of masters of the Catholic Church using the German vernacular in several of their sacred compositions. We have already drawn attention to a prominent Netherland Catholic master who, taking up his abode among the German people during the Reformation era, adopted their language for his Church works.

One of the last of the Evangelical tone-masters that seems to have been under the almost direct influence of Luther was Johannes Eccard, a most prominent pupil of Orlandus Lassus. Eccard was born at Mühlhausen in 1553, seven years after the Reformer's death. In 1578 he was appointed

director of the private orchestra of Jacob Fugger, merchant-prince of Augsburg. Later he entered the service of George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, following that prince to Königsberg in 1583. In 1608 he received a call to Berlin, and was there installed as chapel-master to Joachim Frederick. He held this appointment for three years only, dying in 1611. His most important work was "A Collection of Fifty-five Sacred Melodies for Feast-days and Holy-days, including Psalm and other Hymn Tunes." With respect to this collection Dommer most justly observes that among them are to be found "many real diamonds." The participation of the congregation in these sacred songs was greatly facilitated by the melody, without exception, being given to the treble; the accompanying voice-parts were also of so simple a character, with so little movement, that there was no danger of preventing the melodic outpourings of the musical layman. It was just this style of writing that Luther laboured so earnestly to introduce into his Church service. He wished to provide, outside of the highly-developed art-music, an *a capella* polyphonic style of composition in which the congregation might join with ease. Eccard was also the writer of "Prussian Festival Songs for the whole year, for five, six, seven, and eight voices," published at Königsberg in 1598—a work deserving of praise, as it is scarcely less important than the same master's "Collection of Fifty-five Sacred Melodies." The form of the festival songs may be said to be new, inasmuch as it is somewhat between the motet and song. It is akin to the latter in that its melody lies, like that of the song, in the treble part, and exercises an influence over the accompanying voices, generally preserving popular Volkslied traits. It is allied to the motet, since its melody cannot be detached and sang alone, because it is contrapuntally dependent on the other parts. The sacred song as evolved by Luther had for its primary *raison d'être* its easy rendering by the congregation. In Eccard's songs it is developed to a climax that may also be regarded as the boundary between an art-music no longer of easy accomplishment by the ordinary layman, and a contrapuntally worked-out chorale whose melody savours of the popular Volkslied. From an examination of Eccard's compositions, we are of opinion that, dear as he is to us as a writer of sacred part-songs, he was more of a melodist than a contrapuntist, and we cannot class him with either Senfel, Isaak, or the disciples of the Netherland school in the

sense of a master of contrapuntal writing of the strict canonic style. But he who is acquainted with the melodic beauty of "Across the mountains wanders the Virgin," or the touching simplicity of "In dark Gethsemane suffers the Lord," is thankful for the treasure that Germany and the Evangelical Church possessed in Master Johann Eccard.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century a contrapuntal bareness in the accompanying voice-parts of congregational song began to make itself noticeable, a bareness which increased with every decade. The cause is not far to seek. So many improvements had been made in the organ, the skill of the performer proportionately increasing, that the contrapuntal devices which formerly were rendered by vocal song were, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, given to the instrumental performer, and polyphony, finding itself shut out from choral song, sought a new field of work, and one likely to prove more permanent.

In treating of those masters of the Reformation-era who were more or less influenced by the Lutheran spirit, we have dealt with nearly all

the prominent German composers of the sixteenth century. As to their leaning to any special school, it cannot be said of any one that he followed exclusively the teachings of either the Netherlands or Italian school, for notwithstanding the undoubted sway exercised by these two great institutions, German tone-poets were largely acted upon by the general mental revolution of the time and by just such influences as can be traced directly to Luther. As we are about to take leave of Germany for some time, we propose, before closing the present chapter, to glance briefly at the development of other phases of musical art in the Fatherland, besides vocal and sacred music, both before and during the Reformation century.



Fig. 198.—Rubebe in the Hands of a Baldachino Figure in the Cathedral of Cologne, Fourteenth Century.

Our last reference to the musical instruments of Germany was to those in use from two to three hundred years before the Reformation, including all instruments played with the bow, and we illustrated our remarks by drawings of Reinmar, Frauenlob, and the Schwerin Cathedral tablets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It will be noticed that the Rubebe of Fig. 198 is not unlike the stringed instruments in Figs. 125 and 131 as regards the short neck and general form of the body, differing considerably, however, in the head (which in this case is pear-shaped) and the length of the bow. The great dissimilarity in shape and size of the three specimens of violins in Figs. 198 and 199, although all

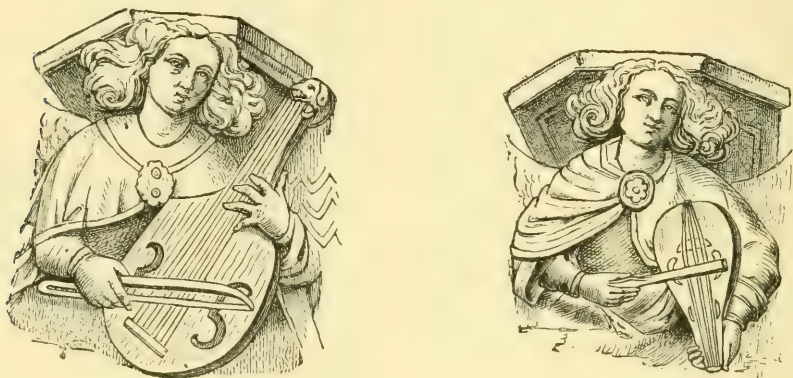


Fig. 199.—Violin-Playing Console Figures. Fourteenth Century.
(From the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.)

belonging to the same century, is very remarkable. The left-hand drawing of Fig. 199 shows us a stringed instrument with a neck already highly developed, differing from the German *Rotte* in the important items of body, neck, and sound *f*'s. The short thick-set bow, on the other hand, is very similar to that of the *Rotte*, and would to-day be considered as more fitted for a double bass than a violin. The little graceful instrument in the hands of the angel on the right does not admit of any precise division of neck, body, or head, all three being merged into an elegant pear-shaped whole.*

* Rühlmann, in his "History of Instruments Played with the Bow," published by Vieweg, Brunswick, 1882, is of opinion that the two very differently-shaped instruments in the hands of the Aix-la-Chapelle console figures represent different periods of development of the

Our next illustration, taken from a "Death Dance" print of the fifteenth century, shows us a stringed instrument the body of which does not exhibit any indication of that slender waist introduced by the Italian violin-makers of the classical Cremona era. The neck seems to be altogether out of proportion to the body, and compared with that of the modern violin is much too long. The sketch of the bow—more like a sword than a violin-bow—and the way the performer is represented holding it, is curiously in keeping with the weird figure.

Fig. 201 is a copy of a drawing by the great German artist Albrecht Dürer, of the year 1514, and represents a bagpipe at the beginning of the Reformation century. It was about this time that the wandering minstrels of Germany began to take up their abode in towns, and to form guilds and confraternities.

In wealthy cities the guilds thus instituted were called "piper guilds," and were supported by the burghers. Sometimes the "pipers" enlisted in the armies of princes, serving as drummers and trumpeters.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the piper guilds private orchestras were founded by the princes of Germany in connection with their royal chapels. And yet we can scarcely look upon these as permanent institutions, since, as far as evidence is forthcoming, the first standing private orchestra did not really exist until the time of Maximilian I. In the days of Luther and Dürer minstrels roved the

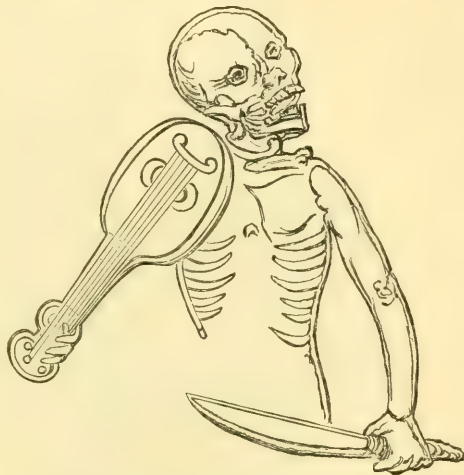


Fig. 200.—Skeleton with a Violin.
(From a Dutch Painting of the Fifteenth Century.)

"violin-lyre," an offshoot of the violin, which one historian says is to be met with for the first time in the eighth century in Ottfried's "Gospel Harmony," the earliest illustration of which we find in a German manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Leipzig University library. It would seem, then, that Germany is the most probable birthplace of this oddly-shaped species of violin instrument.

country, sometimes singly and sometimes in bands, proffering their services at weddings and pageants, or depending on the bounty of the merry-makers at fairs, and oftentimes soliciting precarious alms from the

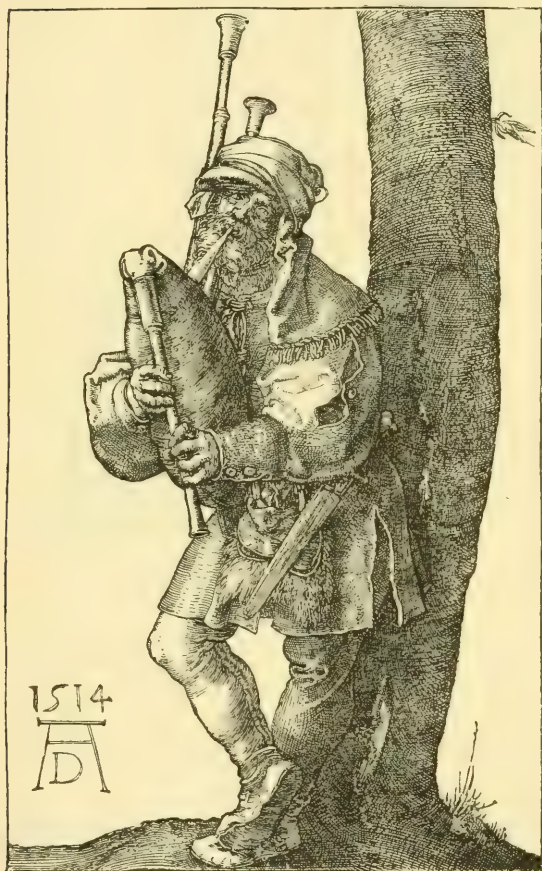


Fig. 201.—Bagpipe-Player.
(By Albrecht Dürer.)

generous peasant by voluntary street performances. It is one of this class of wayfarers that Dürer has depicted playing the old German *Du-delsack* or bagpipe. The great artist seems to have had a special delight in figuring the instrumentalists of his day. To him we owe what appears to be an illustration of an entire town band. It is a mural painting in the Town-hall of Nuremberg (Fig. 195), and it is apparently intended to represent a town band appointed by the corporation of the old German city. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries such bands were not uncommon in the wealthy German free towns. We have not much informa-

tion as to the number constituting such a band, but to judge from our illustration, it could not have been large, Dürer giving us but seven instrumentalists. The principal figure in the foreground is a trombone-player, who seems to have drawn his instrument out to an unusual extent. To the right of the trombone-player is a cornet-player,

who, sitting astride the stone balustrade of the balcony, seems to be much at his ease. The two instrumentalists to the right of the spectator play what we believe to be the old German Bomhardt, a species of clarinet, concerning which we have already given some details. The three performers at the back are a second trombone-player, a drummer, and a flautist. From the posture of the two last performers, who apparently stand on a slight elevation, we assume that the flautist, with instrument raised ready to take up his part, has just given a friendly warning to his companion on the left that his time for joining in the performance is at hand. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was the common practice to associate the flute and drum. Since it is within the range of probability that our players were sketched from life, we note with satisfaction their comfortable appearance, suggesting men in the receipt of a competence sufficient to place them beyond the anxious cares of this world's strife. As a sign of their official position they wear the corporation badge on their becoming uniform. Left and right of the performers are richly-attired persons who, we presume, were patrons of the town band, and, as we note the absence of the corporation insignia, were probably not members of the guild, but influential dilettanti, especially as one of the number—a young lady on the right—to judge from her dress, evidently belonged to the wealthy class. The drawing of the old man is generally supposed to be intended for Master Wohlgemuth, Dürer's teacher.*

The illustrations which we have given from what we might term "the musical pictures" of Albrecht Dürer are not isolated instances of the predilection of the great German painter. One could with ease compile

* With reference to the clarinet-looking instrument played by the two performers on the right, we are compelled to class it either with the Bomhardt or with the Schnabelflöte (big flute) of Germany, known in France as the Flûte-à-bec. At the time to which Dürer's painting refers it was the practice of instrumentalists to hold the Flûte-à-bec as if it were a clarinet. The instrument itself, however, does not show a clarinet development. From the simple shape of its bell we should judge it to be of the Bomhardt family. It is of interest to note that the trombone at this early period is already provided with a slide, and the performer of the sixteenth century would therefore seem to have had as much control over his instrument as the modern trombone-player. Martin Agricola (1486—1556), in his "Musica Instrumentalis," speaks of the "trombone aiding the melody by blowing and drawing out," thus supporting Dürer's conception of the player of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who performs on an instrument possessing a "slide."

a small volume from his works relating to the art, figures of instrumentalists, and of wealthy people surrounded with musicians. In the innumerable paintings, engravings, and woodcuts which Dürer has left behind



Fig. 202.—Three Angels Supporting a Shield and Blowing Trumpets.
(By Albrecht Dürer.)

him, many of the great artist's personal friends and acquaintances pose as instrumentalists. The music-making figures in many of his famed allegorical works are those of his art-associates; and as the master was an enthusiastic admirer and friend of the great Reformer, we may take it that his works contain the portraits of many celebrated men who furthered the great cause of the Reformation.

The three angels of Dürer (Fig. 202) are conceived in the true classical vein, and compare most favourably with the degenerate aberrations of the Rococo era, when the delight of sculptors and painters seemed to be to depict cherubim with

cheeks puffed out to an extravagant and unnatural degree.

Of the paintings by the celebrated German artist which relate to the tonal art and deserving special mention we may note: (1) a Madonna with two angels playing the lute and harp (1485); (2) Orpheus surrounded by the Ciconian women, the lute, and not the lyre, be it remarked, being the instrument of the demi-god; (3) a female angel in the foreground

of the "Rosenkrantz festbildes" (Garland of Roses festival picture) absorbed in lute-playing; and (4) the enthroned Virgin Mary surrounded by angels playing drums, flutes, and shawms, the child Christ stretching out His arms towards the musicians.*

We have stated already that for some time our history will lead us away from Germany and German musicians, and the nation to which we shall first turn will be the Italians. They it was who inherited the greater part of the Netherland doctrines, and who from the middle of the sixteenth century led the van of music-culture throughout Europe. Of course we shall now and again meet a few German musicians, but they are all men without any special leaning, whose music is devoid of all national characteristics, and indeed, as far as a national independent style goes, inferior to that of the tone-poets of the Reformation era. For the next two centuries the Germans are the followers and imitators of other schools. Those masters of the Fatherland belonging to the sixteenth century with whom we have not as yet dealt all show themselves as the disciples of the old Venetian school. During the seventeenth century Germany quietly acquiesced in the teachings of the Venetian and Tuscan schools, and during the early part of the eighteenth century, like the rest of the musical world, it was dominated by the practice and theory of the Neapolitan school. It was not until the middle of the last century that a few highly-gifted German musicians struck out a path for themselves, and founded what has proved to be the national school of Germany. And although we see a crowd of musicians during this very period still under the influence of Italy and her schools, the acknowledged supremacy of Germany in the musical world for the past 150 years is owing to the earnest workings of a few serious masters at the very time their nation was at its lowest in the art-world. Inspired by the same genius and impelled to the same efforts, they firmly and surely laid the foundation of the truly great national German school. To

* Dürer seems also to have had a love for making the initial letters of such books as he illustrated the medium of musical subject. In Thausing's excellent work on Dürer, besides the musical arabesque surrounding the title-page, which the writer has compiled from drawings of the artist, there are many "musical" initial letters, such as music-making satyrs, two wayfaring minstrels, a fox enticing the feathered inhabitants of the farmyard by his playing a wood wind-instrument, and an angel playing the lute before the Virgin seated between a butterfly and a snail.

them Germany and the artistic world are deeply indebted, and we would almost go further and say that it is to Martin Luther that our acknowledgments are chiefly due, since it was his soul-stirring religious movement, with its popular chorale, that provided those zealous German musicians with a subject worthy of their labours, and one well calculated to call into active play the best part of their artistic being. The name that stands out in bold relief as the leader of German national song is Johann Sebastian Bach. Beyond all question he was the greatest tone-poet of his time, and even now the old Protestant master stands unapproached for grand and impressive sacred music, a music based on the art of Luther, and breathing religion with every note. Like the great Reformer, Bach was imbued with simple, childlike faith, and the tone of his music, like his faith, is simple, as well as touching, grand, and eloquent.

In taking leave of Luther, and as a last instance of the great man's intimate relation with musical art, we reproduce a letter addressed by him to his friend, the gifted Ludwig Senfel. As Senfel remained a Roman Catholic to the end of his days, it says much for the tolerance and lofty nobility of mind of both men. We print it as given by Bäumker :—

“To the musician L. Senfel.

“Grace and peace in Christ. Although my name has become such a by-word of hatred that I am fearful that any letter I may send to you, my dear Ludwig, may not reach its destination, and will not therefore be read by you, yet my fears are overcome by the knowledge of the love for music with which God has graced you. It is this which sustains me and leads me to hope that my letter will not endanger you. Who, even in Turkey, would censure a man for loving art and praising the artist? Do I not respect and praise your Bavarian dukes above all others, notwithstanding their hostility to me, because they honour and encourage music? * There is no doubt that in the heart that can be touched by

* From this part of the letter we see that the princes of Bavaria, before Albert V., had distinguished themselves as patrons of musical art, and had received the warm acknowledgments of the Reformer, who, although the founder of Protestantism, did not stop to inquire, when princes recognised the merits of their learned subjects, whether they came from Catholic or Protestant. Bavaria continued the good work after Luther's death, Lassus receiving his call to Munich in 1557, the Bavarian dukes of the sixteenth century being worthily succeeded by Ludwig I., Maximilian II., and Ludwig II.

music many germs of the purest virtues exist; and those on whom music has no effect, and who are left cold, seem to me like blocks and stones. It is to evil spirits that music is hateful and unbearable. I am strongly persuaded, and I say it boldly, that after theology there is no art that can be placed on a level with music; for, besides theology, music is the only art capable of affording peace and joy of the heart like that induced by the study of the science of Divinity. A proof of this is that the devil, the originator of sorrowful anxieties and restless troubles, flees before the sound of music almost as much as he does before the Word of God. This is why the prophets preferred music before all the other arts, rejecting geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy in its favour, connecting music and theology in the closest manner, and proclaiming the Word in psalms and hymns. But why praise I music now? Why do I describe, or rather disfigure, so great a thing on such a scrap of paper? But my heart, which is full to overflowing, has often been solaced and refreshed by music when sick and weary. After this preamble, I come to the object of my epistle, that is, do you happen to have a copy of the song 'In pace in idipsum,' if so, will you send it me? The melody of this song has been a joy to me from my youth up, and that joy is intensified now that I am capable of understanding the full meaning of the text. I do not know whether there exists a part-setting of this antiphon. I will not burden you with requests to compose the song, as I believe you have already done so. Verily I think my life is drawing to a close. The world hates me, and will not suffer me. It is nauseous to me, and I despise it. Therefore have I begun oftentimes to sing this antiphon, and would much like to have it arranged for several voices, but as I am not sure if you have it by you, I send it written down in notes. You can, if it should agree with your desire, compose it again after my death. Our Lord Jesus be with you for ever. Amen. Pardon my free speech and discursiveness. My respectful greetings to the whole of the choir.

"Coburg, 4 October, 1530."

To Luther music was the high daughter of heaven. It raised him far above the dissensions of earth. On one occasion this intrepid man, undaunted by the attacks of opponents, boldly facing death and the grave, and bearing in himself the entire responsibility

of his wondrous deeds, sang the following tender and unpretentious verses :—

“ Oh, verdant spring so bright and fair,
And all ye birds that in the air
With gladsome song God's praises sing,
Ye tidings of His mercy bring.

The nightingale above the rest,
Who will not call her song the best ?
What heart 's unmoved when all around
Through forest glade is heard the sound ?

Let's thank the Lord, the praise is His,
Who has created all that is,
And made the nightingale among
The feather'd tribe the queen of song.

Like all that is and e'er will be,
She sings His praises joyfully.
Then loudly all your voices raise,
To sing His glory and His praise.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GABRIELIS, PALESTRINA, AND THE CLASSICAL MUSIC SCHOOLS OF ITALY.

IN the eleventh chapter we briefly alluded to the rise of the Venetian school and its founder Adrian Willaert. The school presents two distinct epochs in its art-work, and seems to invite the designation “The Old and the New Venetian tone-schools.” To the former belong those masters who were the immediate disciples and imitators of the Netherlander, and to the latter, native artists with styles presenting various points of contrast.* Some few masters belonging to the old school flourished at the early part of the seventeenth century, but it attained its highest state of perfection during the sixteenth century. Giovanni Gabrieli, who died in 1613, may be taken as the last representative of the Netherland teachings. The old Venetian music-masters group themselves round two Gabrielis, uncle and nephew ;

* The author has before dwelt on the characteristics of the two schools in “The Tone-Poets of Italy” (R. Oppenheim, Berlin, 1877).

Legrenzi and Lotti embodying the principles of the new Venetians. As regards the styles of the two schools, we find the new quite at one with the old in its invention of those stupendous double and treble choral Church works which have already commanded our admiration. Lotti and his co-workers loved to indulge their genius in creating sound pictures crowded with rich and full harmonies, and were as prolific in their compositions as their predecessors. But here the parallel ceases. Their love for a manifold style of part-writing was the same, but the manipulation and leading of the various voices was carried out in very different methods. In the place of the majestic measured cadences of the old school, the new adopted a passionate and a more animated movement of parts. This emotional and spirited writing was not the accidental outcome of the genius of any one master; it had its origin in the great wave of cultured thought which affected the intellectual people of that time. But as we are dealing here with the old Venetians, we must defer our consideration of the newer school until later on.

We must revert to Cyprian van Roor, the compatriot of Willaert, and the man who above all others made a special use of the chromatic scale and chromatically-constructed intervals more than any of his predecessors in musical art. This marked the beginning of the crusade against the exclusive use of the old diatonic Church modes. No doubt it was the outcome of the Renaissance and its revival of Greek art, inducing thereby a closer acquaintance with the three Hellenic scales—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. It was evidently felt that by a greater use of the semitone, and by a freer and more characteristic development of the individual parts, a truer tonal interpretation of the text, *i.e.*, word-painting, would be arrived at. As, however, neither Van Roor nor his contemporaries were acquainted with the laws relating to the following of chromatic intervals, their experiments in this direction often resulted in a very ill-sounding and crude species of composition; but if we are unable to accord them any great praise, yet we owe them thanks in preparing the way for a more faithful tone-painting of impressions and a freer portrayal of human emotions.

Although the representatives of the old school were mostly countrymen of Willaert, there were a few Italians who deserve our attention. The first important native artist was Gioseffo Zarlino, born 1519 at Chioggia,

in the Republic of Venice, dying in Venice, 1590. The celebrity of Zarlino rests more on his talents as a theorist than as a creative artist. His "*Institutioni Harmoniche*" is a collation of almost the entire scientific knowledge of the famous Italian tone-poets of his century, the lore of the contrapuntist and harmonist being fully discussed. It is a record of musical science and its application to the musical practice of his time. In the learned paper war between Zarlino and the two Florentines, Galilei and Mei, he shows himself an able scholar and a man of refined feelings, and compares most favourably with those of his bigoted, disputatious opponents. We shall refer to this famous controversy when dealing with the Tuscan school.

Another clever Venetian tone-master and disciple of Willaert was the monk Costanzo Porta. The writings of Costanzo show a fertility in contrapuntal contrivance which astonishes us; and his scholarly and masterly treatment gained for him the praise of all Italy.

But the greatest of all the Venetian pupils of the Netherlander was Andrea Gabrieli (1510—1586). No other master more faithfully reproduced the rich and effective contrasts of the popular double choir compositions than the elder Gabrieli; indeed, we might with truth say that the pupil infused into it a nobler and more elevated expression than that of the master. The descendant of an old Venetian family, Gabrieli first appears on the scene as a singer in the choir of St. Mark's, 1536, where thirty years after he was appointed deputy organist of the church. In 1574 he was commanded by the Republic to write grand festival music in honour of the visit of Henry III. of France. Two cantatas for eight and twelve voices respectively were the result. The rich tonal colouring of these works is of a high order, and when rendered by voices they deeply impress the hearer. We should gather from the fact of the command coming from the Republic that the elder Gabrieli was one of those State composers, the first of whom, Ciconia and De Monte, we referred to in a previous chapter. The two cantatas have come down to us in Gardano's "*Gemme Musicali*," printed and published in 1587. They were performed in the evening of Henry's arrival, on the Grand Canal, which was brilliantly illuminated for the occasion. A fairy-like gondola, tastefully decorated, carried the master and the State officials who were appointed to greet the king. Willaert wrote principally for two choirs, but Gabrieli's predilec-

tion was for three choirs, and, on examination, his compositions of this class are found as skilful in construction as they are grand and striking in effect. An excellent "Magnificat" for three choirs by this master, heard as late as 1851, under the baton of Toepler, deserves special mention; as do the sixty-seven various compositions for six to sixteen voices, collected and published by Giovanni, 1587, at Venice, after the death of his uncle. As an organist Andrea seems to have excelled; and although it is recorded that when harmonising on his instrument he acted in the spirit of the old Church modes, yet, like Willaert, he made his harmonies the basis of his choral melodies.

The genius of the uncle was succeeded by that of the not less-gifted nephew. Giovanni Gabrieli, of Venice (1557—1613*), was instructed by his uncle in composition and organ-playing. In 1585 Giovanni was appointed first organist at St. Mark's, and in 1609 we find him teaching the celebrated German master Heinrich Schütz, who had crossed the Alps with the sole purpose of studying music under the great organist. One of Giovanni's friends and a fellow-student under his uncle was a German, Leo Hassler, of Nuremberg. Indeed, Giovanni was altogether closely associated with Germany and German music, numbering among his most enthusiastic admirers and patrons the Dukes Albrecht V. and Wilhelm V. of Bavaria, and the Counts Fugger of Augsburg. Of his works we must single out the "*Symphoniae Sacrae*," published in two parts in 1597 and 1615. The first volume contains forty-five vocal compositions and sixteen instrumental pieces for from eight to sixteen instruments; the second, twenty-one instrumental canzonets for from three to twenty-two instruments. If Andrea blended voices and instruments together in some few of his sacred works in a clever masterly manner, it was left to his nephew to improve and perfect what the uncle had begun. Giovanni wrote for the old German Zinken (a wood wind-instrument, called by the Italians cornetti), the trombone, and violin. In the *Symphonia* "*Surrexit Christus*," scored for voices and instruments, we find, according to Von Winterfeld, two cornetti, four trombones, as well as a band of first and second violins. Giovanni was not, however, fully acquainted with the nature and powers of the instruments he employed. He frequently gave the trombone a part as full of quick passages and embellishments as that of

* Not 1612, as is often incorrectly asserted.

the violin. And yet, notwithstanding these glaring errors of scoring, the Church compositions of the Italian master, when executed in the *adagio* time demanded by their character, are grand and impressive. They afford another example of the high degree to which the element of tone-colour was developed among the old Venetians. Even the united singing of three and sometimes four choirs did not suffice for them. The knowledge they possessed concerning the effects of sound produced by certain instruments impelled them to try the combination of vocal and instrumental Masses, and the result was not unsuccessful. To satisfy their craving for a rich and glowing tone-colouring they associated string, brass, and wood instruments with their vocal parts. This was the beginning of a new era in Church music. Compositions in the *a capella* style had held full sway in the Church for centuries, but with the introduction of instruments in the "Symphonie Sacrae," the way was paved for a more extended employment of instrumental music. It is strange that instrumental accompaniment should have been employed only in compositions of the "Symphonie" kind, but it was so, for not only the two Gabrieli, but also the whole of their contemporaries excluded it from all their other works.* Of the purely vocal compositions of Giovanni his madrigals, motets, magnificats, and psalms are the best; a setting of the fifty-fourth Psalm (in Luther's translation the fifty-fifth) for a seven-part male choir is both grand and majestic. With the death of the younger Gabrieli the old Venetian school ceased to exist; but beside the two Gabrieli there are other deserving masters who claim at least a notice, and first of these is Giovanni Croce (died 1609), Francesco Bianciardi, and Leone Leoni, a very effective writer in the *a capella* style.

In addition to its writers of Church music, the old Venetian school was rich in composers of secular vocal works. Of these the chief were Donati (1520—1603), Gastoldi (from about 1560 to 1607), and Pallavicino, who by their madrigals, villotes, villanelles, canzonettes, dances with vocal accompani-

* In a treatise by the author entitled "The Golden Age of the Tonal Art at Venice," published in 1876 by Virchow-Holtendorff, attention was drawn to the most wondrous connection between the rich colouring of the painter and the musician, to the historical causes that induced such strivings in the artistic world, and to the deep mental relation existing between the two sister arts, and further, that climate, time, and place can and does affect two different arts in the same manner.

ment called balletti, and barcaroles, show themselves skilful writers of part-music. So marked is the similarity between these part-songs and those of Mendelssohn specially directed to be sung "in the open air," that we incline to the belief that this great composer of the nineteenth century was indebted for his idea to the old Venetians, his precursors by nearly three hundred years. The grace and charm of the quaint part-music of the sixteenth century tone-masters enchant us, in its reflection of the spirit of the Renaissance. F. Wüllner, in vol. iii. of his "Choral Exercises" (1881), has given us many examples of such part-songs, the selection of which has been made with care and discrimination. They contain, amongst others, "Love in the Bark" and "On Bright Days," two part-songs for five voices by Gastoldi, the original text of which has been altered to suit the times.*

We have spoken of the efforts made by the two Gabrielis to obtain a richer colouring with the aid of instruments; but the old



Fig. 203.—Playing Angel.

(By Fra Bartolomeo.)

Venetian school did more than associate vocal and instrumental music: it gained for the latter an entirely independent existence. First, as regards sacred music, we have a school of organists belonging to the Church of St. Mark. Both the Gabrielis were celebrated as organists. Andrea occupied at different times the position of second and chief organist of St. Mark's; and Giovanni published between 1593 and 1595 a work for the organ in three volumes, entitled "Intonazioni e Ricercari." Claudio Merulo (1532—1604) was even a greater organist than either of the Gabrielis. Merulo's Toccatas have greatly helped to a proficiency in modern organ-playing,

* The whole of these secular part-songs had their origin in the Frottole. If the Frottola approached the simple popular song form it grew into a Villota or Villanella; if it took a higher musical flight it raised itself into a madrigal.



Fig. 204.—A Female Lutist.
(From a Painting by Mieris.)

whilst his *Ricercati* are distinctly the forerunners of the fugue.* The favourite instrument for the accompaniment of secular song among the

* The old fugue, it must be remembered, was the Canon, although known up to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the Fuga.

Venetians of the sixteenth century, especially among the higher classes, was the lute, called by the Italians the *linto* or *lauto*, and also, on account of its tortoise-like shape, *testudo*.

Another instrument of the lute family was the choir-lute, over the body of which as many as twenty-four gut strings were sometimes stretched.



Fig. 205.—The Concert.

(By Giorgione. Now in the Pitti Gallery at Florence.)

Like most instruments, it had composers who specially favoured it, Marco d'Aquila and Francesco da Milano, both of whom exercised their art in the famous North Italian city. Music of a quick *tempo* seems to have been suited to the choir-lute, since fantasias and dances were written for it more than any other kind of composition. The writings of these two masters contain several dance pieces known as *Paduani*, *Gagliardi*, and *Correnti*. The

complicated "*Intabulatura di lauto*," *i.e.*, the notation of lute music, was not acquired without difficulty, and a thorough mastery of the instrument was only possible after concentrated and continuous study.* The great Italian painters, contemporaries of Zarlino and the Gabrielis, show a



Fig. 206.—Musical Group.

(By Veronese. Original in the Museum of Verona.)

marked preference, in such of their works as relate to music, for the lute. In Titian's "*Venus*" at Dresden, a page dressed in the costume of a Venetian nobleman is seen playing the lute. Of the female angels with which

* Händel often wrote for the choir-lute, employing it sometimes as an obligato instrument in the accompaniment of arias, &c.; *e.g.*, "*Ode to St. Cecilia*." The great Saxon always gave to his lutes similar passages and arpeggios to those which it is now customary to write for the harp. In the seventeenth century the lute was generally used in the accompaniment of recitatives.

Giovanni Bellini delighted to surround his Madonnas, the greater half are represented as lutists.

Other favourite instruments of the old Venetians were the Clavicembalo and Spinetto (the forerunners of the pianoforte), and also the



Fig. 207.—Musical Group.
(By Veronese, Original in the Royal Palace of Venice.)

violin and viola da gamba. In the celebrated picture "The Concert," by the renowned Venetian Giorgione, a monk is seen playing the spinet, listened to in rapt attention by a young Venetian nobleman. The performance would seem to have been a skilful one, since it seems to have caused the 'cellist to cease playing in order to congratulate his holy brother.

In "The Wedding" by Paul Veronese, now in the Louvre, the master has painted his two friends, Titian and Tintoretto, and himself, as musicians. Such paintings are of value to us, as they afford evidences of the practice of solo and concerted music among all classes of the Venetian people, and the popularity of it. The works of Veronese alone point to a universal practice of music which is very pleasing. Besides the two groups which we have given above, his frescoes in the Villa Giacomelli (also called Villa Barbaro), near Treviso, relate largely to music, the various instruments in use during his time being faithfully represented. Another celebrated painter, Carlo Saraceno, known as Il Veneziano, has in the Munich Pinakothek a charming picture of St. Francis, who, with upturned, beatified face, drinks in the heavenly music of an angel that soars above the bed of the holy man, playing the violin.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Venetian school, Rome acquired a glory which she had not enjoyed since the Middle Ages when she was the acknowledged centre of sacred musical culture, a glory that was to win for her the praise of all Europe. Rome was the city of the grand Palestrina, and by that master's aid was founded a school the fame of which can never die. In that school a theory and practice were taught which perpetuated that admired style of chorus-writing known as the "Palestrina style."* Strictly speaking, the school of Rome had never ceased to exist since the time of Gregory the Great. Its position as a school was always admitted, and it always exercised some sort of influence over the development of Christian music in other countries. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the tone-masters of Rome, like their *confrères* of Europe generally, became the disciples of the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders. Indeed, from the end of the fourteenth until far into the sixteenth century, the Netherland tone-masters, Dufay, Josquin des Près, Arkadelt, Goudimel, Dankerts, and Jachet van Berghem, lived, worked, and succeeded each other in almost uninterrupted succession as teachers, singers, and conductors at Rome. The Italians were therefore the direct pupils of the great Netherlanders, and the recognised conservators and professors of musical art, and Germany, instead of

* It would be as well to emphasise what has already been stated—viz., that Palestrina was not the creator of the style which bears his name, and that the writings of many of the old Netherland masters contain abundant proofs of this.



Fig. 208.—St. Francis.
(By Carlo Savaceno.)

going to Belgium for tuition, sought instruction from its trans-Alpine neighbours, the Venetians and Romans. The lead in music was thus transferred directly to the Italians, and the pupils showed themselves worthy of their masters. The reason of their excellence is clear. The Italian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had far more aptitude for practically applying that which had been taught him than the German. To the impressionable Italian *form* was a gift. In 1870 the author drew attention to the fact that, with the exception of the art-song, not a single one of the more important art-forms which had in the course of time been developed in musical art originated with the Germans. But although Germany may not have created any of these art-forms, yet it will not be gainsaid that she has infused into them their deepest and most serious meaning. The precursors of Palestrina in whom the independent Roman school announced itself were—(1) Costanzo Festa, whose compositions are distinguished by as much nobility as grandeur and dignity (we are unable to give the date of the master's birth, but we know that he was singer in the Papal Chapel in 1517, and that he died in 1545); (2) Domenico Ferrabosco, born 1510; and (3) Giovanni Animuccia. Ferrabosco and Animuccia, together with the Spanish masters, Cristofano Morales of Seville, and Diego Ortiz of Toledo, seem to have been fellow-students with Palestrina under Goudimel in 1539, when that master was in Rome.

Giovanni Pierluigi Sante, or, as the musical world knows him, Palestrina, so called from the name of his birthplace, was born in 1514, according to Baini, in 1524. Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, is a small town about four hours' journey south-east of Rome. Pitoni says that the master was the son of peasant people, and that he first attracted notice when a boy by the pure tone of his voice, which, creating a favourable impression on the chapel-master of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, led to better things. As some of the compositions of Palestrina bear a certain resemblance to the works of Arkadelt, some time "*Magister puerorum*" in the Papal Chapel, it is not impossible that, for a time at least, he might have been the master of Palestrina. In 1540 Palestrina entered the Roman music-school of Goudimel, and to the names of his fellow-pupils whom we have already mentioned, the name of Giovanni Maria Nanini is sometimes added. But this seems very improbable, since many creditable authorities fix the

year of Palestrina's entrance into the school as one and the same with that of Nanini's entrance into the world. Palestrina seems to have made rapid progress with his studies, as four years after we find him organist and choirmaster of the principal church of his native town. In 1548 he married Lucretia, who afterwards bore him four sons, of whom Igino, the youngest, was the only one that survived his father. In 1551 Palestrina succeeded Arkadelt as choirmaster of St. Peter's. While holding this

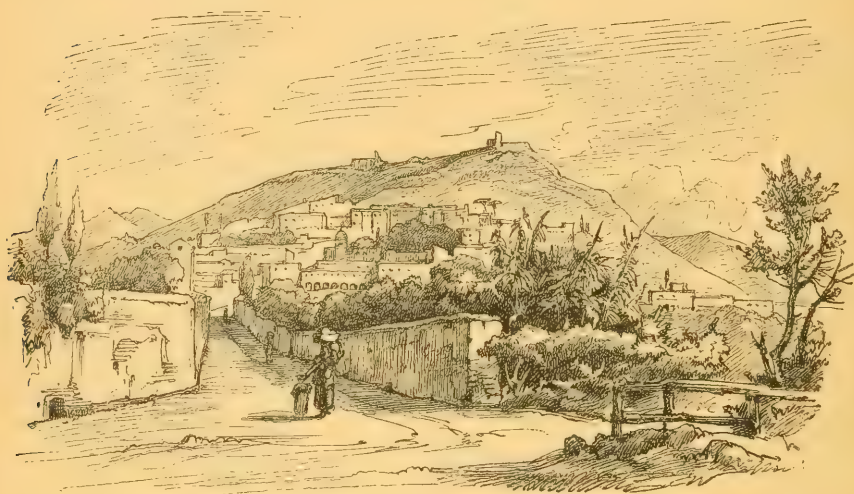


Fig. 209.—The Town of Palestrina.

appointment he composed several Masses for four voices, which he published three years later in one volume, dedicating it to Pope Julius III. The holy father rewarded his choirmaster by nominating him member of the Singers of the Papal College. This was a high tribute to the worth of the man, for the college had been instituted solely for the clergy, and this law had hitherto been strictly adhered to. But what seemed to be the advent of happiness proved to be the source of great and lasting sorrow. Paul IV., the successor of his patron Julius, urged on by the jealous envy of the clericals, dismissed the master from St. Peter's; and when later in 1564 Pius IV. appointed him "Maestro Compositore," their malevolent spite worked him yet much ill. Even the favour of a third Pope did him no good, but

rather added to his misfortunes. In 1565 Sixtus V. wished to appoint Palestrina chapel-master of the Sistine Chapel. The clergy looked on with envious eyes. They regarded this office as the property of their class, and their hatred of the layman was intensified the more. They even carried their complaints to the holy father himself, and were so violent and persistent in their opposition that Sixtus was compelled to issue a bull decreeing that any one of the singers of the Papal Chapel might, if he possessed the necessary qualifications, hold the office of chapel-master. Palestrina was anxious to propitiate his enemies, and with that view presented three of his finest Masses to the Sistine Chapel choir, but to no purpose. They were accepted, but with a lukewarm condescension that showed plainly the bitter feelings he had had the misfortune to arouse, and it was not until after the master's death that the Masses were entered into their choir-books. Perhaps the most important event of his life was the honourable commission he received from the Council of Trent to write a Mass which should serve as a model for future Catholic Church music. In order to consider the various points raised by the Council, the Pope appointed a commission of prelates, with Cardinals Borromeo and Vitellozzi at their head, who were empowered to call in the aid of professional advice, and report to him the result of their inquiries. One of the demands of the Tridentine Council was that in place of the complicated style that had obtained, one more simple should be adopted. This, they urged, would tend to an intelligent rendering of the text, which, with the existing intricate canon law, was impossible. In reply to this invitation Palestrina instead of writing one Mass wrote three, the last of which he named "*Missa Papae Marcelli*," in memory of the holy father Marcellus, who had been very kind to him. It was performed before the Clerical Commission on the 28th April, 1565, and met with a success far beyond the most sanguine expectations of the modest composer. Each of the three specimen Masses was written for six voices, viz., soprano, alto, two tenors, and two basses. As to the form and style of these Masses. What is almost universally known as the "*Palestrina style*" was not originated by the celebrated Præneste master. The simplification of the complicated contrapuntal art, coloured with deep human feeling, was, we gladly admit, raised to a surprising state of perfection by Palestrina, but in some of the writings of the more advanced masters of the Netherland school we find that they had already discovered the uselessness and hindrance

of too closely adhering to strict canon law when they wished to speak in tones that should appeal to the human heart, and what Palestrina effected remained the model of Catholic Church music for generations. Still, in our opinion, historians have gone to extremes in the lavish praise they have heaped on the master's work. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the greater half of musical critics have lauded it as the salvation of Christian music. But our critics were in error in what they believed to be the wishes of Rome and the object of the deliberations of the Council of Trent. It was not the exclusion of the song from Church service that was aimed at, but the adoption of a music-service which would permit the participation of the layman as well as the clerical. Palestrina's merits are by no means lessened by this rectification of historical blunder. With the perception of a genius he saw what was wanting, and turning to his predecessors' works, selected from them just that which he felt could be moulded into such a form as would serve as a model for Church compositions of a high art-style. In developing and perfecting this art-form, he infused into it an intensity of human feeling which might with justice be called the "Palestrina style," though not in the generally accepted sense of the phrase, for although the germs of that style were to be found here and there in the writings of a few of the old Netherlanders, yet the masterly management of the voices and the beauty of the melodic phrases were entirely the Roman master's own. This combination of melodic beauty and clever part-writing is naturally to be found at its best in the master's most known works.

One of the chief events in the life of Palestrina, or to give the master his proper name, Giovanni Pierluigi Sante, was his appointment as chapel-master to St. Peter's at Rome in 1571, an office rendered vacant by the death of Animuccia. Palestrina was an intimate friend of Felippo Neri (wittily called by Goethe the "humorous saint"), a Catholic priest who arranged sacred dramatic performances in the oratory of Santa Maria Vallicella, by which he hoped to sustain the enthusiasm of his penitents and of such pilgrims as journeyed to his church. To these famed sacred dramas Palestrina supplied music for a chorus. Another important event in the master's life was the founding a school of music at Rome in conjunction with his younger friend Giovanni Maria Nanini. For nearly a century the teachings of this school largely influenced the style of the whole of the composers

of Europe, the majority of whose works are imbued with what we have endeavoured to describe as the "Palestrina style." On the 2nd February, 1594, the great Italian died. In his last moments he was attended by his confessor and friend Felippo Neri, who administered to him the extreme rites. By order of the supreme council of Catholic prelates, his body was entombed in the Basilica of the Vatican with the honours given to a cardinal and prince. Palestrina had been a great favourite with his countrymen, and they showed their respect by attending the distinguished master's obsequies in large numbers.

In looking at the great number of immortal works which the world owes to Palestrina, we cannot fail to perceive that, though like the children of one father, they possess a common family likeness, yet, like the works of all great poets and painters, they exhibit a diversity of style according to the occasion for which the work was composed and the stage of development of the master. Although we do not profess to distinguish



Fig. 210.—Palestrina

like Baini ten different styles, yet we can clearly trace a difference between the writings of the master when dominated by Netherland contrapuntal law, and those of the "Missa Papae Marcelli" class, the latter of which constitute the true "Palestrina style" section. We might go a step further and point to the difference between this celebrated Mass and the "Assumpta est Maria," in which there is a fusion of the grand simplicity of the "Papae Marcelli" and the majesty of the Gregorian melodies of the old Roman Liturgy. Again, some of the best of Palestrina's Church compositions are conceived in the strict style of the Netherlanders, *e.g.*, his *Stabat Mater*, *Lamentations*, &c. Like no other writer before

or after him, the master has shown in these creations how a genius can produce the most thrilling and incomparable effects without the use of complicated part-writing or highly-developed art-forms. The short extract which we give from his Passion-music will enable the reader to form for himself some idea of the genius of this sixteenth century master. The effect of this little piece will be greatly intensified if it be rendered by voices rather than on the piano or organ.

No. 211. "TENEBRAE FACTAE SUNT," BY GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA.

Tranquilly. Lento. *p* *Firmly marked. cres. cen. do. f*

SOPRANO. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi - xis -

ALTO. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi - xis - -

TENOR. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi -

BASS. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru ci - fi - xis -

dim. < > *p* *Recitativo. a tempo.*

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no-nam ex - cla-

xis-sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam ex -

mf \wedge *cresc.* *f* *p più.*

ex - cla - ma - vit Je - sus vo - ce mag - na: De -

cresc. *f* *p dolce.*

- ma - vit Je - sus Je - - - - - sus vo - ce mag - na: De -

mf \wedge *cresc.* *f* *p dolce.*

ex - cla - ma - vit Je - sus vo - ce mag - na: De -

cresc. *f* *p dolce.*

- cla - ma - vit Je - sus..... vo - ce mag - na: De -

largo e dolce. \wedge *p* \wedge *p*

- - us me - - - - us,.... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.

p \wedge *p*

- - us me - - - - us,.... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.

p \wedge *p*

- - us me - - - - us,.... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.

p \wedge *p*

- - us me - - - - us,.... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.

Attacca.

Tempo primo. Firmly marked. \wedge

1st SOPRANO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus vo - ce mag -

2nd SOPRANO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus vo - ce mag - - - - na

ALTO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus

cres. f *dimin.* *p* *più largo. p*

poco riten. *a tempo.*

na - it: in ma-nus tu-as,

cres. f *dimin.* *p* *p* *p*

poco riten. *a tempo.*

vo-ce mag - na a - it: in ma-nus tu-

cres. f *dimin.* *a tempo.* *p*

vo-ce mag - na a - it: in ma-nus tu-as,

p

Do-mi-ne, com-men-do spi - ri - tum me - um.

p

as. Do-mi-ne, com-men-do spi - ri - tum me - - - um.

p

Do-mi-ne, com-men-do spi - ri - tum me - - - um. *Attacca.*

Tempo primo.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. ppp*

SOPRANO. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. ppp*

ALTO. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. ppp*

TENOR. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. ppp*

BASS. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

It is not possible to condense into twenty-seven bars more beauty, simplicity, and feeling than we find here. How thrilling does the lamentation "*Dum crucifixissent Jesum Judaei*" sound, with its ever-moving parts and pointed modulations, after the tranquil "*Tenebrae factae sunt.*" How expressive of pain and sympathy is the phrase "*Exclamavit Jesus voce magna;*" and how gentle and resigned the "*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" And what plaintive wailing is there in the trio that alternates with the chorus. We seem to see before us the three holy women during those terrible moments of agony at the foot of the cross; and witness, too, the deep pathos of the concluding part, foretelling the approaching death of the Saviour in soft tones that die off in a whisper.*

Of the master's remaining important works we name the interesting Mass, "*Tu es pastor ovium;*" also a volume of motets and psalms published in 1581, and a second volume of twenty-nine motets published in 1584. The text of all these various compositions was furnished by the Song of Solomon. Further, we have several hymns and madrigals dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. When but a youthful writer Palestrina set a number of secular madrigals to music, but subsequently disowned them because he thought the text contained objectionable matter. On one Mass recently brought to light the following inscription appears, written in the master's own hand: "*Illumina oculos meos*" ("*Lighten, O Lord, mine eyes*").

In 1861—1863 there appeared three volumes of motets by Palestrina, from an arrangement by De Witt, who died in 1859 at Rome. Besides this, Alfieri published during 1841—1846 an edition in seven volumes, others appearing by De la Fage, Proske, and Franz d'Espagne (1874—1878). In 1871 Robert Eitner published an alphabetical list of all the printed compositions of Palestrina.

* Although it is to be regretted that the manuscript of this work bears neither the signature nor the handwriting of Palestrina, and that it does not appear in the printed editions of the master's works published during his lifetime, yet so much is it conceived and worked out in the true Palestrina style that without much fear of error we boldly assign it to the great Roman. Certain it is that it was not known before Palestrina, and unless we admit his right to the authorship we have the alternative of attributing it to another who, whilst possessing all the genius and individualities of style of the great master, has left but one work to speak of his unknown greatness. But this is contradicted by all historical evidence, and we repeat that without doubt we may safely acknowledge in Palestrina the composer of the grand "*Tenebrae factae sunt.*"

The tone-school which Palestrina instituted at Rome was the medium by which his style was perpetuated after his death. Among the prominent masters of the school was, first, the already named Giovanni Maria Nanini (1540—1607). We must not confound Giovanni with his younger brother Bernardo, or the Abbe Sante Naldini, who were both able masters of the Palestrina style. Giovanni was a man of talent, and besides composing, instructed others in the special manner of his celebrated contemporary. In order to distinguish the school of Palestrina and Nanini from that founded by Goudimel in Rome, the former was known as the younger Roman music-school.

One of Nanini's compositions, "Hodie nobis coelorum Rex," is still sung every Christmas by the choir of the Papal Chapel. Of Nanini's pupils we might name as the most important Felice and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, and Gregorio Allegri. Felice Anerio (1560—1630) wrote many splendid masses and several eight-part motets and psalms, his five-part "Tre libri di Madrigali" and "Due libri di concerti spirituali" deserving special praise. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, born 1567, chapel-master to Sigismund III., King of Poland, published an excellent collection of five-part motets under the poetical title of "Ghirlanda di sacre rose." Gregorio Allegri (1586—1652), by birth a Roman, of the noble house of Correggio, was a most earnest student of the Palestrina style. Besides several masses, motets, and psalms, he has left behind him many imperishable works conceived in the simple and popular style of his predecessors. As a pearl of this kind we may mention the celebrated "Miserere" for two choirs, of nine voices, which is now sung on the Wednesday in Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel at the moment that the last lights before the crucifix go out. Our illustration represents the spot in the Vatican Chapel where this part of the service is performed.

Without claiming too much for Allegri's "Miserere," by its own intrinsic worth it deserves to be ranked equal to the "Stabat Mater" and Passion-music of Palestrina. These compositions are perhaps the best and purest specimens of a *capella* music in its simplest form that can be found in the whole musical literature of that class. As a composer of instrumental music Allegri is said to have attained a fair reputation. This is not supported by any direct testimony; indeed, we have failed to discover anything which might bear it out, beyond that Raphael, who

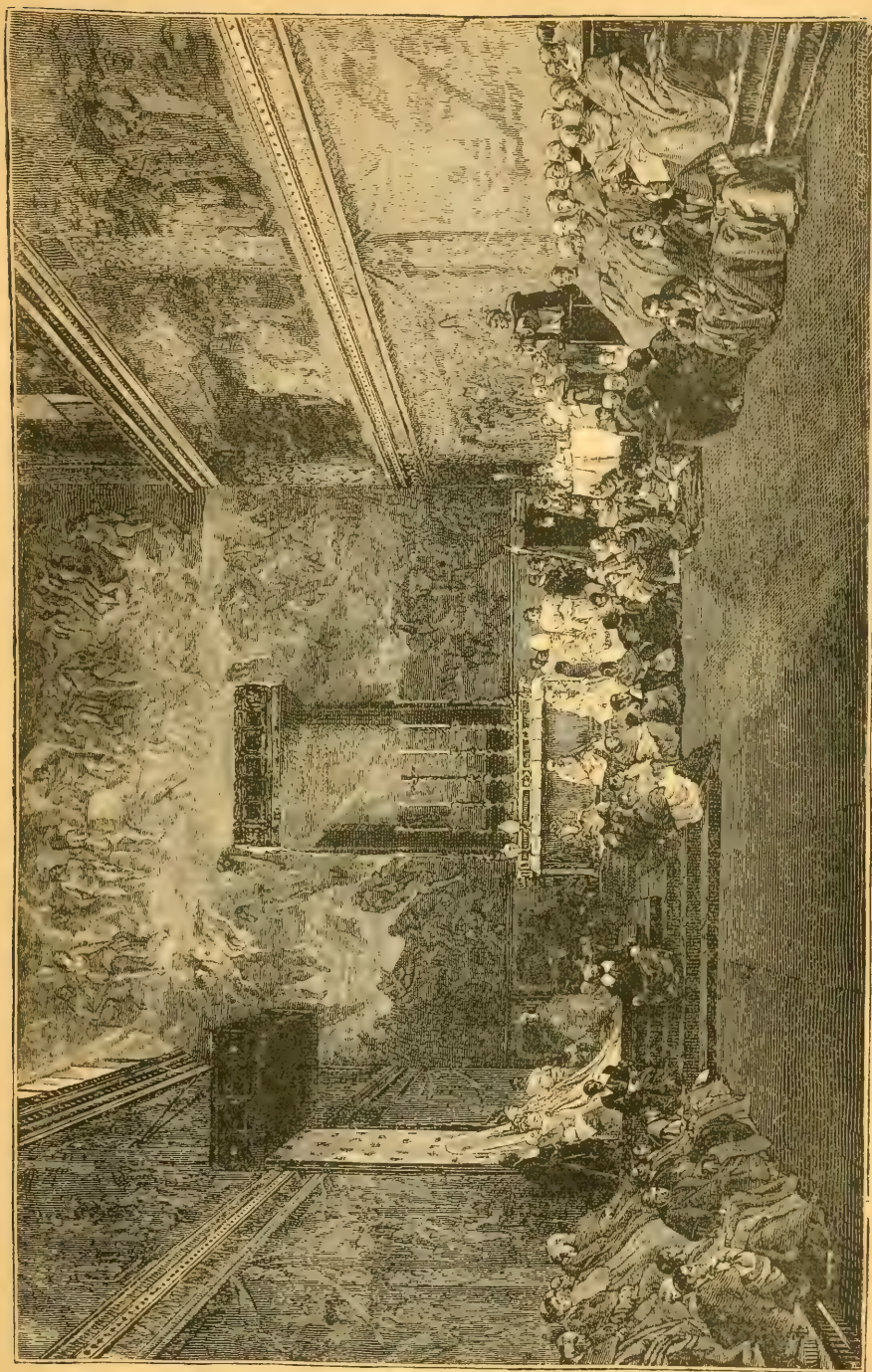


Fig. 212. —The Interior of the Sistine Chapel.

lived more than half a century before Allegri, often chose instrumentalists for subjects, and since, therefore, instrumental music was probably practised by the masters of the Roman school, a great musician like Allegri would have exercised his skill in that department of musical art. We admit that this is no proof of the master's instrumental powers of composition, but since the statement has been generally accepted, we have endeavoured to find some confirmatory evidence. One of Raphael's great pictures, bearing the date 1518, is "The Violin Player." In later times it has been sought to prove the portrait to be that of an historical celebrity, Giovanni Maria,* a converted Hebrew, who held service under the Pope. We might also quote the wealthy goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini (1500—1571), who, when speaking of the pipers of his native city of Florence, alludes to his father's success in the making of "wonderful organs with wooden pipes, clavichords as beautiful as they are good, than which no better can be found, also violins, lutes, and harps." Benvenuto himself was also a musician of repute, and held the dual appointment to Pope Clement VII. of horn-player (*i.e.*, player of cornetti) and goldsmith.

Of the remaining *a capella* masters of the Roman school we name the two Mazzocchi, Orazio Benevoli, and Antonio Liberati. With these we may be said to have exhausted the list of important masters of the "Palestrina style" by whose efforts that special form of vocal composition stamps a whole period in the history of music.

With Giacomo Carissimi (1604—1674), and therefore a contemporary of Allegri, we enter upon a new epoch of musical art. It was Carissimi who evolved from the sacred cantata the epic dramatic *Cantata da Camera*, consisting of choruses, recitatives, and short arias. This entitles him to the praise of the whole of the musical world, for the outcome of his work was the Oratorio, an art-form that has taken high favour with all nations since the days of its originator. The master's compositions of this class are—*The Judgment of Solomon*, *Belshazzar*, *Abraham and Isaac*, *David and Jonathan*, *Jephthah*, &c., works of so

* See page 408 of Stahr's "A Winter in Rome" (Berlin, 1871), whose authority, we may mention, we have not been able to trace. Passavant and Lübke affect to see in the youthful player Andrea Marone, a famous improvisatore of Brescia who is known to have accompanied his improvisations on the violin. Marone enjoyed the special favour of Pope Leo X., a great lover of music, and had many opportunities for exhibiting his skill.

high an order that they called forth the warmest acknowledgments of the great tone-poet Handel; indeed, the Saxon master went so far as to appropriate twelve entire bars from one of the solid choruses of the finely-conceived *Jephthah* of Carissimi, inserting them in the oratorio of *Samson* as his own.* If we compare the work of Carissimi with that of Filippo Neri, we cannot fail to be struck with the great superiority of the former's epic treatment of a Biblical subject over that of the latter.† The rise of the epic dramatic cantata in Rome, like the growth of many other artistic forms, was intimately associated with the influence of the Renaissance upon the people of Central Europe. There was a general desire to revivify classical art-form. In music this was the epic. Sometimes these forms were unwittingly completely changed and remodelled, and a new life and spirit infused into them entirely foreign to the original.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TUSCAN SCHOOL AND THE MUSICAL DRAMA.

IN Venice and Rome, Church music had been carefully nurtured and brought to a high state of classical beauty, but in Florence, the principal city of Tuscany, musical art developed itself in an entirely different direction. It is strange that Florence never should have developed a school of sacred music like that of the two cities just referred to, or even like that which we shall find was instituted by the worldly and merry Naples. Not even the long sojourn of Hobrecht, Josquin, Agricola, and Isaak, from 1480 onwards,

* As this fact is but little known amongst musicians, we give full references to both works. In Handel's *Samson*, bars 26—37 in the A minor chorus, "Hear, Jacob's God," and the chorus "Florate" of Carissimi (see Kircher's "Musurgia Univers. Roma 1650," i. 603). The slight variations between the two are of no importance to the musician, all items of value coinciding; *e.g.*, the three melodic phrases starting from a common E with the organ point A (bars 34—37), the modulation from E major to C major (bars 29—34) retaining the same bass and treble, and finally both choruses are for six voices and in the same key.

† The recitative and short aria (not unlike a mere cantilena) used by Carissimi were in vogue before that master's time, viz., 1600—1640. The probable inventors of these special forms were Peri, Monteverde, and Cavalli, three names that will take a prominent place in the next chapter, but the credit is Carissimi's for a higher and better development.

was sufficient to lay a foundation on which some sort of school for the cultivation of sacred music might have been erected. Certainly Duke Lorenzo il Magnifico seems to have invited these masters to his capital with that distinct object, but instead of occupying themselves with Biblical subjects, they composed eulogies on the beauty of Florence, or set to music the mask-ball songs of the duke. Even the duke's *St. John* and *St. Paul* (1488), musically treated by Isaak, were clothed in a secular dramatic dress that ill-became the subject-matter.*

And how are we to explain such a tendency? Was it perhaps partly owing to the strongly-marked character of the people? Let us consider for a minute what was the character of the fellow-citizens of Dante, Michael Angelo, and Benvenuto Cellini. Of a strong democratic spirit, ever ready to enter the lists, the history of the Florentines of the Middle Ages is one long page of restless republican activity. Radical and impulsive, active and energetic, we do not wonder that among such a people the seeds of the musical drama were sown and tended. Again, be it remembered, the city of the Medicis was the first in Italy to foster the culture of the Renaissance. Musical art, therefore, fell directly under the influence of the earliest of the enthusiastic Renaissance workers. And such influences could not but be detrimental to the development of a sacred music like that which had grown up in other Italian cities, for the art of the Hellenes, which the Renaissance sought to revive, was not the art of a people who had had the fear of God before their eyes and the thought of a future state before their minds, but of one steeped in heathen tradition and given up to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. It is clear then that if the culture of the Renaissance was to affect musical art and be productive of a new phase, it could only be in the direction of the drama. Since the days of the Greek tragedy the dramatic in music had been entirely neglected. Even such of the plays of the Middle Ages as could boast of a musical accompaniment possessed at best but a few choruses, and these were

* We do not intend to convey that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Florence produced no sacred tone-poets, for this would be at once contradicted by the mere mention of the names of Hobrecht and his confrères, all of whom wrote one or more great sacred works; but what was really the case was that Florence never instituted a school for the sole cultivation of Church music like those established in Rome, Venice, and Naples. The Tuscan capital could occasionally boast of possessing a few composers of purely sacred music, but neither in numbers nor ability did they equal those of the three other famous schools of Italy.

composed in the strict Church style. The epic and lyric sides of the tonal art, both of which it has in common with its sister-art poetry, had been at some time or other more or less developed. We have but lately shown how the epic in music grew under the genius of Carissimi into the oratorio. But it had existed long before the Carissimi age. In one form or another it is to be found in almost all the Passion plays of the Middle Ages; witness the frequent interruption of the story of those plays by the chorus, with its reflective monitions, and also the often sung narrations of the Evangelists. The lyric element in music—of which the culminating point is sacred music (see the Author's "Tonal Art in the History of Civilisation")—was brought to a state of perfection during the second half of the Middle Ages and the century of the Reformation unequalled by any other period in the history of the art of music up to that time.

It is, then, a matter of congratulation, that in the effort to revive Greek tragedy, the dramatic in music received its first and strongest impulse. In the last third of the sixteenth century a number of learned men met in the house of Count Bardi, a member of one of the oldest patrician families of Tuscany, presided over by the host, a warm patron of the arts, there to consider how they could best revive the drama of the ancients. It was the desire of this circle of ardent dilettanti to create an enthusiasm among the people by plays like that produced in the contemplation of excavated statues and the pondering over resuscitated philosophical or historical writings. In other words, they strove to reproduce the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and their modern imitators, by stage representation. They saw clearly that in order that such plays might be thoroughly understood it was imperatively necessary to illustrate them with scenic effects, and thereby bring out what would probably be lost on a mere reading. To do this the aid of the musician had to be invoked. Greek tradition spoke in no uncertain tongue on this point, and tradition was supported by the plan of the drama and by the text set down for the chorus. Music was necessary, but where was it to be found? Alas! the original had been lost, and so our enthusiasts looked to their contemporary musicians to invent such a music as would befit the drama. Music was supplied, but the play proved unsuccessful. Although provided with seemingly appropriate music, they could not gain for the resuscitated tragedy a

new life. Still, the failure of the drama was the success of musical art. It called into existence an entirely new kind of music, the dramatic, and it was from essays in this direction that Opera was to spring.

Our Tuscan enthusiasts, in their eager search after the antique musical drama, seem to us not unlike Saul, who, going forth to find his father's cattle, found a kingdom. Even if fitting music had been written for the resuscitated drama, it could never have received that full acknowledgment of worth which is the right of original work, for, however masterly composed, it would always have been a "counterfeit presentment." But in their strivings to rehabilitate the drama with its original accessories, they were led into new pastures of musical art, which have yielded the grandest results. And thus it is ever with God's dealings with man. The creature believes himself a free agent to select and tread what paths he will, and, walking, he is happy in the search of what he has put himself to find; whereas he is but threading his way along the road already predestined for him in the unalterable laws of the Most High, leading him to things he dreamt not of.

We will now glance at the embryo opera and the early beginnings which led up to and prepared the ground for one of the most artistic and popular branches of musical art. In treating of the sojourn of the Dutch, Belgian, and German masters Hobrecht, Agricola, Josquin, and Isaak at Florence, we briefly alluded to the use of instrumental and choral music at the masquerades and carnivals of the city. This usage we can trace in Italy, however, back to a much earlier period than that of Hobrecht. As far back as 1350, we possess accounts of carnival drolleries in Tuscany at which music formed an important part. It seems that it was the practice to bring the merry-making to a close by a short improvised dramatic representation with the accompaniment of music, and it is in these musically illustrated masquerades that we believe we see the germs of art-music uniting themselves to the drama, crude and feeble though those performances were. The music for these short plays was always supplied by celebrated composers of the day. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the practice of interspersing plays with music began to grow in Italy, and especially in Tuscany. The musical compositions so introduced were called *Intermezze*. They consisted principally of madrigals which were sung by the chorus,

the text of the part-songs always bearing some relation to the action of the play. The reader will notice at once how far yet we were from the formation of a music-drama. And it is surprising that this primitive connection of song with the drama should have continued down to 1545 (*vide* the *Egle* of Antonio del Cornetto), and even to 1597 A.D. in *L'Anfiparnasso*, a comic drama by Orazio Becchi, published at Venice. In both these operas the text set down for an individual character was sung in five-part choruses, composed in the style of madrigals. It was this unsatisfactory state of things that brought about the long-needed reform in dramatic music. It set lovers of art, both professor and layman, pondering how music could be best united to the drama. And matters were brought to a climax by an event apparently quite outside the progress of art, viz., the marriage of Bianca Capello, a celebrated Venetian beauty, with Francesco I., Duke of Tuscany. To celebrate the marriage there were the usual festivities, and a dramatic representation with the then inseparable musical accompaniment. The great Venetian masters, Claudio Merulo and Andrea Gabrieli, supplied the necessary music, which consisted of choruses composed in the usual polyphonic style and according to strict canon law. The result of such a rigid adherence to grammar was that the bridal part-songs partook more of the solemn character of Church hymns than the bright joyousness of festal lays. The text was suitable to the event, and consisted of a series of laudatory comments on the surpassing loveliness of the bride, so that on hearing the music one is immediately struck by its inappropriateness. This was the general feeling among the Florentine nobility who assisted at the ceremony, and the dilettanti, unable to conceal their disaffection, broke out into violent denunciation of music so unfitted for such an occasion. The Florentine noble, Count Bardi, and his art-enthusiasts were deeply impressed with the fiasco, and determined to try and provide a more suitable music for future secular dramatic representations.

It was fortunate for the cause that the Count and his friends had at heart, that among their coterie of artists and amateurs they numbered only two or at the most three professional musicians. The remainder of this art-historical circle consisted of nobles, patricians, poets, savants, improvisatori, and actors. If the professed musician had predominated we have not much doubt that the laity would never have had the courage to override the

acknowledged masters in the art, and set at naught all grammar and tradition, as they were compelled to do and did do. They were not awed by any hideous thought of casting to the winds the experiences and prejudices of the professor. If any dread of violating hard-and-fast theory had had any weight with them, their efforts would have been paralysed, and we should never have had our embryo opera, which, if incomplete and wanting in continuity, still was such that it materially prepared the way for the development of higher and more artistic forms. And here we must pay a just tribute to dilettantism, since it was owing to the efforts of those ardent Florentine amateurs that one of the noblest and most popular branches of musical art was originated.

It will not be uninteresting if, for a short time, we devote ourselves to a short study of the lives of this circle of refined scholars and classical enthusiasts of Florence. The animating spirit of the whole was Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio. He was both poet and composer, and seems to have held some appointment which gave him the right of controlling all court festivities. At these he introduced his artistic friends, who were known as the "Academy," giving with their assistance rude dramatic performances which have become historical. He is also known as the author of *L'Amico Fido*, a drama to which, in 1585, he added an original intermezzo. The next in importance to the Count was one Corsi, who, when Bardi entered the service of Pope Clement VIII., made his own house the meeting-place for the academy. The best poet of the society seems to have been Ottavio Rinuccini. Then follow Pietro Strozzi, poet and composer; Emilio del Cavaliere, ducal superintendent of the fine arts; and Vincenzo Galilei, one of the shining lights of the fraternity, he having obtained notoriety as a composer, lutenist, mathematician, and littérateur. This same Galilei was the father of the immortal astronomer and philosopher. Together with Battista Doni he took a prominent part in the paper warfare that was waged at Florence between the supporters of the contrapuntal style and the lovers of antique music, of the latter of which he and his friend were warm champions. One of the principal opponents of Galilei was his old master Zarlino, the famed contrapuntist of Venice, who appears to have dealt with his quondam pupil in a very imperious manner.* The great theorist Artusi, author of "*Delle Imperfettioni della Moderna Musica*," Venice, 1600,

* See "*Dialogo della Musica Antica e Moderna*, di Vincentio Galilei, in sua difesa contra Joseffo Zarlino. Fiorenza, 1602."

was at first a supporter of Galilei and the Florentines, but he subsequently became the most determined opponent to any revival of ancient music, and his attacks on Monteverde in this respect are of a very pungent kind.

Girolamo Mei, author of a treatise "On the Tonal Art of the Ancients and Moderns," Venice, 1602, and collaborator with Galilei in the "Dialogo della Musica," was also an opponent of the contrapuntists. Another admirer of the music of the ancients was Giulio Caccini, composer, singer, and author. In a preface to his "Nuove Musiche" he discourses in a learned and interesting manner on modern art, and placing himself in the front of the battle, he stoutly contends for the retention of solo song, which had fallen greatly into disuse. He was one of the professed musicians of that circle of important and remarkable men who had united themselves together for the purpose of creating a dramatic style in music. Luca Marenzio, a madrigalist of great repute, and perhaps as a musician superior to Caccini, was also a member of the Bardi coterie. In 1589 he composed madrigals for the "Intermezzo Combattimento d'Apolline col Serpente." But it was not until the time of Jacopo Peri that what our enthusiasts had striven to accomplish, and had indeed in part achieved, although in a limited manner, was to be moulded into an art-work, and impressed with a vitality that has borne the best fruits. Notwithstanding, therefore, all the artistic instincts of our dilettanti, it was not until the professed musician had added his genius that it could be said that one of the noblest forms of art was on the way to its consummation.*

We must not omit to refer to the active co-operation of certain intelligent women in the furthering of the musical drama in Tuscany, a co-operation that arose through the general interest taken by all educated

* If we ask ourselves whether Galilei and Doni were right in their attacks on the contrapuntists, who, be it remembered, comprised the greatest masters of the Italian Church style, we can only give a conditional reply, for if our Greek enthusiasts on the Arno wished to create, as they partially succeeded in doing, a new school of art, it was necessary that they should break with the then ruling polyphonic Church style, and if such a break was to come to pass, it was well for our art that it should take place in Florence. But viewed from the unbiassed standpoint of the musical historian, we cannot justify the attacks on Zarlino and Gabrieli, masters who represent to us moderns the highest musical culture of Europe in the sixteenth century. The works of Palestrina and Gabrieli possess to-day an inherent vitality which will remain to them for all time: but where are the writings of the Florentine enthusiasts of the *Stile rappresentativo*? We know them—yes; but how? As works of interest to the historian only.

persons in the culture of the Renaissance. In this art-work two names stand prominently forward—Vittoria Archilei, a singer, and Laura Guidiccioni, a poetess. Archilei proved herself a great artist; the Italians called her “Euterpe,” and Peri expressed himself honoured that she approved of his *Eurydice*. Emilio del Cavaliere acquired fame as the writer of two pastoral plays, the titles of which are not to hand, and a sacred one, *L'Anima e il Corpo*. We are happy to pay this tribute of praise to the tender sex for the assistance they rendered in the generating and cradling of the opera, for these early Florentine dramas belong to the earliest attempts in the musical dramatic style.

We will now return to the individual workings of the early Tuscan operatic writers. The disapprobation expressed by Count Bardi and his friends of the bridal music of 1579 was the beginning of that acrimonious paper war led by Galilei and Mei against Zarlino, and in 1581 against the whole of the Venetian contrapuntal school. But our Greek enthusiasts did not merely concern themselves with attacking and attempting to discredit the theories of their opponents, but strove to indicate the goal of their ambition. And again it was Galilei who pioneered the way. His first effort was a dramatic scena for one voice with the accompaniment of a single instrument. The subject was “Ugolino,” from Dante’s “Purgatorio,” of which he performed the title rôle, accompanying himself on the viola. The scena was eminently successful, and the applause of his friends most hearty. He next composed the “Lamentations of Jeremiah” for one voice. These songs were called *Monodies*, and form an epoch in musical history. Hitherto, when a solo song was wanted, the practice had been to select one of the parts from a chorus, and sing it as though it had been originally penned as a solo piece, a custom which certainly seems to us to have been behind the times, but now with Galilei’s Monodies we have pure solo songs, felt and conceived for one voice. If dramatic music was to be created, it was necessary before all things that a solo song should exist. It is the medium best fitted for the expression of the thoughts, emotions, and actions of individuals, as choral song is for similar feelings of masses. With him, the solo song, even when in combination with other soli, *i.e.*, in concerted music, retained its individual and characteristic expression. The essential of dramatic music is the monologue, and Galilei with his far-seeing genius created the Monody. Following

directly in Galilei's wake came Giulio Caccini, who composed several sonnets and canzonets for a single voice, which Doni considered superior and more pleasing than the soli pieces of Galilei. Amongst the music composed for the festival play of Count Bardi, in honour of the marriage of Virginia de Medici with Cesare d'Este in 1585 at Florence, are said to be several songs in the Monodic style of Galilei.

The merit of being the first to create a musical play in which the whole of the story was musically told has been ascribed to Emilio del Cavaliere. In the pastoral plays written for him in 1590 by Laura Guidiccioni, the success that attended the representations was entirely owing to the music. He did not treat his subjects in the same manner as the musical drama of our day, but used more extensively the popular madrigal form with its full choral parts. His treatment was not unlike that of the "Combattimento d'Apolline" by Luca Marenzio. But what is generally accepted by the musical world as the first opera is Jacopo Peri's setting of the poet Rinuccini's *Daphne*, performed, through the exertions of the Bardi circle, in 1594 at the house of Corsi. *Daphne* was pronounced by all a success; and Peri, elated with his triumph, immediately set to work and produced *Eurydice*, a musico-dramatic pastoral, performed in 1600 at the marriage of Henry IV. of France with Maria de Medici at Florence. The composer sang the part of Orpheus, ladies and gentlemen of the highest families in Italy rendering the other characters. If *Daphne* was a success, *Eurydice* was still greater, the enthusiasm being unbounded. By his first work the master's fame was celebrated throughout Italy; by his second he gained European renown.

In a preface to *Eurydice*, published at Venice, Peri tells us how he was led to the discovery of the new and vital style in music. He says that in studying the drama of the ancients he felt convinced that they had adopted a tone of expression other than that of every-day speech, which, though never rising into song, was nevertheless musically coloured. This induced him to carefully observe the various manners of speaking in daily life, and these he endeavoured to reproduce in music as faithfully as he could. Soft and gentle speech he interpreted by half-spoken, half-sung tones on a sustained instrumental bass; feelings of a deeper emotional kind by a melody with greater intervals and a lively tempo, the accompanying instrumental harmonies changing more frequently. Sometimes he em-

played dissonances. This was the beginning of the *dramatic recitative*, and the honour of its invention is Peri's. Compared with the Church recitative, it is an immense step onward. The new dramatic recitative, even without its instrumental accompaniment of chords, compares most favourably with the old Church psalms and antiphones, most of which were recited on one tone, the whole cadence certainly never exceeding the interval of a fourth. Peri's recitative is superior even to the *secco*-recitative of to-day, and still more to that of the so-called *parlando* of the *opera buffa* of the Italians. But as every inventor has envious and intriguing rivals, so we see Caccini anxiously trying to make the world believe that he and not Peri was the originator of the recitative. Certainly, in the dramatic soli of Caccini we sometimes find foreshadowings of the *cantilena*, and an occasional aria-like leading of the theme when the text assumes a lyrical character. But identical workings are to be found in Peri's compositions, and as far as the invention of the recitative is concerned, we are bound to say that the honour seems unquestionably to belong to Peri, whose writings of this class have all the appearance of being the elder.*

With *Eurydice* a new dramatic form was established in the tonal art, and one so popular that it immediately found imitators all over Italy. The crop of musical dramas that sprang up in the north of Italy was especially plentiful. At first the opera was variously styled according to the individuality of the composer, though all the designations indicated the subject-matter and style of the composition. The style itself was generally called *Stile rappresentativo*, and sometimes *Stile parlante*; the work, *Dramma per Musica*, *Melodrama*, or (as in Peri's *Eurydice*) *Tragedia per Musica*, or *Tragicomedia*. It was not until about 1650 that the title *Opera in Musica* first came into use, which a little later was reduced to *Opera*, and under this name it went to France.

About the year 1608 Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and Venice became centres of dramatic styles, and first among Italian dramatic composers stands Claudio Monteverde (1568—1651), who without hesitation we point to as

* G. G. Guidi, of Florence, published in 1863 a new edition of Peri's *Eurydice*. In it the recitatives are accompanied by a figured bass, and the choruses *alla capella* are for three, four, and five voices. On page 10 there is a short instrumental introduction in three parts, bearing the significant title *Suonata*.

the most important dramatic composer of the seventeenth century. It was probably at the representations of *Eurydice* and *Daphne* in 1600 and 1604, at Florence and Parma, that Monteverde drank in the first draughts of the *dramma per musica*, which were afterwards to inspire his inventive genius and produce the most splendid fruit for the musical world, to which even masters of to-day return with advantage. Monteverde began his studies at Mantua under the contrapuntist Ingegneri, whose strict theoretical teachings were, however, very uncongenial to him. Between 1587 and 1638 he published several madrigals, the first two books of which were in the traditional style of part-song compositions, whilst six others that he brought out break entirely with the old school. It was the publication of this set of six that drew upon him the attacks of Artusi, to which we have already referred. In 1603 Monteverde was appointed Court chapel-master to the Duke of Mantua, and under the auspices of this prince he produced in 1607 his opera of *Orfeo*, in which work we meet with the first musical dramatic duet. The libretto was supplied by Rinuccini, the same poet, it will be remembered, who penned the *Orpheus* of Peri. The following year (1608) saw two more important works of this master's performed, *Ariadne* and *Il Ballo delle Ingrate*, or "The Dance of the Coquettes." In *Ariadne* he makes an attempt to work out a flowing melody, though in the narrow and indefinite form of the *cavatina*. The lament of the forsaken Ariadne is most touching and expressive. The *Il Ballo delle Ingrate* was performed at the wedding of Francis Gonzaga with Marguerite of Savoy. As a work of historical and musical importance in the development of the opera, it possesses a twofold significance: first, as regards a play which is partly sung and partly accompanied by the orchestra, and secondly as reflecting the spirit of the Renaissance, in its indications of the punishments in Hades that await the fair ones who trifle with the affections of their swains. After the suffering coquettes have bewailed their own heartlessness in pantomimic action and song, Venus and Pluto advance to the front and admonish the feminine part of the audience in the following strains:—"May the punishments, which you have witnessed befall the wicked, deter you from meriting a like fate. Know that your charms are evanescent, and in spite of your will, time ruthlessly robs you of your beauty. Beware, vain mortals, your loveliness is not immortal."



THE VIOLINIST.

(Portrait of Himself, by Gerard Dow.)

Another important step onward in the development of the opera was *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, composed by Monteverde in 1624 and published with his "Madrigali Guerrieri." Of itself it forms an epoch in the history of musical art. In it we see a remarkable endeavour on the part of the master to illustrate by orchestral colouring that excess of dramatic movement and life which unaccompanied singing is unable to express. In order to justly appreciate the merits of Monteverde as a tone-colourist, we must compare his orchestra with that of his immediate predecessors. In 1565 Striggio and Corteccia scored their "Intermezze" for 2 Gravicembali, 4 Violini, 1 Leuto mezzano, 1 Cornetto muto, 4 Tromboni, 2 Flauti diritti, 4 Traverse, 1 Leuto grosso, 1 Sotto basso di viola, 1 Sopran di viola, 4 Leuti, 1 Viola d'arco, 1 Lirone, 1 Traverso contralto, 1 Flauto grande Tenore, 1 Tromboni Basso, 5 Storte, 1 Stortina, 2 Cornetti Ordinarii, 1 Cornetto Grosso, 1 Dolzanina, 1 Lira, 1 Ribecchino, and 2 Tamburi. Thirty-five years after, the orchestra of Monteverde consisted of 2 Gravicembali (clavicembali), 2 Contrabassi da Viola, 10 Viole di Brazzo, 1 Arpa doppia, 2 Violini piccioli alla Francese, 2 Chitarroni, 2 Organi di legno, 1 Regal, 3 Bassi da Gamba, 4 Tromboni, 2 Cornetti, 1 Flautino (flageolet), 1 Clarino (soprano trumpet), and 3 Trombe sordini (muted trumpets). In what then consists the superiority of the scoring of Monteverde over that of his predecessors? It is in the greater use of stringed instruments played with a bow. Striggio and his contemporaries had a predilection for instruments of percussion, lutes and lyres, and wind instruments, but the musical dramatist loved the violin. In Monteverde we recognise the man to whom the musical world is indebted for the composition of the present orchestra, the capabilities of which for an adequate interpretation of polyphonic instrumental music are traceable mainly to the preponderance of stringed instruments played with the bow. The truth of this assertion is seen in the subordinate position assigned by the contemporaries of Monteverde to stringed instruments. Peri, in his *Euridice*, employed a Clavier, a Lute, a Theorbo, and a big Lyra; and even Emilio del Cavaliere, in the oratorio *L'Amina e Corpo*, used only one Lira doppia, one Cembalo, a Chitarrone, and two Flauti. If the accompaniment of the choruses and dances of these works was not restricted to the few instruments which we have just named, and which were employed principally to accompany the soli,

then such of the bowed instruments as were introduced were assigned to a very minor position. That Monteverde was the one who made the greatest advance in the use of bowed instruments is proved still more by his *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. It is here that he depicts in the orchestra those feelings which the unaided voice is incapable of expressing. In order to thrill his audience at the moment when, in a duel, Tancredi mortally wounds his unrecognised love, he invented the *tremolo* on the stringed instruments, a clever striking device. And in the invention of realistic effects he was equally great. It was he who invented the *pizzicato*, using it for the first time in his *Tancredi* to illustrate the clashing and glittering of the crossing of swords. Every one will admit that the *tremolo* and *pizzicato* belong to the most effective means of dramatic expression of the present day. But Monteverde is not only entitled to our praise for increasing the capabilities of the orchestra by these two great means, but also because he wrote such passages and figures for the violin and its related instruments as demanded an increase in the compass.

Such special and characteristic writing for the violin was naturally followed by a general improvement in the style of playing, and the cry went forth for an instrument that would permit the exhibition of executive skill. We propose therefore to leave the master to whom so much is owing, and discourse on the instrument and the changes it underwent from this time in the north of Italy. We begin with Cremona, the native place of Monteverde, and the city which took the lead in the making of violins. Makers vied with each other in the production of an instrument that should gain the praise of the master or his skilful pupils. But before we enter upon the success which attended their efforts, we would first draw attention to the fact that the shape of the modern violin is of German origin, and not Italian, and that its general form and structure are almost identical with those of the old German Geige.

The various instruments of the violin kind known in Italy at the time of Monteverde were the Rota, Giga, Ribecchino, and Violino, with its offshoots the Viola d'amore, Viola da braccia (or arm-fiddle), known in Germany as the Bratsche, the Viola da gamba (or leg viol), and Viola da gamba bastarda. Although similar in structure to the modern violin, viola, violoncello, and contrabasso, the form was still crude and

imperfect. The old Italian stringed instruments of which we have spoken were the stepping-stones towards that perfected ideal which dates its birth some time during the second half of the sixteenth century in the north of Italy. The first step toward that skilfully and perfectly fashioned instrument which, if it has been equalled, has certainly never been surpassed, was taken by Master Kaspar Tieffenbrucker, a native of the German Tyrol. As far back as 1511 we find the name of Tieffenbrucker celebrated as the maker of superior violins, the success of the master attracting a number of earnest imitators. And his followers were extremely successful, his Tyrolean countrymen, the brothers Stainer (1621—1659), acquiring perhaps the greatest celebrity.





Fig. 213.—Kaspar Tieffenbrucker.

The illustration on the next page of a Viola da gamba by Tieffenbrucker, bearing the date 1547, with a portrait surrounded by tasteful



Fig. 213.—Kaspar Tieffenbrucker.

arabesques, will afford the reader some notion of the skill of the old German master.*

The followers of Tieffenbrucker did not confine their operations to the

German Tyrol, but spread themselves over the north of Italy. At Brescia we find Maggini; at Lake Garda, Gasparo di Salo; and, greatest of all, the Amati family at Cremona (1592—1682), from which we date the beginning of the grandest epoch of successful violin-making in Europe. The Amatis were followed by the Stradivari and the Guarneri, the greatest of whom, perhaps, was Antonio Stradivari (1644—1737). The violins and other string instruments played with the bow that were made by these famous makers are spoken of now in the same way that we speak of a celebrated painting, and the price of a "Stradivarius" or an "Amati" oftentimes runs as high as £300. The characteristic of the Amati is a sweet round tone, of the Stradivari and Guarneri a full and powerful one. The following illustration may be of interest to the general reader in its connection with the art of violin-making.

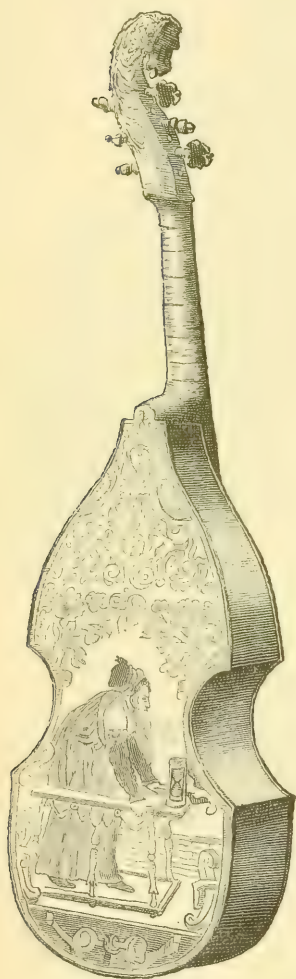


Fig. 214.--Viola da Gamba.

Not only was the construction of the violin improved and the sphere of the orchestral performer enlarged by the greater importance which Monteverde gave to the violin in his operatic scoring, but, by the special passages written for the instrument by Monteverde, solo performers on bowed instruments were called forth, and were stimulated to an executive

* Kiesewetter states that he has seen a violin by the famous Tyrolese in which Tieffenbrucker had etched the following ingenious poetical motto, "Viva fui in sylvis, dum vixi tacui, mortua dulce cano"—a significant motto, since it is found inscribed on the portrait of the clever man.

skill hitherto not thought of. In this they had full scope to indulge their fancy in the magnificent instruments then being turned out by violin-makers.

Hieronimus Ameri Cremonensis
Fecit Anno Salutis 1697

Antonius Stradiuarius Cremonensis
Faciebat Anno 1719



Realto e covello da me Pietro Guarneri
Cremonese in Mantova 1687

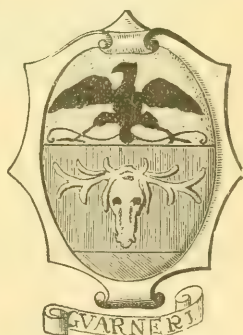
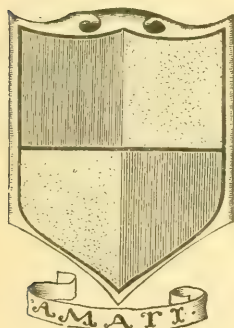


Fig. 215.—Crests and Monograms of the Three Celebrated Cremona Violin-Makers.

One of the first masters who intentionally wrote solo pieces for the violin was Biagio Marini, who died at Padua in 1660. Then follows Carlo Farina, the composer of a *Capriccio stragante*, a very interesting piece of work. Farina flourished during the middle of the seventeenth century, and is known to have held service under the Elector of

Saxony. Next, Battista Vitali of Cremona (1644—1692), Bassani of Bologna (1657—1716), and Giuseppe Torelli of Verona (1650—1708), and his sometime contemporary Antonio Vitali, the inventor of the *variation* form (witness particularly his *Ciaccona* in G minor). Vitali wrote two solo violin pieces without any background support whatsoever. Torelli, on the other hand, had a predilection for the form what we now call the violin concerto—that is, performances by a soloist with orchestral accompaniment.



Fig 216.—Arcangelo Corelli.

The second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries represent then in the history of music the period of solo performance and resultant virtuosity as opposed to the hitherto concerted performances. With the growth of the musical drama individualism began to receive its proper meed of acknowledgment. In this, as in the Florentine Monody (which, after having separated the solo vocalist from the chorus,

turned towards the orchestra and sought there its soloist), we see the reflection of the Renaissance spirit, which ever strove to emphasise individuality. A model type of the virtuoso thus called into existence was Arcangelo Corelli (1653—1713). As a brilliant executant and composer Corelli takes very high rank. With this master, the greatest solo violinist of the seventeenth century, closes the first epoch of Italian violin virtuosi.

Corelli was the first to change the key of the *Adagio* movement in the sonata form. Hitherto it had been the same as that of the other sections of the sonata, but he altered it either to the dominant or subdominant, an innovation that finds acceptance at the present day. The name

sonata can be traced back to the Venetian master, G. Gabrieli. Neri, organist of St. Mark's, 1644, wrote sonatas for a small orchestra. It is about this time that we first observe the presence of two forms of sonata, secular and sacred, called respectively *Sonata da camera* and *Sonata da chiesa*. In the development of the latter form Corelli very materially assisted, writing as many as sixty secular violin sonatas. In these he did not, as has been stated by some writers, employ the *Concerto grosso* form.* Those critics have been misled by the publication of twelve of the sixty sonatas referred to, by Geminiani of Rome, in 1712, under the title of "Concerti Grossi." The description of the volume was the publisher's own, who, knowing that the *Concerto grosso* first came into existence during Corelli's time, thought, no doubt, that he was quite correct in thus designating his edition.†

Another outcome of the opera was the introduction of *thorough bass* into musical practice, and again it is Tuscany, in the person of that great artist Peri, that is to the fore. In the year 1600 we find the master using a thorough bass in his *Eurydice*. Its invention, we take it, was owing to the amount of recitative with which his music-dramas abounded, so that, to economise space, time, and labour, the master adopted certain equivalents for certain harmonies, *i.e.*, a ciphered bass, now known under the name of thorough bass. Peri did not, however, restrict the use of the figured bass to recitative, as in his *Eurydice* and other works we find it elsewhere employed. In the canzone of Orpheus, "Givite al conto mio,"

* Corelli's concertos are scored for a quartett of two violins, viola, and violoncello; besides two ripieno violin-parts, and a figured bass for the organ.—F. A. G. O.

† The *Concerto grosso* was invented in the north of Italy as an intermedial art-form between the full orchestral and solo performance. The orchestra usually numbered seven instruments, three of which were employed as solo instruments and were called *concertino*, the remaining four representing the *Concerto grosso*. In performance these two divisions alternated with each other. The *concertino* was composed of either two violins and viola, or two violins and viola da gamba. The new art-form found much favour in Germany, and was used with success by G. F. Händel and Sebastian Bach. The *Concerto grosso*, however, never found so many adherents as the *Concerto da camera*, a form invented almost simultaneously with the *grosso*. Corelli (1680) was especially active in the development of the *Concerto da camera*, a form very similar to the overture which originated with the Neapolitans, the middle movement of each possessing a cantabile character that relieves the animating opening and closing parts. The *Concerto da camera* also found its way into Germany, and was very successfully adopted by Benda and Quanz. We must not omit to state that the movements of Corelli's sonatas consisted of either old dance forms, which afterwards grew into the *Suite de pièces*, or free and elegantly-constructed parts, contrapuntally treated.

he has used the accidentals ♮, ♯, and the figures 7, 6, 10, 11, the last two of which represent the third and fourth of the higher octave.

Turning now to sacred music, we find that the desire to emancipate the solo from the choral song led to the use of thorough bass in Church compositions in the same manner that it was employed in the music-drama. Throughout Lombardy, the north of Italy, and the Papal States, the monody was deservedly popular, and could not but conduce to the invention of some such contrivance. The solo voice of the monody, it will be remembered, was not supported by a vocal harmony, but by an instrumental bass, which gave to the voice a harmonic foundation, no matter how simple. As far as we can trace, the first master to employ the figured bass in Church music was Ludovico Viadana, born at Lodi in 1565, and died about 1645 at Mantua. In his first *Concerto da chiesa*, composed for the Cathedral of Fano in the north of Italy, where he occupied the post of chapel-master in 1600, we find monodies, as well as movements for two and three solo voices accompanied by an instrumental or organ bass called *basso continuo*. We have found it stated in some works that Viadana was the originator of thorough bass, but this is an error, and we can only surmise that the mistake has arisen through it being observed that *bassus generalis* was sometimes written for *basso continuo*. The figured marking that characterises thorough bass is not used at all in *basso continuo*. However, Viadana's pupil Agazzari (1578—1640) largely uses figures, and we regard him as one of the earliest masters who adopted this modern musical stenography, a contrivance which indicates harmonies in a similar manner that the phonetic Neume signs indicated melodies. It is worthy of note that the harmonies of the thorough bass of the Florentine music-dramas were always such that they were capable of performance on one instrument, the Tuscans arguing that an accompaniment by several instruments would tie the singer, and take away from him that freedom of execution as regards time and movement which they desired he might enjoy. But the accompanying instrument was not always the same. Peri and Caccini, in order to gain a variety of tone-colouring, divided their recitative thorough bass between the clavicembalo, the lute, and a stringed instrument played with the bow. To these Monteverde added wood wind instruments (*organi di legno*), using them with much dramatic force to illustrate certain emotions and situations.

Next to Monteverde, the most important music-dramatist was his pupil Caletti Bruni (1599—1676), or, as he was more popularly called, Francesco Cavalli, a native of Crema, near Venice. Some time prior to his death he was appointed chief chapel-master to St. Mark's. Two years before the appearance of Cavalli's first opera, a music-drama, *Andromeda*, by Francesco Manelli, a Florentine, had appeared. In 1639 *Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo*, by the Crema master, was performed in Venice with marked success. The recitatives in this work alternate between the solemn and the passionate. They are relieved by instrumental interludes of a pompous or emotional character that remind one strongly of the master Monteverde. A grand effect is obtained by an *alla caccia*, or hunting chorus, the music heralding the appearance of the huntsmen being appropriately descriptive. In Cavalli's *Giasone*, performed in 1640, the choruses disappear entirely, and are replaced by ariettas and duets of a remarkable dramatic character. The recitative form of Cavalli is greatly superior to that of Monteverde. It is developed more freely, and evidences a desire to fit the tone to the words. Cavalli further introduced *word-repetition* into his ariettas—a proceeding hitherto disapproved of by the Florentine school. In *Giasone* the melodic style of the ariettas and duets and the dramatic treatment of the recitative appear more strongly marked than they could possibly be in the continuous flow of Monteverde, wherein recitative and chorus are very similarly constructed. Yet they do not equal the three-part aria developed later by the Neapolitans. As a piece of historical information we have to note that it was in Cavalli's time that the Castrati first appear, the solo soprano and alto parts of the music-drama being sung by males.

The many changes which the Florentine music-drama underwent which we have recounted above were all so many steps in the evolution of the opera. And now we would draw attention to certain practices that existed among the followers of Monteverde which have again appeared in this nineteenth century. First, the concealment of the orchestra; secondly, the announcement of the beginning of the music-drama or an act by a flourish of trumpets;* and thirdly, the writing of explanatory prefaces to their stage works. It will be present to the mind of every student that similar practices to those of the Tuscans of the seventeenth century are indulged in

* Monteverde, in his *Orpheus* (1607), used five trumpets to announce the commencement of his opera.

by the Wagner school of the nineteenth century—resemblances that are significant when we remember that the dramatic style and principle of the two schools completely tally.

Cavalli is credited with the composition of thirty-nine music-dramas (some say forty-five), all of which he is said to have written in thirty years. In one year (1651) we know he composed no less than five. His *Giulione* gained for him the praise of all Italy and France, Cardinal Mazarin calling the master to Paris to conduct personally his opera *Serse* (Xerxes), which was ordered to be performed at the marriage of Louis XIV. Cavalli's opera was not the first performed at Paris, the *Eurydice* of Peri having been performed in the French capital by a travelling company of Florentines in 1617. Germany was not immediately acquainted with the good work done by the Tuscans, acquiring its knowledge of the Florentine music-drama only in an indirect manner through Heinrich Schütz, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, paid two visits to Tuscany. But the Florentine art did not find so much favour with the Germans as it did with the French.

Of the remaining Italian masters of the music-drama who were either the contemporaries or the immediate followers of Monteverde and Cavalli, we name Marc' Antonio Cesti of Tuscany (1620—1669), chapel-master of Florence and also to the Emperor Leopold I., and composer of *Oronte*, *La Dori*, and *Il Pomo d'Oro*; the masters Rosetti, Saccati, Legrenzi (whom we shall meet again), Ziani, Pallavicini, and Draghi of Ferrara.

The music-drama in its early days, and especially during the creative activity of Peri and Monteverde, was distinctly an aristocratic art. As a rule, performances were given only at court, to which none but nobles and patricians were admitted. But under the pupils of the Tuscans the music-drama, from about 1630, acquired a democratic publicity in the very city, Venice, where "select" performances had hitherto been the order of the day. Private theatres, *e.g.*, the San Cassiano, at which representations by invitation had been given, were now thrown open to all who chose to pay for admission. This change, and the interest evinced by the public in the new art-form, resulted in the production of an almost incredible number of new works. In Venice alone, between 1637 and 1730, no less than 650 operas, by a hundred different composers, were performed. It was during this century that the music-drama, which in its origin was subordinate to poetry,

developed into the opera in which the tonal art in and for itself is the principal element, fashioning its forms according to its own requirements. But the highest achievements in the realm of dramatic music were not fully accomplished until more than a century later, results brought about by the fusion of the declamatory style of the Tuscans and their pupils the French, with the melodic and organically membered art-forms of the Neapolitans and the Germans, who at that time were the disciples of the Neapolitan school.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOTTI AND THE MASTERS OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION.

WHEN the Catholic world became shaken by the dissensions in its own Church and by the teachings of Luther, it saw that, if it were to retain its hold upon the people, it must set about reconciling contradictions and reforming abuses in its own creed. The result of this self-examination was the formation, during the century 1524—1624, of a number of religious orders, each striving to effect some improvement according to its own individual discernment. And a similar wave of thought swept over the world of Catholic art. Its votaries felt that the art they loved did not reach that state of excellence it should. Thus it is therefore that, but a few decades later, we see Catholic masters striving in all directions to attain something higher than that which had been produced up to the seventeenth century. But in the art-world, masters did not start with the assumption that all that the old Church had produced was great and good and beyond criticism, and that that which the Lutheran spirit had generated was deserving only of stricture. Of the religious bodies that grew up, we first mention the Theatines, who took upon themselves to educate and elevate those ecclesiastics that degraded the priesthood by their coarse vulgarity.*

* At the third sitting of the Council of Trent in 1562, it was resolved that a stricter Church discipline was required, and that the bishops should rigorously punish offenders, who hitherto committed offences with the impunity sanctioned by long non-interference.

Next, the Order of the Oratory, instituted by Philip de Neri, for the relief of strangers and destitute sick persons; the Order of Mercy, whose members, both men and women, earnestly strove to alleviate the physical and mental suffering of the poorest classes; and lastly, we note the popular addresses of St. Francis of Sales, Bishop of Ancy in Savoy, who attempted the conversion of Catholic perverts by gentle persuasiveness, strengthening his hold upon the people by a zealous devotion to works of charity among the sick and needy. The Catholic hierarchy were fully conscious that only by a deeper and a more earnest interpretation of the spirit of the Word, and less attention to external ceremonial, could the Church establish a firm basis on which they might hope to found and perpetuate Catholic teachings. It was this same seriousness which penetrated the art-world. Less attention to form and a truer and more heartfelt interpretation of feelings were imperatively demanded, and we shall see anon how far the tone-masters of the Catholic Church succeeded in their new efforts.

In the Catholic art-world that deep earnest striving to purify and improve art seems to have actuated chiefly the painter and the musician. Indications of the influence of the Reformation reactionary spirit are plentiful. The creative genius of masters was unusually healthy, and we have not to ponder long over their works to observe the clearest evidence of that deep earnestness of purpose engendered by the prevailing seriousness of the time. Here and there we trace a similar seriousness among poets and sculptors, notably the plastic artist Ammanati, who flourished during the second half of the sixteenth century, but it never rises to that intensity which was evident in the tone-poet and painter. What was effected in the art-world when swayed by the controlling genius of the age might be most fittingly designated the art of the Catholic restoration, brought about by a reaction against the Protestant movement.

If it be asked, where was it that the first blossom and fruit of this new spirit in the tonal art bloomed and ripened, we reply Venice. Truly the elder Gabrieli, the Venetian contemporary of Luther, did not show any violent departure from old established rule in his writings, nor do the compositions of any of the masters that group themselves together round uncle and nephew bear any indication of Protestant influence. Andrea Gabrieli, like his brother-artist Palestrina, was too good a Catholic to be dominated in his Church writings by any heretical teachings. And as it

was with the immediate disciples of the old Venetian, so was it with those of the Roman master, who, it will be remembered, was also a contemporary of the Wittenberg monk. In the works of neither of these two schools are we able to trace any indication of that style of writing which fifty years later prevailed among the Venetian masters of the new school. Certainly neither the Venetians, nor indeed Italy generally, were conscious of the momentous issues at stake in the conflict of Luther with Rome. To devout Catholics like our two great musicians the stability or instability of the Church founded on the rock St. Peter was a question which never addressed itself to their minds. They regarded the defiance of Luther as no more than one of those frequent monkish outbursts to which they were accustomed, but which were always suppressed by the Papal authority, and their faith in the Church could not be shaken. And this heaven of faith is present in the compositions of both the masters: in Palestrina by transcendent tones which seem to us to reflect the mighty firmament of blue unclouded by doubt, and in Andrea Gabrieli by richly-coloured choruses.

The compositions of the masters of the new Venetian school, as we know, were the offspring of an entirely new mental influence. They are characterised by a more animated movement of the voice parts, accompanied by an increased emotional expressiveness. As one of the founders of this important school, we name Giovanni Legrenzi (1625—1690). Some of this master's motets, masses, and psalms are deserving of high praise. He seems also to have acquired fame as a dramatic instrumental writer, about twenty operas being placed to his credit. Added to this he is known to have increased the orchestra of Giovanni Gabrieli up to 34 instruments, made up of 19 Violins, 2 Violas, 3 *Viola da gamba*, 4 Theorboes, 2 Cornetti, 1 Fagotto, 3 Trombones. In this composition of the orchestra, with its predominance of the strings, we notice at once the influence of Monteverde. It has been asserted that the *viola da gamba* used by Legrenzi was the forerunner of the modern violoncello. We are not prepared to accept or deny this statement, but if it were so, there are many points of dissimilarity in construction between the two. As a rule the back of the *viola da gamba* was flat and not rounded; it also possessed six strings, whereas to-day we have but four; and it further differed in the shape of the sound *f*'s. About

the middle of the seventeenth century instruments were made even with seven strings (see the illustration at the beginning of the sixth book, *St. Cecilia* by Domenichino). When the Gamba possessed six strings, the two middle ones were tuned to the interval of a third, and the others to the interval of a fourth. If a 'cellist of to-day were to stumble upon one of these instruments in any of the European art museums, he would find it necessary to exercise himself much before he would be able to perform on it with ability. We would remark that, prior to the development of the modern violin by the great Cremonese, all stringed instruments played with the bow were without exception called *Viole*, and were distinguished from each other by the addition of "*da braccio*," "*da gamba*," "*da spala*," or "*viola alta*," "*viola di tenore*," "*viola bastarda*," "*viola d'amore*." The word "*violino*" originally implied a violin smaller than the viola, and "*violone*" a larger than the viola. Haydn often called the violone the "*contra bassa*." Violoncello was used originally as the diminutive of the violone, and meant a smaller bass instrument.

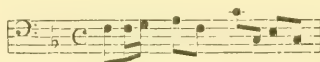
In Lotti (1667—1740), a pupil of Legrenzi, we now come to the first and perhaps the greatest of the masters of the new Venetian school. The son of a musician of note, it was not long before he himself acquired fame. The father of Lotti held the appointment of chapel-master at Hanover, whence he had been called from Venice, and it is probable that our master Lotti was born during his father's sojourn in the German city. His studies under Legrenzi began at a very early age. There he made the acquaintance of Caldara, one of his fellow-pupils, and one who afterwards rose to eminence. On leaving Legrenzi he modestly entered the musical world as a chorus-singer, from which he passed successively to second and first organist at St. Mark's, relinquishing the latter important office only for the highly-prized and much-coveted one of conducting chapel-master of that celebrated cathedral. In 1718 he was called to Dresden by the electoral Prince of Saxony, in honour of whose wedding he composed a festival opera entitled *Gli odi delusi dal sangue*. He had, prior to this, in 1705, written "*Duetti, Terzetti e Madrigali*" for the Emperor Joseph I. of Austria, and was rewarded by the princely gift of a golden chain. But it was neither in works of this kind, although containing many beauties, nor in his operas, that the genius of the master found a fitting theme for the expression of his grand and exalted tonal

thoughts. Biblical story had a charm for him superior to any other. His sacred compositions are impregnated with a majestic grandeur and deep pathos, which he had vainly endeavoured to infuse into opera. In his Church works he attained a breadth of passionate and dramatic tragic expression which certainly none of his predecessors had equalled, and perhaps, with rare exceptions, none up to the present day. The masses of Lotti are conceived and developed in a vein of serious earnestness that holds the hearer spell-bound. If we were asked to single out of these sublime compositions parts which perhaps more than others seem specially to breathe deep religious earnestness, we should select the "Miserere" and "Crucifixus." It might be said that our praise of Lotti is excessive, and the statement would be supported by pointing to the very little that is known of the master's works. We frankly admit that beyond the six, eight, and ten part "Crucifixus" the compositions of the great Venetian have not a very wide public, and even that the countless beauties of some of his "Misereres" and cognate writings, if not altogether unknown, are known only to a very limited circle of enthusiasts. To this we can but reply that the lack of knowledge is regrettable, and is but another illustration of "full many a flower is born to blush unseen." In his four-part Mass in F the purest euphony is to be found united to a most appropriate rendering of the text. The four-part "Benedictus Deus Israel" is also worthy of study; and we have, further, a "Miserere" in D minor, permeated with a mournful sadness and worked out in harmonies of a novel and effective character. A "Laudate pueri," written for three female voices, originally performed in Venice by the master's pupils of the Conservatoire "Degli Incurabili," a setting of Psalm cxii. for male voices, a motet, "Vere languores nostros," and a four-part "Sanctus Dominus," published separately, also deserve mention. In contrast to the compositions we have named, all of which were *a capella*, there is a second series of sacred works, principally masses, in which the voice either alternates with instruments or is accompanied by them throughout. In some of those compositions in which the voice alternates with the orchestra, we see before us the representative styles of two great epochs in Christian tonal art, one destined to give place to the other, meeting, as it were, to take a final leave of each other. Here we have the purest *a capella* choruses succeeded by choruses and solos with instrumental

accompaniment, in which are developed those broad ritornelles and stereotyped melodic turns, from which we date the beginning of that period known in musical Germany as the "zopf" or pigtail era, *i.e.*, a slavish adherence to cut-and-dried conventionality.* The characteristic of Lotti and his school is an animated movement of the parts, and successive thematic entries of the voices, each in a higher register than its predecessor, a proceeding that has an almost realistic effect of ascension. As an unapproached and unsurpassable model of this kind we again refer to the master's eight-part "Crucifixus." The influence exercised by this work is seen in the sacred writings of all his successors, not omitting the great Sebastian Bach. It is in the masses and grand sacred works of Lotti that we clearly trace that seriousness of purpose, that clinging to the old religion of art, and that earnest desire to make music the reflex of the heart's emotions, which were the counterpart, and indeed the outcome of that earnestness that swayed the clerical world, and generated those many religious orders whose one ruling thought was how best they could interpret the spirit of God's law and not the letter. It seems as if the great tone-master was anxious to show us that he wrote under the influence of a strong will that impelled him to combat the doubts that had arisen in the Church, and probably in his own heart, and that by writing tones born of the heart, and inspired by the grace of God, he might overthrow the reproach that his faith and his art were merely outward and visible symbols.

Besides those compositions which we have named already, Lotti wrote

* The *a capella* C minor "Crucifixus" for eight voices originally formed part of a "Credo," wherein it stood between two choruses, which were accompanied by a five-part string orchestra. The first of these two choruses, marked *Allegro assai*, has the following phrase for the orchestral basses:—



This and the "Resurrexit" which follows the "Crucifixus" bear the character of the Neapolitan "zopf" style which, during the first half of the eighteenth century, affected all Italy. It presents the most striking contrast to the pure and elevated style of the "Crucifixus." We also note another pure *a capella* "Crucifixus" for several voices, in a mass by Antonio Caldara, the fellow-pupil of Lotti, and a master of the new Venetian school. The manuscript of the "Credo" referred to is now in the possession of the King of Saxony. It is asserted by some to be an autograph of Lotti's, but we believe it to be an old copy made in Venice.

twelve *duetti da camera*, and several madrigals for four and five voices. The collection of "Duetti, Terzetti e Madrigali," dedicated to the Emperor Joseph, brought him sorrow and pain in a manner as regrettable as the authors are censurable. First, his compatriot and contemporary Bononcini, a man of inferior talent, produced Lotti's beautiful madrigal, "In una siepe ombrosa," in London, as a work of his own; and secondly, Marcello, a gifted pupil of Lotti, though never rising to such heights of genius as his master, published an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Lettera Familiare," in which he violently attacked the volume dedicated to the Austrian Emperor. Neither do the domestic relations of Lotti appear to have been of the happiest. He had allied himself to Santa Stella, the most celebrated dramatic singer of Bologna, who had also played the principal rôle in many of his operas. She was possessed of a large fortune, and had, prior to her marriage with Lotti, whose junior she was by many years, lived rather a free life. Her conduct during her wedded life embittered the master's existence, and caused him to retire deeper and deeper into his own mind. But in his old age one ray of sunshine came to gladden his heart. It was a commission from the Venetian Republic to write the festival music in celebration of the betrothal of the Doge with the sea, an honour which was conferred only on the greatest living master. For this ceremony he wrote the now famous madrigal "Spirito di Dio," or "Madrigale per il Bucintoro," so called from the ship on which it was sung for the first time. It is of a bright joyous character, and is perhaps the best State composition that has appeared from the whole of the State composers of the Venetian Republic.

Of the many pupils of Lotti we may name Marcello, Giuseppe Saratelli of Padua, the Church composer Pescetti, the sonatist and singer Domenico Alberti, and Galuppi, an excellent composer of opera buffa. Another important master of the new Venetian school was Caldara, the fellow-pupil of Lotti under Legrenzi. Caldara was born in 1678 at Venice, and died there 1763. Although his writings are not in the grand, impressive style of Lotti, yet he is worthy of mention for solidity of work and earnestness of purpose. He began his musical career—like many of his predecessors—as a simple chorus-singer in St. Mark's Church. In 1714 we find him chapel-master to the Duke of Mantua, and four years later chapel-master at Vienna, where he indoctrinated Emperor Charles VI. in the so-

called *galant* Venetian style. In 1736 his opera *Themistocles* was performed, and in 1738 he resigned his appointment in the royal household of Vienna to return to Venice, which he never afterwards

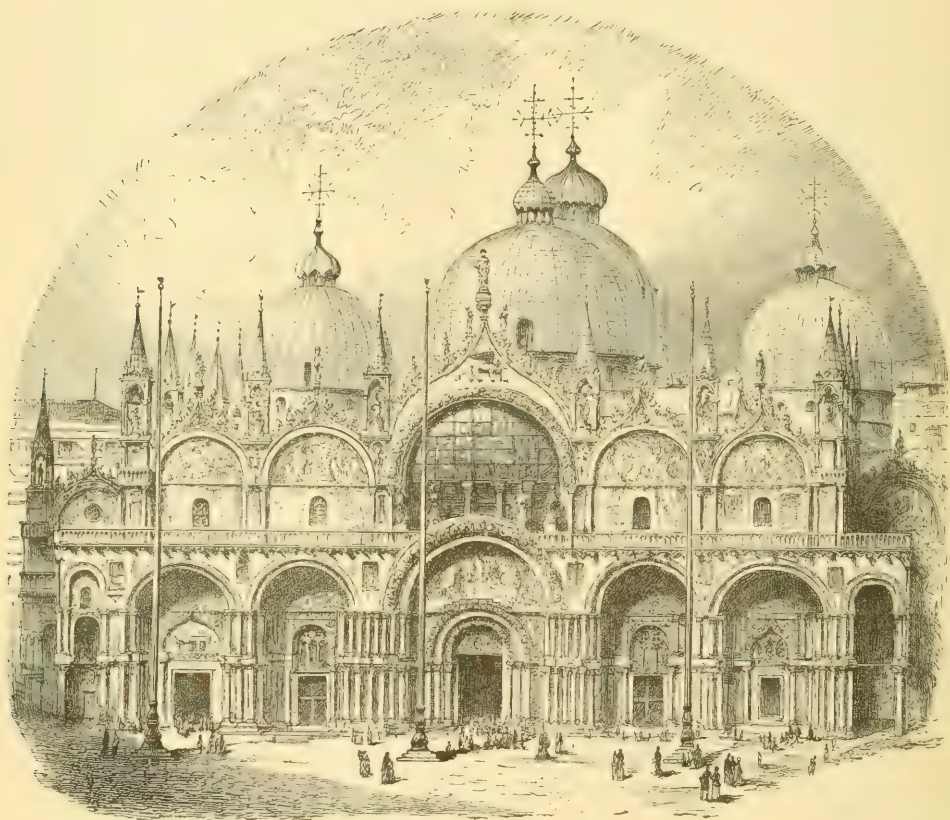


Fig. 217.—St. Mark's, Venice.

quitted. As a writer, Caldara was one of the most prolific. Besides sixty-nine operas and a great number of extremely beautiful madrigals, he is also known to have written a large number of oratorios: *The Conversion of King Clodric of France*, *The Triumph of Innocence*, *St. Francisca of Rome*, *The Revolt of Absalom*, *The Ascension of the Blessed Virgin*, &c. He further wrote innumerable works for the Church, of which

Vmo Madrigale a 4 Voci d' Anto Cald.

Poesia dell' Alonso
Sig. A. M. Luchini

Del' uom la vita è un sogno, e ad occhi aperti il bene e il mal trav-ve-de il

Del' uom la vita è un sogno, e ad occhi aper- ti il bene, e il mal trav-ve-de, il

Del:

Lute.

Bene il mal trav-ve-de il bene e il mal, e ad occhi aperti il bene e il mal trav-ve-de trav-ve-
mal, e il mal il bene e il mal trav-vede, e ad occhi aper- ti il bene, e il mal trav-ve-
l' uom la vita è un sogno, e ad occhi aperti il bene, e il bene e il mal trav-ve-de trav-ve-
Del' uom la vita è un sogno, e ad occhi aper- ti il bene e il mal trav-vede trav-ve-

a sixteen-part "Crucifixus," republished in 1840 by Teschner, is especially interesting. Caldara treated his quadrupled four-part choir like a vocal orchestra, blending his masses of tone-colour in a most masterly manner. His "Crucifixus" is strangely in contrast with that of Lotti, whose conception is impregnated with sorrow's darkest night, whilst Caldara's is the triumph of the Cross over sin and sorrow.

Following Caldara, we come to Tommaso Albinoni (1670—1742), a great violinist and composer for his instrument. He is credited with the composition of forty-two operas, all of which received a public performance. Antonio Vivaldi (1670—1743), like his contemporary, was also a great violinist, composer, and writer of operas. With Benedetto Marcello (1686—1739) we close the list of masters of the new Venetian school. In those days it was deemed a great honour to be a member of the musical profession. Marcello, himself a noble and one of the highest judicial functionaries of the Venetian Republic, was proud to be considered a professional musician, and always asserted his right to be regarded as such. He is celebrated as a composer of Psalms, fifty of which were published in full score at Venice, between 1724 and 1727, in eight large volumes. The accompaniments are written for clavicembalo or organ with a figured bass, or for obbligato stringed instruments, *e.g.*, one violoncello, or two violas, &c. The musical form in which these Psalms for one, two, three, or four voices is composed is that of a cantata. Short fugue and imitative phrases alternate with recitatives, cantilenas, arias and duets, all of a noble and dignified character. The beauty and grandeur of Marcello's Psalms have certainly not deteriorated with age. Amongst his greater works are the two oratorios, *The Enthroning of the Virgin* and *Judith*, and the cantatas *Psyche*, *Cassandra*, and *Timoteo*. He also wrote several sonatas and concertos for various instruments in the *galant* style, and a beautiful "Miserere," and a number of masses in the polyphonic style.

About the time that our tone-poets began to develop a more animated style of vocal part-writing and elaborate thematic working we observe progressive tendencies in the great Italian school of organists so similar in character that we incline to the belief that they all originated in the same cause. In itself it is a curious fact that nearly all the famed organists of Italy should have lived in the plain of Lombardy adjoining the Venetian Republic. We will enumerate a few of the most noted.

Ottavio Bariola, composer and publisher at Milan in 1594 of four volumes of "Capricci ovvero Canzoni" for the organ; Borghesi (1590), organist of the Church of La Scala at Milan; Giuseppe Guammi, second organist of St. Mark's, Venice, up to 1595; Grillo, Fillago, Berti, and Neri, successive organists at St. Mark's from 1619 to 1644; Girolamo Diruta, organist at the Venetian fishing town of Chioggia; and the Ferrarese Luzzaschi, considered by Claudio Merulo the greatest organist of his time; Fattorini, organist at Faenza, near Ravenna; Maschera of Cremona, noted for fugue imitations of the French canzone; Banchieri (1567—1634), organist at Bologna; and lastly, Alessandro and Francesco Milleville, at Ferrara—the latter of whom was the master of the great Girolamo Frescobaldi.

The geographical proximity of the home of the great Italian organists to Venice contributed largely to the speedy propagation of the same ideas among the organists of the plain and the tone-poets of the city, which at once explains the simultaneous growth of the same progressive tone elements among the two sets of masters. During the early part of the seventeenth century organ-playing underwent a change more radical perhaps than any that has occurred at any other period of its history. From the semi-vocal style of the two Gabriellis we have the immense step onward of Claudio Merulo to give to the organ a more *instrumental* character than it had hitherto enjoyed, and although his attempts were of the crudest, yet were they pregnant with future good. It was on the art of Claudio Merulo, with its demands for a fuller polyphony, that Bach and Händel based their grand style of organ composition. The deep earnestness and grand solemnity of expression which permeates the organ-writing of these sixteenth and seventeenth century masters, a seriousness which we have shown to pervade the vocal writings of Lotti and his disciples, has led us to class these north Italian organists with the masters of the younger Venetian school. The greatest of the above-named organists was the Ferrarese Frescobaldi. Receptive to a degree, he more than any other master successfully reproduced the teachings of his neighbouring countrymen, and proved himself as great a liberator in freeing instrumental music from the trammels of early traditions as Lotti, scarcely a generation later, showed himself in the field of sacred vocal music.

In the same manner that an impetus had been given to the art of violin-making by the special passages and figures written for that instrument,

and by the consequent increased skill of the performer, so the new style of writing for the organ which grew up in the north of Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century led to improvements in the structure and mechanism of that instrument. Among great organ-builders the first name that arrests our attention is that of the German Bernhard, who also obtained repute as an organist in Venice in 1470. In his time the keys of the organ were of such enormous dimensions that they had to be struck either with the whole hand, the clenched fist, or the elbow. These he transferred to the feet (the first pedal keys), though even then greatly reducing their extent, and supplied the fingers with keys proportioned to their size and adapted to their strength. The keys

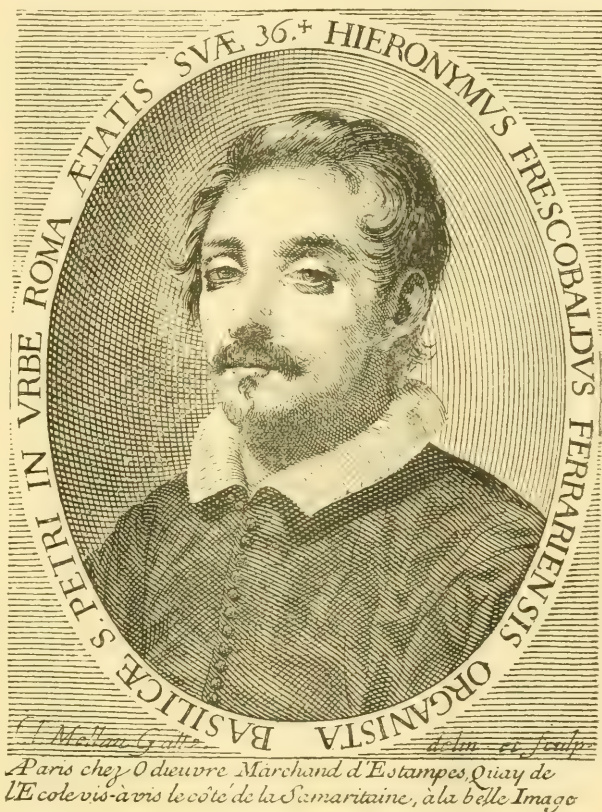


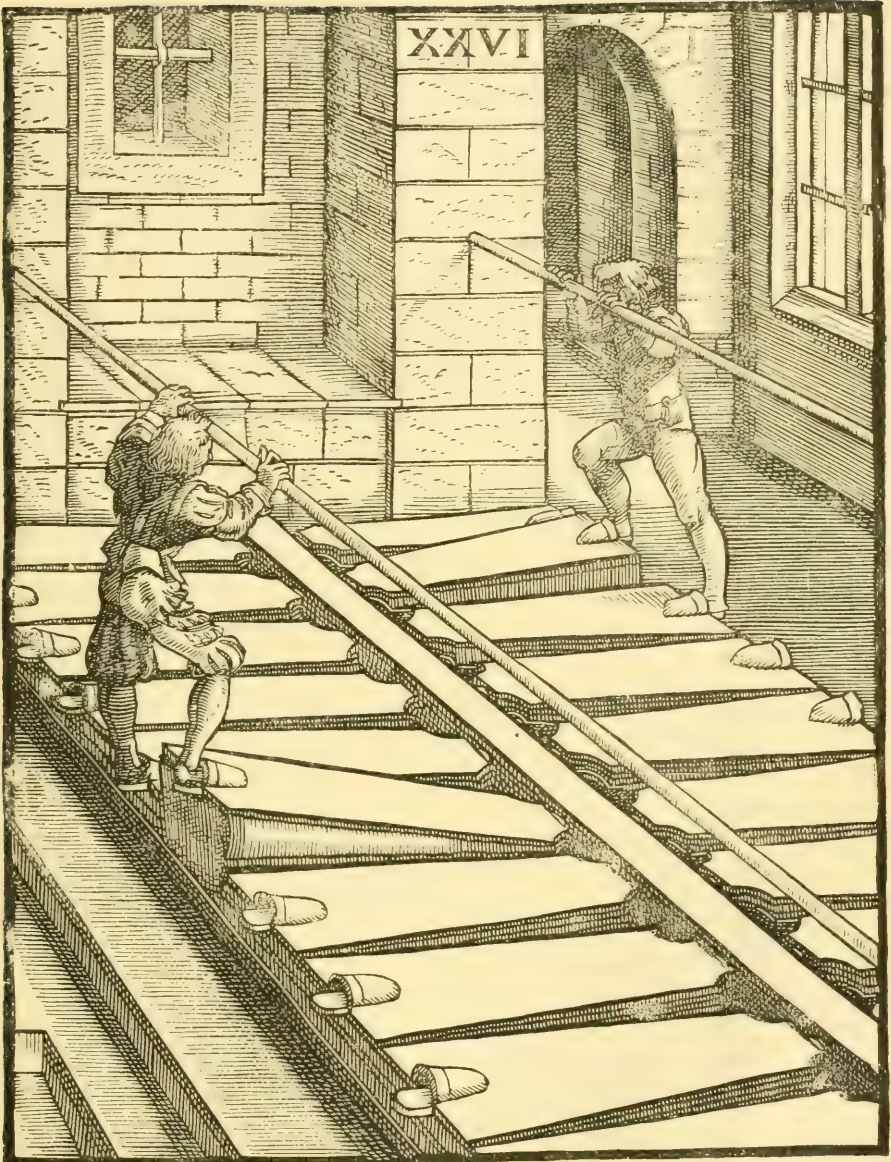
Fig. 218. —Girolamo Frescobaldi.

of the old organs were each of the surprising superficial dimensions of one and a half yards square. The performer could therefore only strike one at the time. Harmonic combinations were impossible. But with the growth of polyphony an instrument was demanded that should be capable of rendering grand tonal combinations; and from the end of the fifteenth century

improvements began which have resulted in making the organ perhaps the greatest and grandest of modern solo instruments, capable of meeting all the requirements of the polyphonic art. It is surprising that even as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, organs were still built with much the same old unsuitable keys as those of the old instrument. The bellows, too, proportionate to the size of the keys, were inconceivably large, and, what will be deemed strange, they were made still larger, from the time of Bernhard until 1587—about the time of Frescobaldi's birth—to obtain, it was said, a more perfect and continuous stream of sound. From the "Syntagma" of Praetorius (vol. ii.), published 1619, we print an illustration of these enormous bellows as they existed in certain places in Germany during the lifetime of that writer, showing also the manner in which they were put into motion. The bellows-room is stated by Praetorius to have been erected as early as 1325 in the cathedral at Halberstadt, and to have remained unchanged up to 1619 A.D. In this room were set up twenty bellows, each of the size of an ordinary smith's bellows, and requiring ten men to put them into motion. To the end of each bellows was affixed a wooden shoe, into which the treader inserted one foot, and thus worked two bellows alternately.* The mechanism of the organ was not sufficiently perfected until the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century (after the invention of the wind-chest, bellows, couplers, and tell-tale) to admit of the virtuoso performances of a Frescobaldi.

Girolamo Frescobaldi was born in 1587 or 1588, at Ferrara. When young he left his native country, where many skilful organists lived, and travelled to Belgium, there to study organ-playing. This circumstance has for some time puzzled commentators, but we think the correct solution is that offered by Ambros, who is of opinion that François Milleville, the master of Frescobaldi, either found traces of Netherlandish doctrines in Venice, or introduced them there, and that he indoctrinated his pupil with these, thus filling the youthful expert with the desire to continue his studies under those who had been the masters of his countrymen. In 1608 Frescobaldi returned to Italy, and took up his residence in Milan. In 1615 he was appointed organist of St. Peter's, at Rome. At

* The old chronicler Wolstan, a Saxon monk, states in reference to an organ erected in 951, at Winchester, that it had fourteen bellows requiring the large number of seventy treaders.



Blasbälge und Calcanten, so zu der zeit bey derselben Orgel gebranche worden.

Fig. 219. — Organ-Bellows and Blowers.

(Given by Prætorius, Table XXVI., in his "Syntagma Musicum.")

an early age he seems to have acquired great renown as a performer, for when but twenty-seven years old it is said that at one recital which he gave in the cathedral about 30,000 persons were present. We do not know in what year the master died, but the last reference we have to him is that made by Della Valle in 1640.

The chromatic scales and dissonances employed by the masters of the old Venetian school were oftentimes undigested, and, as a rule, were harsh in sound, but employed by Frescobaldi they conduced to clever part-writing full of deep and earnest expressiveness. The old Greek enharmonic system which the musical Renaissance sought to resuscitate was rejected by him as worthless. Other musicians prostrated themselves before Greek theory and zealously strove to revivify its complicated and unpractical enharmonic scale; but Frescobaldi, with the keen perception of a genius, saw its utter futility, and at once discarded it. His gift of harmony was great. In his compositions for the organ his harmonies are both novel and daring, and we admire and praise their effectiveness. He was a master of ancient as well as modern tonal contrivances. In some of his Church compositions, when contrapuntally treating a Gregorian melody, he cleverly employed the old Church modes; whilst in his *Ricercatas* and *Canzonas* he depended solely upon the modern system of scales. The double counterpoint, too, of the old French school, which, with the exception of its partial use by Orlando di Lasso, who was fully cognisant of its worth, had fallen into disuse, was cleverly revived by him in many of his organ pieces, the third, fifth, and tenth being more frequently used than the inversion at the octave. To Frescobaldi, more than to any other Italian organist, is due the praise of freeing the organ from its subserviency to vocal music. By a skilful employment of the instrumental fugue in his *Ricercatas*, instead of the hitherto vocal canon, he unquestionably prepared the way for Lotti, Scarlatti—yes, even Bach and Händel. Several of these *Ricercatas* are to be found in a collection of organ compositions published by Frescobaldi at Rome and Venice under the fanciful title of "*Fiori Musicali*," or "*Musical Flowers*."

Finally we note the appearance in the north of Italy about this same period of a number of compositions for stringed instruments not unlike the *a capella* works of the younger Venetians. In them we find the same striving to infuse into the tonal art an intensity of

expression, the pointing and elaboration of a subject, and a more connected weaving of the parts, to all which we drew attention as characteristic of the works of the new Venetian school. The Chaconne of Antonio Vitali is perhaps the best selection we could make as exhibiting these distinctive features. To this we might add the variations of Arcangelo Corelli, entitled "Les Folies d'Espagne," and some pieces by Locatelli and Francesco Veracini. Similar characteristics to those in the Ricercatas and Toccatas for the organ we also find in the Capriccio and Chaconne variations for strings. The principal motive in these forms is the reproduction of the subject under various conceptions, each more passionately and logically developed. In this respect they should be properly classed with the *Variations sérieuses*. The upgrowth of such a number of new forms, both *a capella* and instrumental, among the younger Venetian masters of northern Italy, points to the influence of the Renaissance and the consequent mental stimulus given, not only on the tonal art, but also on religion and politics. In the south of Italy, about this time, music, as we shall see, was the reflex of quiet, cheerful contentment. There is none of that restless striving after the unknown so characteristic of the writings of the north Italian masters. But though it had a very worthy beginning, its very tranquillity was its downfall. It soon showed signs of a shallowness that prepared its falling away into the *Zopf* or pig-tail mannerism of the Neapolitans. The serious attempts of the northern Italians to keep the tonal art on a level with its high mission ultimately led, in their reactionary influence upon Germany, to the greatest successes and noblest results of music.

CHAPTER XVII.

MUSIC IN ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE TUDORS.

IN England the art of music in the Middle Ages did not run a course completely parallel to its course in other countries. There was evidently, it will be remembered, a knowledge of melody and harmony amongst the English people in the thirteenth century, as is proved by the existence of

such an elaborate and at the same time melodious composition as "Sumer is ieuinen in." But it is much to be regretted that so very little of the popular music of that and the following century has been preserved. The monks, indeed, studiously cultivated the plain song of the Church, and doubtless they occasionally ventured upon original settings in harmony, founded on that plain song. But it is certain that nearly all the music which may have been stored up in the monasteries was destroyed and lost at the time of their dissolution. Possibly, however, this loss is not really so great as it might at first sight appear, for the old ecclesiastical music was naturally opposed to progressive development; it was essentially unharmonic, moreover, and although doubtless often harmonised, yet the harmony could not but suffer from the peculiarities of the Gregorian modes in which all Church melodies were written. The popular music of the outer world, on the other hand, was bound by no such fetters, and the greater part of it was apparently composed in the same major and minor modes which are still in use amongst us.

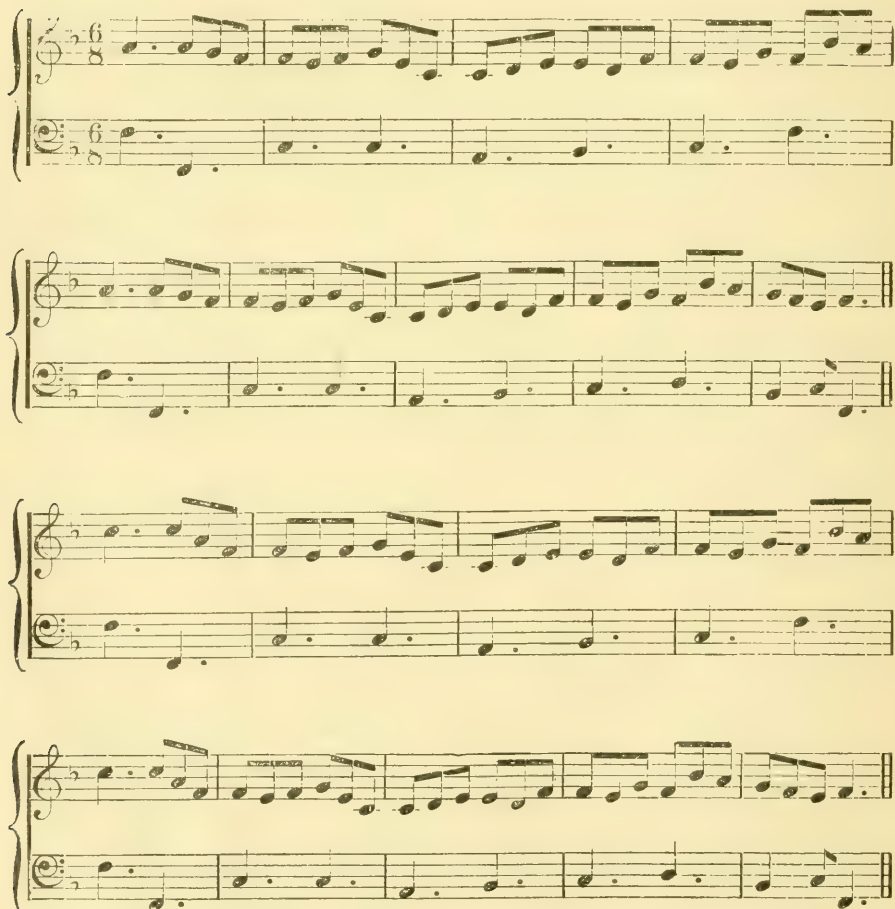
It is, then, to secular rather than to sacred art that we must look, when we wish to note the advances which were made towards perfection in the days before the Reformation. And it is in the popular ballad, handed down by tradition, or in the old dance tune formed upon still older songs, that the folk-music of our ancestors was mainly preserved. At the same time it should be borne in mind that scholastic music was cultivated by the learned monks according to the traditions of Boethius and the improvements made thereon by successive theoretical writers, of whom mention shall be made presently. Moreover, at Oxford and Cambridge, music was recognised in the Middle Ages as an important element in education. All learned arts and sciences were in those days comprised under two heads—the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*: the former comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; while the latter consisted of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.

As was shown in a former chapter, King Alfred is said (according to the annals of the Church of Winchester, and other testimony) to have founded a Prælectorship of Music at Oxford, about the year 866. Friar John, of St. David's, was the first who filled the chair of music. It is very uncertain at what period academical degrees in this faculty were first conferred, but it is certain that in 1463, Henry Habingdon took the degree

of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge, and about the same time Thomas Saintwix, Doctor of Music, was made Provost of King's College in that university. To show that secular music was greatly in advance of that for the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it will not be amiss to give a specimen printed in John Stafford Smith's "*Musica Antiqua*," of a dance tune, taken from an ancient manuscript now in the Bodleian Library, the notation of which is of the same period as that of "*Sumer is ieuemen in*," *i.e.*, about 1250. The bass is a modern addition.

No. 220.

OLD ENGLISH DANCE TUNE.





On this very curious specimen Dr. Crotch observes: "The abundance of appoggiaturas in so ancient a melody, and the number of bars in the phrases, four in one and five in another, nine in each part, are its most striking peculiarities. It is formed on an excellent design, similar to that of several fine airs of different nations. It consists of three parts, resembling each other excepting in the commencement of their phrases, in which they tower above each other with increasing energy; and is altogether a curious and very favourable specimen of the state of music at this very early period."

It is also a fact worthy of remark that this piece, like "*Sumer is iumen in*," is in the key of F major, and not in any of the Church modes, and is in strict conformity with the rules of modern music in its closes, which are uniformly composed of a leading-note rising to its proper resolution. This goes a long way towards proving that our modern tonality was natural and spontaneous among our ancestors, although strictly excluded from the music of the Church, and ignored by all the theoretical writers on harmony for three centuries after that date.

The old Saxon glee-men were gradually merged in the minstrels of the Norman period, and great privileges were frequently accorded to the latter, proving how very popular such music was among men of every rank of life. At the same time it is plain that these strolling musicians sometimes so conducted themselves, either by indulging in personalities, or by espousing the cause of dangerous politics, or by general habits of extortion, as to bring down upon them special legislative enactments and forcible

repression. The same may be said of the Welsh bards, who were a great power in Wales, and who occasionally made use of their influence to inflame the people against their rulers. Indeed, the common idea has been that in consequence of this the Welsh bards were exterminated by Edward I. But this probably is unfounded in fact. Sharon Turner truly says: "That Edward ordered a massacre of the Welsh bards seems rather a vindictive tradition of an irritated nation than an historical fact. The destruction of the independent sovereignties of Wales abolished the patronage of the bards, and in the cessation of internal warfare and of external ravages they lost their favourite subjects and most familiar imagery. They declined because they were no longer encouraged." Edward I. was, in truth, a great patron of minstrels and harpers. It is said that his life was saved by his harper in the Holy Land in 1271. In 1306, again, when he held a great *court plénière* on the occasion of his conferring the honour of knighthood on his son Edward and many others, the money spent on the great concourse of minstrels amounted to about £200, which would be equal to about £3,000 of our money. And this is only a sample of the lavish expenditure on minstrelsy which prevailed in those days.

In Chappell's admirable "Popular Music of the Olden Time," from which most of the foregoing facts are taken, and which should be studied carefully by all who desire to follow the history of music in England minutely, so many anecdotes and curious pieces of information about minstrels are given, that it is difficult to select the most striking. Amongst other matters he says: "On the capital of a column in Beverley Minster is the inscription 'Thys pillor made the meynstyrls.' Five men are thereon represented, four in short coats reaching to the knee, and one with an overcoat, all having chains around their necks and tolerably large purses. The building is assigned to the reign of Henry VI. (1422—1460), when minstrelsy had greatly declined, and it cannot, therefore, be considered as representing minstrels in the height of their prosperity. They are probably only instrumental performers (with the exception, perhaps, of the lute-player); but as one holds a pipe and tabor, used only for rustic dances, another a crowd, or treble viol, a third what appears to be a bass flute, and a fourth either a treble flute, or perhaps that kind of hautboy called a wayght, or wait, and there is no harper among them, I do not suppose any to have been of that class called minstrels of honour, who rode on horseback with

their servants to attend them, and who could enter freely into a king's palace." And a little further on (page 32, vol. i.) he says: "No poets of any country make such frequent and enthusiastic mention of minstrelsy as the English. There is scarcely an old poem but abounds with the praises of music." And he proceeds to give numerous quotations in proof of this, from Chaucer and other poets.

In the statutes of New College, Oxford,* drawn up by the founder, William of Wykeham, in 1380, the scholars are ordered to amuse themselves by singing in the hall after dinner, on festival days; and doubtless this greatly tended to the advancement of music, and specially of part-singing, at the university. At the coronation of Henry V. in Westminster Hall, in 1413, we read that "the number of harpers was exceedingly great;" and that "the sweet strings of their harps soothed the souls of the guests by their soft melody." There is extant in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge a song composed on the victory at Agincourt in 1415, which is given by Burney in his "History of Music," vol. ii., and also by J. Stafford Smith, in his "Collection of English Songs," published in 1779. Chappell only gives the melody of a part of this song with new harmonies.

A SONG ON THE VICTORY AT AGINCOURT (1415).

No. 221.



* Extract from the Statutes of New College, Oxford.—"R. 18. *De morâ non faciendâ in aulâ post prandium et cenam.*—Statuimus ordinamus et volumus, ut singulis dicatur post prandium et cenam, seniores singuli ad studia sua vel loca alia se conferant, nec juniores alios ibidem moram facere ulterius permittant nisi in festis principalibus et festis majoribus duplicibus, et nisi quando disputationes aut alia negotia ardua collegium tangentia immediate post in aulâ debeant perstratari, aut nisi quando ob Dei reverentiam ac suæ matris, vel alterius Sancti cujuscunque, tempore hyemali ignis in aulâ sociis ministratur; tunc scholaribus et sociis post tempus prandii aut cœnæ liceat gratiâ recreationis in aulâ in cantilenis et aliis solatiis honestis moram facere concedentem, et poemata, regnorum chronicas, et mundi hujus mirabilia, ac cætera quæ statum clericalem condecorant, serius pertractare."

Owre Kyng went forth to Nor - man - dy, With

grace and myght of Chy - val - ry; The God for

hym wrought marv - lus - ly, Where - fore Eng - londe may

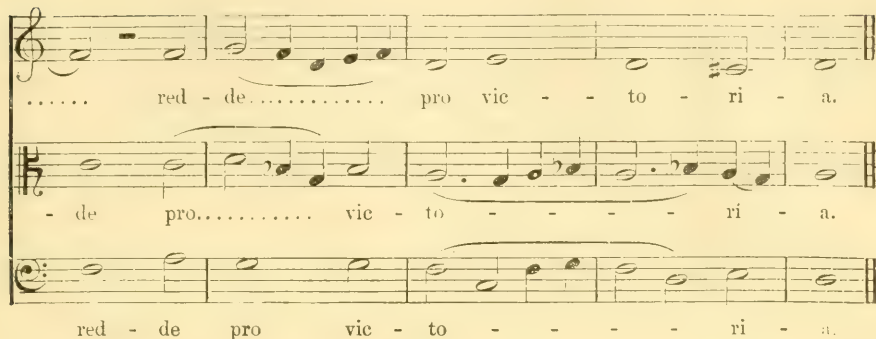
calle, and cry: De - o..... gra - - ti - as.

CHORUS.

De - o gra - ti - as An - - gli - a.....

De - o gra - ti - as An - - gli - a..... red -

De - o gra - ti - as An - - gli - a.....



The principal features of this song are—First, that it is written in the Dorian or first authentic mode; from which one may conclude that it was composed by an ecclesiastic, or under ecclesiastical influences. Second, that the melody is tolerably regular, though the harmony is far from good. It may be taken as a fair sample of the music of the period.

Minstrelsy flourished more or less from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation, but under somewhat varying conditions. Mr. Chappell rightly remarks: "The invention of printing, coupled with the increased cultivation of poetry and music by men of genius and learning, accelerated the downfall of the minstrels. They could not long withstand the superior standard of excellence in the sister arts, on the one hand, and the competition of the ballad singer (who sang without asking remuneration, and sold his songs for a penny) on the other. In little more than fifty years from this time they seem to have fallen into utter contempt." But although minstrelsy declined, other forms of music flourished more and more as time went on, and the whole taste of the country was being gradually educated and matured for that Augustan period of English musical art which was one of the principal glories of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

In Mr. Chappell's book, to which reference has been made, there is ample proof of the proficiency of our ancestors in the composition of ballads and songs. Of their Church music we have hardly any remains till the days of the Tudors, when we find the names of several eminent ecclesiastical musicians recorded, such as John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, John Sheppard, and Hugh Aston. Others who were nearly contemporaneous with these survived the Reformation, and must therefore be considered in

another chapter. On the whole it may be said that Church music before the reign of Henry VIII. would appear to have been far behind secular music, and inferior to what was composed then in other countries.

England, however, during the period we have been considering, was prolific in clever and learned theoretical writers on music, some of whom deserve to be mentioned. Not to insist too strongly on the English nationality of the clever didactical writer John Cotton, whom Gerbertus conjectures to be the same as Johannes Scholasticus, a monk of Treves, who lived about 1050, it may fairly be urged that the two ideas are reconcilable, inasmuch as many Englishmen entered foreign monasteries, and the name of John Cotton is purely English, as every one must admit. But putting John Cotton on one side as doubtful, there still remain several well-known early theorists concerning whose English nationality there can be no uncertainty at all. The earliest is Walter Odyngton, who was probably born somewhere between 1180 and 1190. He was a monk of Evesham, and was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1228, but the Pope disallowed the appointment. He is supposed to have lived till about the year 1250. In the library of Christ's College, Cambridge, there is the only known copy of his treatise, "*De speculatione musicæ*," the only work of his which has come down to us. This is a very valuable book, because it gives a vivid and correct notion of the state of the art of music at the time it was written. It has been printed and edited by De Coussemaker in the first volume of his admirable "*Collection of Ancient Musical Treatises*," and is worth studying on account of the variety of topics it embraces. It is divided into six parts. The first and third contain remarks on the scale and the proportions of intervals; they also give the ratios of the length of stretched strings, and of organ-pipes; and also of bells, being the earliest known work which treats of this last subject. The second part is about consonances, and the harmonic relations of intervals. The fourth speaks of Latin prosody. The fifth is devoted to the notation of the ecclesiastical plain song. The sixth part treats of mensurable music after the system of Franco, and also of harmony, such as was taught in the thirteenth century; it contains examples which will repay perusal. Walter Odyngton is known to have written treatises on astronomy, and other scientific subjects; but they have not come down to us. However, there can be no doubt that he was one of the most learned and versatile

writers of his period. Stevens, the translator and continuator of Dugdale's "Monasticon," speaks of Odyngton as "a man of facetious wit, who, applying himself to literature, lest he should sink under the labour of the day, the watching at night, and the continual observance of regular discipline, used at spare hours to divert himself with the decent and recommendable diversion of music, to render himself the more cheerful for other duties. Whether at length this drew him from other studies, I know not, but there appears no other work of his than a piece entitled 'Of the Speculation of Music.' He flourished about 1240."

Another English writer on music who deserves mention is Simon Tunstede. He was born at Norwich about the year 1310, or perhaps somewhat earlier, and became a Franciscan monk, a Doctor of Divinity, and ultimately head of his order. In music he was greatly skilled. His death is said to have occurred in 1369. There are two treatises on music by this author in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The title of the former is "*De Musicâ continuâ et discretâ cum diagrammatibus, per Simonem Tunstede, ann. Dom. 1351.*" The latter is entitled "*De quatuor principalibus in quibus totius musicæ radices consistunt.*" This latter treatise has been edited and printed by De Coussemaker, and is, as he truly observes, of great value as forming a link uniting the musical systems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The next worthy who comes before us is Robert De Handlo, an English writer on music of the fourteenth century. Of his life nothing is known, except that in the year 1326 he wrote a treatise entitled "*Regulæ cum Maximis magistri Franconis, cum additionibus aliorum musicorum, compilatæ à Roberto de Handlo.*" The original manuscript of this valuable work was destroyed by fire, but luckily a copy of it was made by Dr. Pepusch, which is now in the British Museum. It has recently been published by De Coussemaker in the first volume of his admirable collection, "*Scriptorum de Musicâ mediæ ævi novam seriem, à Gerbertinâ alteram collegit nuncque primum edidit E. de Coussemaker*" (Paris, 1864). It is divided into eighteen chapters, principally treating of musical notation, on the system of Franco of Paris (not Franco of Cologne, as Fétis asserts), and also mentioning the names of Petrus le Visor, Johannes de Garlandiâ, and other writers. It is referred to by Thomas Morley in his "Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music," published in 1597, and was evidently regarded

as a standard text-book for several centuries. Morley also refers to a treatise on music by Lionel Power, which appears to have been written about the middle of the fourteenth century. Sir John Hawkins speaks of this treatise as though he had seen it, but is uncertain whether it exists at present. Of Power nothing whatever is known. One feature of interest in his treatise is the fact that it is written in English of the Chaucer period, and not in Latin as all the other treatises were.

We now come to Ælred Theinred, whom Fétis wrongly names David Theinred, and who is cited by Moreri as Thinred. Of the life of this learned musician nothing whatever is known, but he seems to have been a Benedictine monk, and precentor of his monastery at Dover. In 1371 he wrote a treatise on music which is now in the Bodleian Library, and which is entitled "*De legitimis ordinibus Pentachordorum et Tetrachordorum.*" It is an interesting and tolerably exhaustive dissertation on tones, keys, and intervals.

The next English theorist who comes before us, and who was also celebrated in his day as a composer, is John Dunstable, who was born about the year 1400, and died in 1458. He is quoted or referred to by many of the greatest writers on music in the succeeding century as a very great authority. Tinctoris especially mentions his improvements and discoveries in the following terms: * "*The source and origin of this new [form of musical] art, if I may so speak, is to be found among the English, of whom the chief musician was Dunstable, with whom Dufay and Binchois were contemporaries in France.*" Gafforius, Morley, and Ravenscroft attribute to Dunstable a treatise on mensurable music, which has apparently been lost; but so many extracts from his didactical works occur in subsequent treatises, and so many references exist to his compositions, that no doubt can remain as to his excellence as a musician, nor as to the many admirable improvements he inaugurated. He shares with Dufay and Binchois the merit of having got rid of the gross successions of fifths and octaves which abounded in the crude harmonies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as of simplifying the movements of the voice-parts, and imparting to the general effect of the music a vigour and a smoothness which did not exist before. In short, Dunstable may fairly

* "*Cujus, ut ita dicam, novæ artis fons et origo apud Anglicos, quorum caput Dunstaple exstitit, fuisse exhibetur, et huic contemporanei fuerunt in Galliâ Dufai et Binchois.*"

be regarded as one of the greatest benefactors to musical art. Dunstable was buried in St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, and his epitaph is recorded by Weaver, in his "Funeral Monuments" (fol. Lond. 1631), p. 577, and although not a very fine specimen of Latinity, we give it in a footnote on account of its curiosity.*

The next name which comes before us is that of John Hamboys, or Hanboys, who is remarkable as being the first known recipient of the degree of Doctor of Music. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown, but Holinshed mentions him as having flourished in the reign of Edward IV., while Pits and Bale speak of him under the year 1470; and it is probable that this was near the close of his life. Bishop Tanner credits him with the authorship of a work called "*Summum artis Musicae*," which begins with the words "*Quemadmodum inter triticum*;" but Burney and others have shown that this treatise is really by Tunstede, who wrote nearly a century earlier. There exists, however, another treatise of which John Hamboys is the undoubted author, called "*Musica Magistri Franconis cum additionibus et opinionibus diversorum*." It ends with these words, "*Explicit summa Magistri Johannis Hamboys, Doctoris Musicae reverendi, super musicam continuam et discretam*." De Coussemaker has printed this treatise in the first volume of his "Collection of Treatises," to which we have already referred.

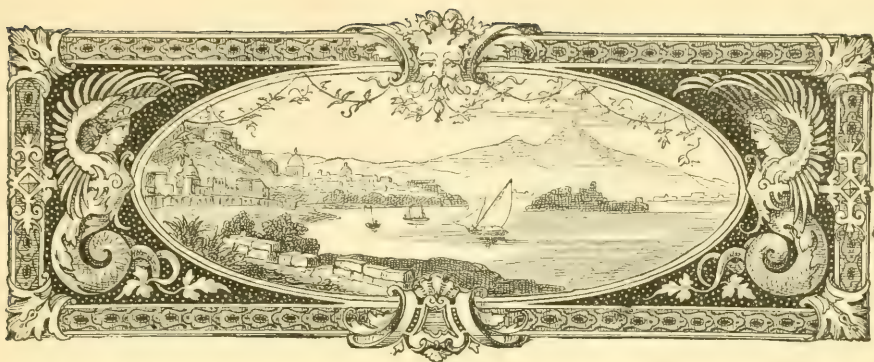
There is only one more writer on music of whom mention need be made in this chapter, and that is John Hothby (or, as his name is written in Latin, Ottebi, or Hothbus), who is usually regarded as a musician of the fourteenth century. De Coussemaker, however, has shown that he undoubtedly lived a century later, inasmuch as in one of his works he mentions many fifteenth century composers as his contemporaries; and moreover, in a manuscript copy of a work by De Muris, the scribe mentions having copied it for Hothby in 1471, and launches into praises of his master. De Coussemaker

* "*Musicus hic Michalus alter; novus et Ptholomeus,
Juniór ac Atlas supportans robore cælos,
Pausat sub cinere; meliør vir de muliere
Nunquàm natus erat; viciĩ quia labe carebat.
Et virtutis opes possedit unicus omnes.
Cur exoptetur, sic optandoque precetur
Perpetuis annis celebretur fama Johannis
Dunstapil; in pace requiescat, et hic sine fine.*"

also quotes some very laudatory verses about Hothby, which occur in the same manuscript. Hothby appears to have been a Carmelite monk, and a Doctor both of Theology and Music. He lived long at a monastery at Ferrara, and after visiting Spain, Germany, and France, finally settled himself at Florence about the year 1440. The exact date of his death is unknown, but may be conjectured to be somewhere about 1480. He wrote several admirable treatises on music, of which De Coussemaker has printed two.

Music in England underwent so great a change during the reigns of the Tudors, that it will perhaps be better to reserve the history of that period for another chapter. But it will be seen that even in the less known time which we have been briefly describing, England was by no means devoid of musical celebrities, and did not at all merit the contemptuous silence with which its music has been too frequently passed over by foreign writers, and also, alas! by our own musical historian Dr. Burney. Moreover it is plain, from the researches of Mr. Chappell and others, that in England there had been, from the earliest times of which we possess any record, a *true national style* of secular music, quite distinct from that of any foreign nation. With this remark we will close this important chapter, and will resume the history of English music in a chapter devoted to the great Madrigalian Epoch in this country.

F. A. G. O.



THE GRADUAL DECLINE OF MUSIC WITH THE ROMANCE NATIONS, AND ITS RISE WITH THE GERMANS.



F the first half of the great musical epoch of which we have last treated, and which might fitly be termed the period of the musical Renaissance, excites our enthusiasm, and inspires us with admiration for its great masters and their works, the second half shows a decline in style, in realistic expression and in purity of form. Should we ask what led to this decay, we find ourselves confronted with a natural law. As in the visible world so is it in the mental world; the bloom follows the germ to be developed into fruit and finally to decay. The highly-gifted people of Italy, the most closely associated with the revived classicality of the fourteenth century, show themselves by origin and history the most receptive of nations, being at the same time those who, through their impressionable, passionate nature, evolved the grand schools of Venice, Rome, and Florence. And chief among the Italians swayed by the study of the antique stand the Tuscans. This influence is more apparent in their dramatic than in their Church music. Certainly the great master Palestrina cannot be said to have stood in immediate relation to the Renaissance, yet his works bear evident traces of its influence. In the smoothness and clearness of his melodic outline, and in the gentle toning down of all crudities and contrasts, we see that refinement which could only have arisen through the culture of the Renaissance. Further, the enchanting euphony that pervades the Roman works is identical with the

harmonic beauty of form in their plastic art. His freeing the voice from the meshes of Netherland counterpoint is also to be attributed to the Renaissance. To a certain extent these remarks apply to the whole of the masters of the old Venetian school, the richness of their tonal colouring in those grand double choral compositions seeming to reflect that joyous conception of life engendered by the classical revival, so well expressed in the oft-quoted phrase of Hutten, a German poet of the sixteenth century, "What joy it is to live in such an age."

But the outburst of musical art during the early part of the fifteenth century was not entirely owing to the influence of the reanimated plastic art brought about by the revival of the antique. In part it was due, as we have seen, to the Reformation and its reactionary effect on Italy. What had been achieved in the tonal art up to the end of the seventeenth century remained for some time its highest state. There was, indeed, a temporary progressive period under the Neapolitans (which we shall shortly refer to), but it was of such a nature that it was immediately followed by a calm, if not indeed by a decided relapse. The history of civilisation and of art teaches us that when a certain stage has been reached it is invariably followed by a decadence. And thus it was with music in Italy. The decline was brought about the sooner, perhaps, and in a more positive manner, by the mannerism which affected the southern peoples both in their conception of the antique, and the attitude of Rome towards Christendom. The Italians as a nation were not much dominated by conventionalism. They did not—or at least to the same extent—look at the world from that one-sided national point of view which characterised others who were affected by the Renaissance. Still, they could not escape the wave of subjectivity that swept over the southern nations of the seventeenth century in their conception of the antique and Christianity. And subjectivity in art always leads to mannerism, and in Italy it took the form of the Rococo. The Rococo was therefore identical with the *Zopf* style to which we have alluded, and during the time that the Italians remained the leaders of musical thought, *Zopf* was disseminated throughout the musical world.

But notwithstanding the decline of the tonal art, it was ordained that the art-treasures which the Italians had bounteously given to the

world during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries should not be lost, but should be preserved and brought forth again invigorated with new life to lead to more glorious ends. And it was the Germans, the then principal pupils of the Italians, who were destined to preserve the pure and good in music, and to transmit its beauties without its disfigurements. It is but the evolution of a natural law that when one nation begins to decline in art or science, another is ready to rise and carry on the work. Up to the appearance of Luther the Germans had been the pupils of the Netherlands, and with the death of the great Reformer they went over to the Italians. It was the firm self-reliance of this grand man that brought the German nation to a sense of their own strength. With this knowledge ever present, they acquired a mental freedom and power of discrimination which enabled them to detect that which was spurious in music and that which was genuine; and though but the pupils of another nation, they held fast to the good and cast away what they saw was the mere fashion of the moment. Not but that a great number of German musicians also succumbed with their Italian masters to the prevailing mannerism. The *Zoppf* style might be easily traced in the writings of many worthy German masters of the latter part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But from their midst appeared Schütz, Hammerschmidt, Kerl, Froberger, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Reinken, Scheidemann, Fux, Christopher and Michael Bach—men who, in their compositions and theoretical writings, transmitted the grand and imperishable style created by their Italian teachers. These men rescued and transmitted in its purest form—*i.e.*, without any of the disfiguring mannerisms—all that they had received from the leaders of Venice and Rome. It was owing to the efforts of these Germans that those great men, George Frederick Händel and Sebastian Bach, achieved their successes, and began that grand epoch of musical genius in Germany. With keen musical perspicuity they saw what was great in the work of their predecessors, and began their own studies at that high point where the Italians had left off. The phenomenon of the Germans of the middle of the nineteenth century resuscitating the works of Gabrieli, Palestrina, Lotti, Scarlatti, and their most successful pupils, and by public performances invigorating them with a new life, arose from that same clinging to the pure and good in art which had characterised their

forefathers. With the exception, perhaps, of the officials of the Vatican, the bulk of Italians of to-day neither know the works of their great countrymen, nor even the names of the composers. This resuscitation of old Italian work was due to the fact that Germany was temporarily exhausted of her genius, and sought for the best music in the works of other nations; and remembering whence the grandeur of her own masters had received its first impulse, they turned towards Italy and sought out Palestrina and his countrymen, honouring themselves and their masters by public performances of their greatest works.

The Germans, in the second half of the great epoch during which Italy reigned supreme in musical Europe, occupied an entirely different position to that held by them in the first half. In the first half they were more receptive than productive. This will be at once evident if we compare the works of Leo Hasler, Gallus, Prætorius, Aichinger, and others, with those of their Italian teachers. Yet they occasionally gave signs of much promise of a national German style, though not so great as those of Melchior Frank and Gumpeltzheimer. In the second half of this epoch the German masters began to assert their individuality more than heretofore. The principal workers among them adopted only so much of Italian art as contained germs capable of further development, or promised to be of value in the future. They only followed the fashion of the period when ordered to write a special work for some grand occasion, which was then written in the shallow mannerism of the Italians.

But the musical decadence which began about the middle of the seventeenth century must not be regarded as a general flood that, bursting all its natural and proper boundaries, inundated the tonal schools of classical Italy. Even the Neapolitan school, though it became later the hotbed of mere conventional mannerism, had its origin in a high and pure style. Its foremost figure, Alessandro Scarlatti, is entitled to take rank beside Gabrieli, Scarlatti, Palestrina, and Lotti, the representative chiefs of the remaining classical tonal schools of Italy. Even when mannerism was at its height, it could not entirely extinguish the germs of true art. Musicians with real feeling, like Hasse, Graun, and Naumann, though pupils of the Italians and unable to escape wholly the contaminating influence of the prevailing mannerism of the day, yet by their innate talent proved them-

selves vastly superior to the mediocre composers who, falling into the *Zopf* rut, produced all its defects with no relieving artistic features.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century the outlook of the tonal art was but poor. Conventionalism and affected mannerism threatened to engulf the pure and the ideal, and would in all probability have done so, had not the Germans boldly come forward to the rescue. What they had acquired during a century and a half from their Italian teachers, which had been filtered through their peculiarly logical minds, was now to be given forth, fashioned according to their own individuality, to attain for them that high position in the musical world which they have ever since maintained.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI AND THE NEAPOLITAN SCHOOL.

WE have followed the institution and development of two celebrated tone-schools at mystic, religious Rome and enchanting Venice, and we shall now witness the growth of another famous school in worldly, frivolous Naples. It might at first seem strange that a serious tone-school of the severest classicality should have originated and flourished among such a pleasure-seeking people as the Neapolitans; but when the eye contemplates the picturesque situation of their city, and gazes on the surpassing beauty of its environments, one no longer feels surprised, but would think it strange indeed if such an earthly paradise had not cradled and fostered at least one of the fine arts. If it be true, as the myth tells us, that Venus sprang from the sea, it surely must have been from the deep blue waves of this lovely bay in which are reflected, with the distinctness of a perfect mirror, the many beauties of the city. And if a style of music that should charm the senses by its bewitching grace was to be generated anywhere, the charming city of Naples—nestling in the lap of a landscape so beauteous that it might rival the fairy garden of Armida—gently washed by blue waters, across which one can almost fancy one hears the dulcet strains of the seductive sirens or the mournful plaint of the sorrowing Ariadne, was the place. If it be asked, in what special feature did the charm and beauty of

Neapolitan music lay? the answer would be, in its graceful and enchanting melodic outline—the tonal mirage of the captivating landscape. The people of Sicily and the ancient Parthenope were the inheritors of a richer treasure of folk-songs and dances than any other people of Italy. These melodies lent themselves readily to the development of solo-music. Scholastic polyphony was at a discount, and choral song, both sacred and secular, prospered under a treatment that gave to each voice a tuneful melodic form. So successful were the Neapolitan masters in the invention of graceful melody, that their school has been described as representing “the beautiful” among the various tone-schools of the classical era; whilst from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century the compositions of the Roman tone-masters were described as “grand and elevated.” We practically acquiesce in this judgment, but still the statement should only be accepted when accompanied with some explanatory modification. The writings of Palestrina—*e.g.*, his Passion music and a few Penitential Psalms—are perhaps best summed up in the words “grand and elevated,” but there are many which, where the text has demanded a soft and gentle treatment, may with truth be said to represent the beautiful as fully as any of the melodic outpourings of the Neapolitan masters. These latter of the Præneste teacher’s works may be appropriately compared to the canvases of Perugino and Raphael, which can only adequately be described by the epithet “beautiful.” On the other hand, the eight-part “*Tu es Petrus*” of the Neapolitan Scarlatti fully deserves the Roman designation “grand and elevated.” In describing the styles of the schools of Rome and Naples, the two schools of Venice have been lost sight of, and yet both the old and new possessed characteristics as firmly marked as either the Roman or Neapolitan. It seems to us that instead of recognising only two classical Italian tone-schools, it would have been far more correct to have admitted four, extending over a period of two centuries, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. And we think that, bearing fully in mind the peculiarities and general characteristics of each of these four schools, we might fairly describe the Roman as breathing deep piety transfigured with seraphic beauty; the old Venetian rich with the many hues of a full tonal colouring; the new Venetian as pathetic and elevated; and the Neapolitan as possessing

sensuous grace and majestic charm, this last school degenerating by its outward attractiveness into the *Zopf* style, losing itself in affected grandiloquence and sensuous mannerism. It must be understood that this classification is based upon the works of the great masters only of each school, and that the writings of less prominent masters, varying according to the composer's individuality, do not fall within these four groups.

The Neapolitan school dates from the fifteenth century, its earliest well-known master being Tinctor. But in the same manner that we drew a distinction between the schools founded at Rome by the Flemish Goudimel and the Italian Palestrina, so now we distinguish between that instituted at Naples by the Netherlander Tinctor and the institution, two centuries younger, founded in Italy by Alessandro Scarlatti. Both Goudimel and Tinctor established their schools on Italian soil, but the doctrine taught was Netherlandish. Those instituted by Palestrina and Scarlatti were almost entirely the outcome of purely native talent, based upon Italian doctrine and Italian method. It may be asserted that Palestrina had the advantage of being under the immediate influence of Netherland theory. Admitting this, the same cannot be asserted with reference to Scarlatti, between whom and Tinctor a period of two centuries had elapsed, during which time Neapolitan music was far more strongly dominated by Roman theory and Tuscan music-drama than by Flemish principles. No, Scarlatti was indeed the real father and founder of the Neapolitan school. There is only one instance of a school founded by a Netherlander in Italy taking a permanent place among the musical institutions of the country. That was the one established by Willaert in Venice, the style of which was adopted by the two Gabriellis, subsequently forming the basis of that of the new Venetian masters.

We will now return to Scarlatti and his immediate predecessors. The first we shall notice is the gifted Alessandro Stradella, born 1645 at Naples, assassinated in the public highway of Turin in 1681 by banditti hired by a rival with whose mistress he had eloped. To judge from the oratorio works that Stradella has left, we should say that he had been a careful student of the writings of the Roman master Carissimi. The many oratorios, madrigals, duets, and solo cantatas written by Stradella are very little known, owing, no doubt, to their being nearly all in manuscript,

no publisher having been found venturesome enough to introduce them to the public.

There is one beautiful and melodious aria, "Se i miei sospiri," by Stradella, which even at the present day finds a place in our programmes. Burney, referring to his oratorios, says that *San Giovanni Battista* and *Susanna*, composed between 1676 and 1681, were the most celebrated. In 1678 appeared *La forza dell' Amor paterno*, an opera written for Genoa, conceived and developed entirely on the lines of the Tuscan music-drama. As a singer and violin performer Stradella was highly esteemed, and was considered almost the best of his day. As a composer he does not seem to have had any influence upon his contemporaries in propagating a special school.

Alessandro Scarlatti, the greatest of Neapolitan composers, was born in 1649, and died at Naples on the 24th of October, 1725. The birth-place of the master is said by some to have been Naples, and by others Trepani, a village in the kingdom of Sicily. Up to 1680 Scarlatti was a pupil of Carissimi. In that year he left Rome for Vienna and Munich (a statement questioned by some writers), returning thence to Naples, where he was appointed court chapel-master. Here he remained till his death, actively engaged in teaching and composing. He was a most prolific writer, the enormous number of two hundred masses, over one hundred operas, and more than four hundred cantatas, besides several oratorios and a countless number of motets, psalms, sacred concertos, madrigals, and serenades being placed to his credit. As a teacher his fame was known over the whole of the musical world, and pupils came far and near to learn from the gifted Italian. As versatile in accomplishments as productive in composition, he is said to have excelled as an organist, pianist, harpist, singer, and conductor. In this last capacity Corelli speaks of him in the highest terms, and refers to several concerts given by the Neapolitan choir under Scarlatti's direction.

As a composer Scarlatti was greatest in his sacred works. It is these that specially represent the "Neapolitan style," a style which for nearly a century retained a high place in the musical world. After the master's death no one was found capable of maintaining the standard of excellence set up by the fruitful Neapolitan, and it consequently deteriorated and fell away into the merely pleasing, *galant*, and popular operatic. Scarlatti was

a clever contrapuntist, and a perfect master of the strict counterpoint of the Netherlanders (*vide* his Mass, "Quatuor vocum ad canones"). He united to the grand polyphonic technique of the previous century the best of those modern momentous new art-elements and skilful contrivances—the monody, music-drama, and oratorio—and infused into the tonal art a vitality which has remained to our day. The old polyphonic forms which formed the framework of his compositions were hidden under beauteous melody and skilfully interwoven vocal parts. Involuntarily we are reminded of Lotti, in whose writings also two periods meet. With Scarlatti the severe harsh outline of the forms used by the old canonical contrapuntists was softened by free graceful melody. It was greatly to his advantage that he employed the old Church style, because in it he had ready made a form impregnated with deep religious earnestness. In place of the old strict thematic counterpoint he substituted a freer development of parts so musicianly worked out that the result was the growth of a new and vigorous Church style, which rapidly gained adherents amongst musicians and soon the favour of the people.



Fig. 222.—Alessandro Scarlatti.

(Taken from an Engraving in the "Biografia degli Nomini Illustri del Regno di Napoli," Naples, 1819. A Copy of an Oil Painting by Solimène.)

As a dramatic writer and imitator of the form of the Tuscan music-drama, Scarlatti exercised a great influence over his Neapolitan successors for the best part of a century. It was the fortune of the master to live and work in a city that could boast of a theatre, established in 1665, when he

was sixteen years of age, by a company of Florentines devoted solely to the production of music-dramas. This Thespian hall was known as the Florentine theatre as late as the latter part of the last century. To the young student the grand dramatic performances which were so often given were a source of great profit. To Scarlatti melody was everything. His dramas abound with vocal phrases in the place of the declamatory rhetoric of the Tuscans. As a means to the prolongation of melodic phrases, he made use of the *da capo*. The repeat denoted by the *da capo* was first employed by Tenaglia in his opera *Clearco*. Scarlatti eagerly seized on this form, and without neglecting entirely its Florentine declamatory character, improved its melodic contents, and by frequent use it soon became an acknowledged form of art. By his extensive employment of melodic song, Scarlatti proves himself the real father of the opera. His aim was to give more prominence to the music than to the words. Under the Florentines, music was subordinated to poetry, but with Scarlatti, poetry became the handmaid of the tonal art. In cultivating this, he and his followers departed at every step from the *Dramma per musica*, and helped music to its right place in the opera. But in giving to melody the place of honour, he paved the way for that inevitable decline of dramatic truth and musical expression which set in soon after his death. With the invention of the monody, its degeneration went on with amazing rapidity. The great solo singers who were then appearing before the public made melody a mere peg on which to hang their virtuoso artifices. They degraded the musical drama to a stage concert, with no higher aim than the exhibition of the vocal skill of the expert. In Scarlatti we see the father of all Italian operatic writers almost up to the time of Rossini. He is the parent not only of the Neapolitan musico-dramatic school, but of those of Venice, Rome, and Milan, which, indeed, we might say are comprised in that of Naples. As a sacred tone-poet Scarlatti's name is imperishable, but as an operatic writer he will ever be associated with the *Zopf* degeneration, not so much by reason of his own writings, but that in elevating melody to the disadvantage of dramatic expression, he was so misunderstood by his own pupils—his son Domenico, the German master Hasse, the Italians Durante and Logroscino—and numerous imitators, that he must certainly be regarded as the precursor of that pretentious kind of rhetorical mannerism. If we reflect

that without Scarlatti's opera, its melody, and its somewhat arbitrarily fixed art-forms, we should have had no Gluck or Mozart, we feel how great the merits of the man were, and forget in our just praise his demerits as the progenitor of the declamatory decay, which began immediately after his death, through the extensive use he had made of melody. Gluck's success was owing to the combination of melody with Florentine rhetoric, and Mozart's, the union of both melody and rhetoric with profound German harmony.

The invention of the *da capo* has often been ascribed to Scarlatti, but this is erroneous, and belongs, as we stated above, to Tenaglia. Again the improved opera recitative, accompanied by orchestral painting descriptive of the dramatic situation, was not, as is also generally believed, the outcome of Scarlatti's genius, but to that of Monteverde. We even question Scarlatti's claim to the invention of the Italian overture, which has a *grave* movement between two *allegro*, in opposition to the French, which has a quick movement between two slow ones, believing as we do that it existed before him, and that he only adopted it and impressed it as he did other forms with his own genius, giving to them style, and establishing their right as forms in the art of music. The ascription of so many forms to Scarlatti proves how a grateful posterity loves to heap the merit of anonymous inventions on the head of one man: and, in the operatic art, who of all others showed himself more likely than Scarlatti the chief of a school, and a master who astonishes us by such extraordinary fertility?

The *da capo* aria employed by Scarlatti consisted of three parts: (1) the chief subject; (2) episode; (3) repetition of the opening theme. The third part was subsequently embellished by *floriture*, a practice which was not unfrequently carried to excess. The various parts of Scarlatti's arias were of limited extent, but fifty years later, to please the vocal expert, they were drawn out to inordinate length. Scarlatti introduced his arias with an instrumental prelude, and interlarded them with occasional ritornellos.

Very little that is authentic is known of the worldly circumstances and life of this master. Commentators agree, however, that in his old age his genius did not meet with that public recognition which was its due, many minor masters, and even empty pretenders, passing him in the public favour. Towards the close of his life he was surrounded by a number of grateful

pupils who, conscious of the great work he had accomplished, honoured and tended him. When on a visit to Rome shortly before his death, he met Händel, then a youth, who greatly admired him and paid court to him. It was also a source of much satisfaction to him to know that in his son Domenico he would leave a worthy representative of his name behind him. Scarlatti seems to have been on friendly relations with some of the best known musical writers of his time, as we find him composing an aria for Legrenzi's opera *Oloaker*, and several other pieces for Lotti's opera *Porsenna*. After the great master was dead, the world began to grow conscious of its loss; and as the years have rolled by, and greater attention has been devoted to his works, the inventive genius and musicianly treatment that speak through them all have become more and more apparent.

Scarlatti was an extremely quick worker. To sketch the outline of a cantata for orchestra was the work of one day. We no longer pause, then, in wonderment at the enormous number of works his fertile brain created. To detail the master's works would be uninteresting to the general reader; we shall therefore name but a few of the most important: Oratorios—*I dolori di Maria sempre Vergine* (Rome, 1693); *Il Martirio di Santa Teodosia* (Rome, 1705), score now in the National Library of Paris; *San Filippo Neri* (Rome, 1718), for four voices, string orchestra, and lute, written in honour of Neri, the friend of Palestrina; *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Johannem*, for chorus, violin, contralto, viola, and organ; two "Stabat Maters," one *a capella* for four voices, the other for female voices and orchestra, probably written for one of the academies of Naples of which he was the director. We select but two masses, one for six and one for five voices, the latter of which is in the archives of the Chapel Royal at Naples; a ten-part "Missa pastorale," with violin and organ accompaniment; a Requiem for four voices; "Concerti Sacri," published by Roger of Amsterdam (of these, the Abbé Santini of Rome possessed several in manuscript); a grand *a capella* "Miserere," the manuscript of which is now in the Papal Chapel; "Laudate," a psalm for soprano, contralto, bass, string orchestra, and organ. Then follows his lyric tragedy *Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia*, an intermediary form between the oratorio and opera. Of his many operas we mention the three-act *Teodora* (Rome, 1693), *Pirro e Demetrio* (Naples, 1697), *Trionfo della Liberta* (Venice, 1707), *Mitridate* (Venice, 1713), *Carlo Rè d'Allemagna* (Naples, 1716), and

Griseida (Rome, 1721). Of minor works the best are his cantatas, eight volumes of which are now in the Conservatoire of Paris; also about twenty madrigals for several voices; one of which, embodied in Padre Martini's "Esemplare di Contrapunto Fugato," is a specimen of clever artistic work. Early in 1725 the German musician Quanz paid a visit to the aged Scarlatti, then seventy-six years old, and found him in full possession of his mental and physical powers, and actively engaged in teaching and composing, but in the autumn of the same year the energetic master died. He was buried in the Carmelite Chapel of St. Cecilia at Monte Santo. Upon the monumental stone that marks the spot where the great master lies is an inscription in Latin setting forth his immortal merits.

Scarlatti left behind him several clever pupils, the two chief of whom were Greco, noted as a contrapuntist, born at Naples, 1680, and Francesco Durante (1684—1755), the favourite of the master. In 1742 Durante held the post of Professor in the Loretto Conservatorium at Naples. Whilst his style leaned towards the melodious, his euphonic combinations were of the purest. His domestic relations were not very happy: married three times, each marriage seems to have proved unfortunate. As a composer he deserted the stage entirely in favour of the Church, for which his works, principally *a capella*, were conceived in a vein as serious and profound as the melodies were graceful and tuneful. His well-known "Misericordias Domini," sung in our own day by all Church choirs in Germany, is remarkably tuneful and sparkling. An eight-part "Dixit" in D major, to which is added an accompaniment for orchestra, must also be mentioned on account of its brilliant and effective part-writing.

Whether Emmanuel Baron d'Astorga, born in Sicily in 1681, was an immediate pupil of Scarlatti is uncertain. However this may have been, a number of his compositions bear the Neapolitan impress. His celebrated "Stabat Mater" abounds in pathetic and passionate expression, and excels every similar work of his Sicilian and Neapolitan contemporaries. A German writer, Riehl, attributes the thrilling effect created at the words "Pertransivit gladius" in this "Stabat Mater" to the ineffaceable emotions which filled the heart of the youthful student in 1701. When but twenty years of age he was the sad and unwilling witness of the public execution of his father, who had revolted against the Spanish tyranny in Sicily; and the writer goes on to remark that it would seem as if, in

the setting of the words "Pertransivit gladius," Astorga had endeavoured to depict the anguish of soul he experienced at the moment the sword descended on his father's neck. Astorga died in 1736.

Closely associated with Durante and Astorga was Leonardo Leo, a prolific composer of both secular and sacred works. Although admired by his contemporaries, he debased his art by striving after effect merely for the sake of effect. Yet his writings, compared with those of the then degenerating Neapolitan Church composers, contained sufficient intrinsic merit to be regarded as classical. His best effort was perhaps an eight-part "Miserere," a work full of imposing grandeur; next an admirable "Ave Maria" for soprano, strings, and organ, distinguished by earnestness of expression and purity of style; lastly, many motets, very effective owing to the novel harmonies employed in them.*

It is curious that, side by side with the "Scarlatti style," which naturally prevails in the works of the pupils of the great Neapolitan, we trace the clearest evidences of the "Palestrina style." The latter must therefore have had an influence extending far into the eighteenth century. Scarlatti himself composed several pieces *alla* Palestrina; and following his example, Durante and Leo each wrote a "Missa" *alla* Palestrina. As to-day the power to write an instrumental or choral fugue is regarded as a test of an ordinary musician's capabilities (notwithstanding that the fugue form has been superseded by that of the sonata), so was it then deemed essential to a Neapolitan master's reputation that he should compose at least one piece *alla* Palestrina. In some parts of Europe the "Palestrina style" was cultivated by zealous churchmen as a protest against the profane styles of Venice and Naples. To the orthodox believer the animated movement of the music of these two schools, and the partial use of the orchestra in the accompaniment of choruses, were of the world worldly. But amongst musicians generally, as also amongst severe divines, the "Palestrina style" was admired and accepted as representing the highest expression of earnest simplicity of faith. Germany also paid homage to it, Schütz and his contemporaries occasionally

* Our author hardly does justice to Leo, in the opinion of the editor. There are extant several settings of the psalm "Dixit Dominus" by this clever and fertile composer, besides some oratorios and other sacred compositions, which nearly come up to the style of Alessandro Scarlatti in grandeur and originality.—F. A. G. O.

writing *alla* Palestrina. Naturally the majority of the Catholic courts of the seventeenth century lent their countenance to the "Palestrina style," if only to injure its more popular but worldly Neapolitan rival. Juan IV., King of Portugal, an ardent patron of art and composer, himself wrote in the orthodox manner. We are able to present to the reader an example of that prince's skill, the "Crux Fidelis," which we believe is now published for the first time. It leans to the soft and tender of the Palestrina style rather than to the grand and elevated.*

"CRUX FIDELIS," COMPOSED BY KING JUAN OF PORTUGAL (1604—1656).

No. 223. *Andante molto sostenuto.*

dolce. p

SOPRANO. *p*

ALTO. *dolce. p*

TENOR. *dolce. p*

BASS. *dolce. p*

Crux fi - de - - - - lis in - - -

Crux fi - de - - - - lis in - - ter..

Crux fi - de - - - - lis in - - -

Crux fi - - de - - - - - lis in - ter

* A copy of this composition, made by the late Professor Heimsoeth, an eminent philologist, and enthusiastic collector of old Church music manuscripts, has been in the possession of the author since 1852. As it does not appear that Don Juan's work exists anywhere in print, it is presumed that the professor copied it from one of the numerous collections of manuscripts existing in Italy and the Rhenish provinces. The original may be either in the Vatican or in the Royal Library at Lisbon. Fétis, in the second edition of his "Biographie des Musiciens," tom. iv., p. 436, says in reference to Juan: "Jean IV., ne se bornait pas à cultiver la musique en amateur; il composait de la musique d'église." In 1649 the king published at Lisbon a musical paper entitled "Defensa de la Musica Moderna contra la errada opinion del opiso Cyrillo Franco." The paper did not enjoy a long existence, its first and last number appearing within the twelvemonth; but it is recorded that in its final number there appeared three four-part pieces without the names of the composers, and we think it probable that this same "Crux Fidelis" may have been one of the three.

The "Crux Fidelis" is the last example we purpose giving in notes, the multitudinous works which now begin to crowd the musical horizon being either too elaborate in score or of such easy access that the necessity of specially printing them no longer exists.

- ter om - - nes, ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis, *dolce.*
 om - - nes, ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis, *dolce.*
 - ter om - - - nes, ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis, *dolce.*
 om - - - - nes, ar - bor u - na no - - - bi - lis,

nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert. Fron - de, *p*
 nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert. Fron - de, *p*
 nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert. Fron - de, *p*
 nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert. Fron - de,

flo - re, ger - mi - - ne dul - ce lig - - - *p*
 flo - re, ger - - mi - ne..... dul - ce lig - - - *p*
 flo - re, ger - mi - ne..... dul - ce lig - - - *p*
 flo - re, ger - mi - - - ne dul - ce lig - num...

p *fz* *dolce. p.*
 - num dul - ces cla - - - - - vos
p *dolce. p.*
 num dul - ces cla - - - - - vos
p *dolce. p.*
 num dul - ces.... cla - - - - - vos
p *dolce. p.*
 dul - ces cla - - - - - vos

p *p* *p* *p*
 dul - ce pon - dus sus - - - - - ti - net.
p *p* *p* *p*
 dul - ce pon - dus sus - - - - - ti - net.....
p *p* *p* *p*
 dul - ce pon - - - - - dus..... sus - ti - net.
p *p* *p* *p*
 dul - ce pon - dus sus - ti - - - - - net.....

In Spain also, during the seventeenth century, the "Palestrina style" found many admirers and imitators. The first to introduce it into that country was Tomas Luis de Victoria, called in Italy Tommaso Ludovico da Vittoria, born at Avila, in Spain. In 1575 he was appointed chapel-master of the Apollinari Church at Rome. He would therefore have been a contemporary of Palestrina, and doubtless a witness of the grand successes of that great master, and perhaps joined in the universal acclamations that greeted him on the appearance of the "Missa Papæ Marcelli." The compositions of Vittoria bear the Palestrina impress

impregnated with a certain national feeling that reminds us of the works of his earlier compatriots Ortiz and Morales, both of whom were pupils of the Netherlands in Spain and Rome. Indeed, knowing that they studied at Rome, we might almost look upon them as fellow-pupils of Palestrina under Goudimel.

We have repeatedly alluded to the use of the orchestra by the classical writers of the Neapolitan school in their compositions for the Church. That a very extended use was also made of it in their works for the stage is undoubted. In both we recognise the influence of the Tuscans. The Neapolitans as well as the Romans gladly availed themselves of the new discoveries of their northern countrymen. Yet Scarlatti, with the full knowledge before him of what his clever Tuscan compatriots had achieved, did not venture to make so bold a use of the orchestra as they had. His instrumentation throughout, and in this he was followed by his school, was much simpler than that of Monteverde, Cavalli, Cesti, and others. In many of his sacred works, the head of the Neapolitan school restricted himself to the use of strings. Scarlatti had a predilection for strings, and used them largely in his operas. One reason why he so seldom employed wind instruments was owing to their defective construction and uncertainty of keeping in tune for any length of time. It was this, no doubt, that induced him, when writing for an *obbligato* solo instrument to accompany his arias, to invariably select a string instrument. In a few instances only in his orchestral scoring did he employ a combination at all similar to the modern. As an example we cite his opera *Tigrane*, in which he used first and second violins, violas, basses, double basses, two oboes, and two horns.

We have noticed the special favour with which the violin was regarded in the north of Italy, its adoption as the instrument of the virtuosi and the consequent improvements effected in it, and now, for similar reasons, we shall observe the development of the pianoforte among the people of central and southern Italy, whose marked preference shown for it in their writings will at once account for the attention devoted to it. The first clavicinist of note was Domenico Scarlatti, son of Alessandro Scarlatti, who, by his numerous masterly writings for his favourite instrument and his skilful playing, brought it greatly into favour, and gave an impetus to

harpsichord manufacture productive of much good. As it was entirely owing to the great demands made on the mechanism of the instrument by the writings of Domenico, his contemporaries, and a few masters both before and after him, that the construction of it was so vastly improved, we propose to turn to the history of that now popular instrument.

The early history of the clavier, or piano, has presented many difficulties to the investigator. He found the same name used in different periods and applied to totally different instruments. Its origin was as involved as that of the violin. But by a most careful study of the results of all the prominent investigators many discrepancies have been explained, and a more accurate and succinct account of the origin and development of the piano is now presented than has hitherto been possible.

We begin with the Greeks and their most primitive stringed instrument the *Monochord*. Neither this nor any other stringed instrument in use among them possessed a finger-board, and with the exception of the monochord they were all struck with the plectrum. The use of the monochord was for fixing pitch, the different intervals being obtained by the shifting of a movable bridge that divided the string into the required lengths. A variety of the monochord was the *Helicon*. This possessed several strings, and therefore required a resonance box of greater width than the monochord. Both monochord and helicon were transmitted to the Christian nations. Guido of Arezzo used the simple monochord in teaching his choristers the intervals. He it was who named the spaces between the indicated distances on the resonance body *claves*, or keys. Soon after Guido a four-stringed "monochord" appeared, invented to give the four authentic tones and their plagals. From this was developed the *Clavichord*, the keys of which were provided with brass levers, pegs, and plates, the whole being called a *tangent* or little hammer, the word *claves*, as indicative of the keys, being still retained. The tangents were invented so that the required tones could be produced at once, and without the trouble of moving the bridge. As it was now fashioned, any sound within the compass of the instrument could be at once obtained, and from this time it dates its existence as a musical instrument capable of being *played* upon. Hitherto its sole purpose had been to indicate pitch. The period of this metamorphosis can in no case be put earlier

than the year 1350, Italy being the country to which belongs the honour of initiating these important improvements.*

About this same time the *Clavicembalo*, the second important instrument of the precursors of the piano, was also undergoing a transformation. The Clavicembalo, or Cembalo, called in Germany *Clavicymbel*, in France *Clavecin*, was an instrument identical, as regards its cardinal features, with the *Virginal* and *Spinetto*, German *Spinett*, French *Épinette*. The progenitor of the clavicembalo was the *Psaltery*. The oldest cembali, like the mediæval psalteries, have the longest strings in the bass,

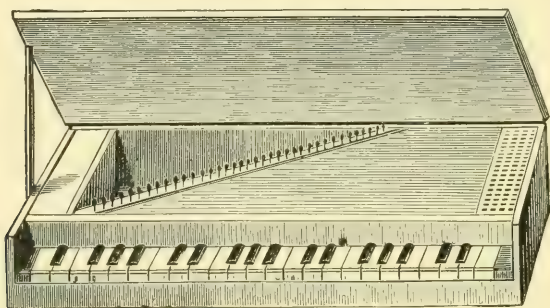


Fig. 224.—Clavichord.

(From Wasielewski's "History of Musical Instruments," Table 1, Letter A.)

decreasing in length as the tones become higher. Owing to the disposition of the strings, the resonance cases of the two instruments were very similar, possessing either the shape of a triangle or trapezium. The plectrum used in striking the strings of the psaltery was replaced in the cembalo by raven-quills, so disposed that on a performer striking one of the keys the string was *pulled* and a pizzicato effect resulted. The quill was the distinguishing feature of all keyed instruments

* The development of the clavichord from the monochord is supported by the well-ascertained fact that at the time Willaert flourished, young ladies of distinguished families who were educated in the convents of Venice received instruction on the monochord. The Italian poet and savant Bembo, writing to his daughter Elena in 1529, alludes to her skill on the monochord. Zarlino, the pupil of Willaert, whose attempts as a chromatic writer we have already noticed, had a clavichord constructed (according to some a *spinet*), for the purpose of possessing an instrument with chromatic notes. Claudio Merulo also, it will be remembered, acquired fame as a clavicembalist as well as organist.

of the cembalo family, and the tangent or little hammer of those of the clavichord. For this reason, every offshoot of the clavicembalo, whether called clavicymbel, harpsichord, spinet, or virginal, received the generic name of *Instrumento da penna*—i.e., quill instrument. The compass of the old clavichord of the fifteenth century consisted of twenty-three notes, beginning from the Guidonic lowest G (the Greek gamma Γ). The clavichord and spinet were made without legs, the support being a table, or some kindred piece of furniture. Even the largest of these instruments, built in the shape of a wing, similar in form to the

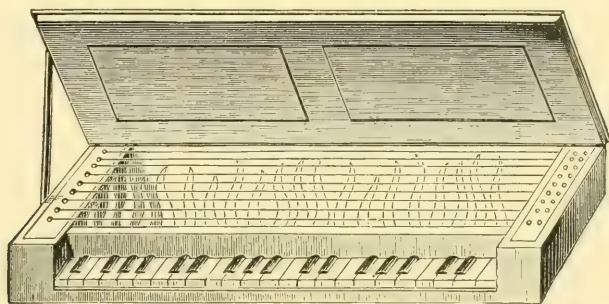


Fig. 225.—The Virginal.

(From Wasielewski's "*History of Musical Instruments*," Table I, Letter C.)

modern grand piano, were made without legs. A well-known painting by Carlo Dolce represents St. Cecilia accompanying on the spinet two angels, one playing the lute and the other singing.

Paul Veronese was acquainted with this kind of instrument—see Fig. 206, p. 498, at which is seated the Muse, who plays from music held by the god of love. It will be noticed that the shape of the instrument, judged from the open lid, has a striking affinity to the modern grand. The term *virginal* is supposed to have been first given to the clavicembalo in England in honour of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, who seems to have shown much fondness for playing on a small form of the spinet which she possessed, strung with metal strings. "Queen Elizabeth's Virginal-Book," which fortunately has been preserved, contains a number of compositions for the virginal by the Englishmen Tallis, W. Byrd, Giles Farnaby, and Dr. Bull. In this we have the explanation why, during

the second half of the sixteenth century, the virginal was cultivated by all English ladies. Still, whether the term virginal was first used in England owing to the love of England's great queen for the spinet is open to controversy, as we meet with it as early as 1519 in the works of the old German musical historian Sebastian Virdung.

The two precursors of the modern piano, the clavichord and clavicembalo, became the fashion about the same time, and were superseded, too, nearly at the same period by the first piano with a hammer mechanism. The clavichord first became popular about the year 1500, and retained its hold upon the public up to about 1750. The clavicembalo's existence as a popular instrument, with its offshoots the virginal, the spinet, and the harpsichord, may be also taken as the same, or perhaps carried ten years later up to 1760.*

* Spinets of an improved kind, *i.e.*, larger, and standing on their own legs, were to be met with as late as the middle of our present century in small towns and villages in active use in some families, and also among private collections. The keys of these were black where ours are white, and *vice versd.* Felix Mendelssohn in 1847, the last year of his life, had in his private study in King Street, Leipzig, one of these old spinets, with a hammer mechanism however in the place of the quill. Mendelssohn composed specially at this spinet for two reasons: first, because the feeble tone prevented others listening to him; and secondly, that the colourless abstract tone would not allow the possibility of his being deceived on trying the first sketch of a motivo, which the splendid tone of his grand Erard might have effected. The master was of opinion that by thus working he was enabled to test more accurately the value of his ideas than if he tried his motivo at a piano whose brilliancy of tone might have dazzled him, and made his work appear other than it really was.

The modern grand, upright, and square pianos are the outcome of a fusion of the best parts of the clavichord and clavicembalo. The merits and defects in the mechanism and nature of the precursors of the present piano have often been discarded on by writers from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and we think it of value that the most important of these should be briefly reproduced.

Sebastian Virdung (1519), priest and organist at Basle, and one of the best authorities on old musical instruments, referring to the virginal, says: "It has many qualities which make it more akin to the psaltery than to the clavichord, the longest string being in the bass, and decreasing in length as the tones become higher, the case of the virginal assuming the shape of a triangle." Nearly a century later we have Michael Prætorius, who causes much confusion by mixing the *Instrumenta pennata* with the clavichord and its offshoots. Amongst other things he believed the clavichord "to be the parent of all keyed instruments, such as organs, clavicembali, symphonie, spinets, virginals, &c., and that on the clavichord, organ-students received their first instruction," his reason for this course of study being that it neither gave displeasure nor so much trouble as practising on the clavicembalo, which would necessitate frequent renewing of quills and consequent retunings.

Matheson, counsellor of legation at Hamburgh, an excellent musician and friend of Händel, endeavoured to distinguish between the clavicembalo and clavichord as follows: "A

On the whole, then, the clavichord would seem to have been more fitted for solo performances, and the clavicembalo for accompaniment of choruses and in combination with the orchestra. We naturally here refer to the cembalo in its latest and most improved form, excluding the weaker-toned spinet. The clavicembalo always emitted the same strength of tone; the string being set in vibration by the pulling of the quill, light and shade were impossible, whereas the levers and hammers of the clavichord allowed various degrees of pressure of the key, the consequent lighter or harder striking of the string producing a corresponding degree of tone. The clavichord further admitted of legato and staccato effects. The tone of the clavicembalo was piercing and somewhat similar to the pizzicato of stringed instruments.*

The first man to successfully produce a keyed string instrument, in which were combined the best qualities of the clavichord and clavicembalo, was Bartolomeo Cristofori (not Cristofali, as he has sometimes erroneously been called). In 1711, and therefore at a time when the two Scarlattis—father and son—were still living, he exhibited at Padua a keyed instrument, in which the horizontal strings were *struck from underneath* by small hammers. His improved mechanism enabled the performer to obtain light and shade effects in a manner hitherto impossible. Legato and staccato playing were now possible on the same instrument. The tone of the instrument was also considerably increased, and from this time the piano was regarded as an integral part of the orchestra, and, furthermore, was used largely in the accompaniment of choral song. In Italy, where the clavicembalo and spinetto were very popular and much practised, the

clavicembalo, with its universal qualities, is almost indispensable to the practice of church, theatre, and chamber music, but for effective exhibition of technical skill as demanded by overtures, sonatas, toccatas, suites, &c., the clavichord is most suitable, as by this the tone can be retained longer and more expression given to the *nuances*, than on the equal-toned harpsichords and spinets. If one desires to witness good mechanism and refined execution, the performer should be conducted to a good clavichord, for the clavicembalo with its three or four pedals will not admit of clear rendering." Lastly, C. Philip Emmanuel Bach, in the second edition of his "Essay on the True Art of Playing the Clavier," published in 1759, says: "The clavichord is specially adapted for legato playing and the bringing out expression, increase and decrease of tone being possible according to the degree of pressure put upon the key."

* The largest variety of the clavicembalo was always known in England by the name of *Harpsichord*.—F. A. G. O.

newly-improved instrument of Cristofori soon became a favourite, and from its capabilities of admitting soft and loud effects, was universally called the *piano forte*, a name which it has retained up to the present day.* Later on we shall see how, by the exertions and inventions of Shroeter, the piano came into use among the Germans, and in speaking of the great masters Sebastian Bach and Ludwig van Beethoven, we shall have another opportunity of glancing at the various stages which the hammer piano of 1711 had to pass through to arrive at the concert-grand of to-day. It might be here observed that the masters of the Neapolitan school used equally the clavichord and the clavicembalo, and its related forms the spinet and harpsichord. Domenico Scarlatti, the greatest Italian solo performer of his period, preferred the clavichord, as its capabilities were more adapted to his requirements. The German flautist Quanz, in a passage in which is compared the playing of the two Scarlattis, both of whom he had heard, says "that Alessandro played in a masterly manner, but lacked the executive facility of his son." Domenico, who died in 1757, must have been a performer of merit on the hammer piano of Cristofori also, as his works for that instrument show a complete knowledge of its technique, and, from their genuine worth and style, have come to be regarded as classical compositions. They are bravura works of the most intricate character, and tax all the technical skill of the most brilliant and practised performer. A finished and clever Toccata in A major, often wrongly ascribed to the elder Scarlatti, and eighteen selected pieces recently edited by Bülow and published in Peters' edition, are positive proofs of the genius and skill of Master Domenico.

The younger Scarlatti holds a prominent position, too, as the perfecter of the sonata form. Hitherto this particular art-form had been relegated almost entirely to the violin, but Domenico adopted it for his own favourite instrument, and greatly improved it. Whether the German masters, Johann Kuhnau, cantor at St. Thomas's Church in Leipzig

* It is to be remarked that the descriptive term *Piano e forte* as applicable to a keyed instrument was used as early as 1598 at Modena, or more than a century earlier than the appearance of Cristofori's instrument of the same name. It could only have been used in reference to an isolated attempt of some unknown constructor, and not to a class of keyed string instruments, as it is beyond question that the hammer mechanism of Cristofori's pianos of 1711 was the first of its kind.

from 1701 to 1722, and Franz von Biber, born in 1710, have a prior claim to the improvement of the form, as some investigators contend, must remain an open question. But it is certain that the clever Neapolitan prepared the way for a solidification of the form. In two sonata movements in F minor and D major also published in Peters' edition, the leading subject is in each case followed by an episode in the dominant (called by German writers *mittelsatz*, *i.e.*, middle part) of an entirely independent character. This form, as employed by Domenico, was subsequently imitated, and very successfully too, by his countrymen Sarti (six sonatas for the cembalo, London, 1769, Sammartini, and Muzio Clementi (1752—1832). This last master wrote as many as sixty-nine sonatas, some of which are conceived and developed in a truly classical vein.

We cannot leave the Neapolitan masters without referring to another kind of secular music that originated among the followers of the elder Scarlatti. This was the comic opera, known in Italy as the *opera buffa*. In a city where the drolleries of punchinello never failed to please, where Nature lavishly bestowed her choicest gifts, where life was a pleasure and the struggles for existence which vex peoples of severer climes are unknown or lessened by bounteous Nature, the birth of the comic opera at a time when the Neapolitan school was at its best was a natural event. With the death of A. Scarlatti the *opera seria* and the Church styles created by him began to decline, and in proportion as they deteriorated the *opera buffa* improved; indeed the *opera buffa* was the only kind of Neapolitan art-music that rose above the tide of degeneracy to take its course towards a better state. Whilst the *ensembles* and *finales*, *i.e.*, the parts which offered the widest scope for musico-dramatic treatment, were gradually disappearing from the *opera seria* to make room for the virtuoso solo performer, similar parts of the comic opera were undergoing a vast improvement. The first prominent writer in this direction was Nicolo Logroscino (1700—1763), a pupil of A. Scarlatti. Instead of following in the wake of his master, as one might have supposed, he employed all his gifts in developing the comic opera, and emancipating it from the *opera seria* created by his teacher. Earlier and contemporary composers also attempted *opera buffa*, but none with the success of Logroscino. The skill and individuality displayed in this master's operas, *Il Vecchio Marito* and *Tanto bene Tanto male*, caused them to be regarded as the typical form of *opera buffa* in Italy.

After A. Scarlatti, the pathos of the various constituent forms in *opera seria* became more and more conventional, and dramatic musical expression and improved art-form sought refuge in the comic opera. In the field of *opera buffa* we have Pergolese, Piccini, and Cimarosa, all skilful masters of their art. On their work Mozart founded his *Così fan tutte*, and Dittersdorf his *Doctor and Apothecary*.

CHAPTER XIX.

LULLY AND THE OLD FRENCH OPERA.

OUR last reference to France and her music was in the Middle Ages, at a time when the art was cultivated exclusively by clericals and the professors of the old Paris university, and when Church music reigned supreme. But turning now towards the end of the Renaissance era, what a different musical France meets our gaze. All is changed. The Church has given place to the stage, and it is round the musical setting of the dramatic writer's creations that the development of musical art hangs. It will be remembered that in the early days of dramatic song, music formed but a small part of the play, but we now find it in France not only severing its connection with the spoken drama, but contesting with it the palm of success. An entirely new set of exponents of the musical drama has arisen. Organists, choir boys trained to chant strict *a capella* song, are supplanted by singers who perform their rôles robed in the costliest of garments, and by dancers decked out in multicoloured ribbons, accompanied by an orchestra of profane instruments.

The last prominent master of the old French school was Guillaume de Machaut. He flourished during the fourteenth century, and with his death ceased to exist that famed Paris Conservatoire which for nearly three centuries had shone as a bright star in the musical firmament. Naturally we continue to meet French masters during the fifteenth century, but only as pupils of another school. The Gallo-Belgie, as its name would imply, counted on its registers a number of Frenchmen. But outside this institution, and within the border line of France, there were yet

other masters who must not escape our notice. First, Jacques Mauduit (1557—1627), a native of Paris, and writer of several works for the Church, the best known of which perhaps is a five-part Requiem, first performed on the anniversary of the death of Henri IV. Next, Maître aux Couteaux, better known by his sobriquet Artus, born in Picardy, 1590, composer of several masses and psalms; and Marin Mersenne, born 1588, in the hamlet of Oizé, department of Maine, died 1648 in Paris, author of celebrated treatises on acoustics, harmony, and the history of music. Mersenne was also distinguished as a mathematician and philosopher, and was on intimate terms with Descartes, Pascal le Père, and other well-known French savants. We might further include Henri Dumont, as some writers do, but we ignore him, first because he was not a native of France, having been born at Liège in 1610, and second because his writings clearly show Italian influence, and but little of the Gallo-Belgic style. The master is important, however, as it was he who introduced into Liège, Brabant, and Flanders the practice which obtained in Venice and Naples of accompanying the mass with orchestra. Beyond a list of organists, the references we have to the Church music of the seventeenth century are of the baldest, which inclines us to the belief that it had not the same importance as hitherto. Attention begins to centre round the French again towards the second third of this century, when by their close adherence to Florentine doctrine they show themselves the truest reproducers of the *stile rappresentativo*. But, at a time even prior to the introduction of the *dramma per musica* into Paris, we find occasional independent dramatic workings among the French composers. We do not allude to the pastorales and song-plays of the thirteenth century in the style of Adam de la Hale's *Jus de Robin et de Marion*, which were performed in Picardy and Provence, and to which we referred in a previous chapter, for with the decline of the troubadours these musico-dramatic germs likewise disappeared. But we allude to those princely masquerades, pantomimes, and ballets enacted at the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico at Venice and at the French court at Paris, which show the first feeble beginnings of a connection of music with dramatic action. Antoine Boesset (1585—1643), director of court music to Louis XIII., wrote numerous *Airs de cours* in four and five parts, in the tenth published volume of which we find several with accompaniment for lute. He also wrote and arranged a number of ballets for the court:—*Les Fêtes de Junon*, *Le Ballet des*

Voleurs, *Les Nymphes Bocagères*, and *Orphée*. To judge by their titles we should conclude that they were something more than mere dances, probably pieces with a dramatic plot represented in pantomimic action. Chevalier, a contemporary of Boesset, also distinguished himself as a writer of court-ballets, about thirty-three being placed to his credit.

A little later, towards the end of Mazarin's guardianship of the young Louis Quatorze, Benserade's ballet of *Cassandre* was performed in the palace of the all-powerful minister before the youthful monarch. The fame of the Florentine music-drama, and the success it had met with at the court of the Medicis, induced Mazarin to invite a company of Italian singers to Paris. His invitation was accepted, and in 1645 they opened their programme in the room of the Petit Bourbon with *La Festa Teatrale della Finta Pazzo*, an opera written by Strozzi and Torelli. Its success was instantaneous and complete. Scenic musical representations became the fashion, and two years later Peri's *Eurydice* was brought out. The introduction of the Tuscan music-drama into Paris, coupled with the surprising rise of the French drama at this period (Corneille produced his *Cid* in 1636, and Molière began his career as a dramatic poet in 1644), served to infuse musicians with an ardour in dramatic composition that was productive of much good. The first French composer in the field of real dramatic music, *i.e.*, music no longer restricted to the accompaniment of ballet and pantomime, was Robert Cambert, born 1628 in Paris. Cambert held the appointments of court chapel-master and organist at the Church of St. Honorius. His first great effort was an idyllic play, libretto by Pierre Perrin, *Introduit des Ambassadeurs* to the Duke of Orleans, entitled *La Pastorale*, performed for the first time in 1659 at Issy, Paris, the country seat of Fermier-Général De la Haye, and shortly after before the royal court at Vincennes. The national feeling of the French people was not a little flattered by this "première comédie française en musique," as the new work was universally styled. The composer was especially successful in his combination of the flute and violin, the mellow tones of the one seeming to grow out of the sweet tones of the other. The people were transported with joy, and in their ecstatic delight sought to place it on a level with the great art-works of Greece. Their enthusiasm rose to such a pitch, and they became so swollen with pride at being now no more "dependent on foreigners" for music-drama, that when Cavalli's

Serse was performed in the galleries of the Louvre, at the marriage festivities of Louis XIV., it met with a reception certainly far inferior to what it merited. Cambert and Perrin now began to work on a new opera, *Ariane ou le Mariage de Bacchus*. Expectation was at its highest, when the art-loving cardinal, the soul of all these dramatic musical representations, died. *Ariane*, the second of the "comédie française en musique," was to have been performed in 1661, but not only was it dropped then, but opera performances of every kind ceased for ten years. We shall avail ourselves of this break to turn to Lully, the man who, though not a Frenchman, yet played the most important part in the development of the national French opera.

Giovanni Battista Lulli was the last prominent master of the Tuscan school out of which our present dramatic music was to grow, and the chief apostle of Florentine doctrine among foreigners. Lulli, or, as he was known in France, Jean Baptiste de Lully, was born in 1633 at or in the neighbourhood of Florence. He is said to have been the son of an impoverished Florentine nobleman. If this were so, his subsequent ennoblement by the French monarch would have been but a reaffirming of his aristocratic descent. As a boy he possessed a fine voice, and was also skilled in playing on the guitar. When twelve years of age his singing and playing attracted the notice of the Chevalier de Guise, a French nobleman travelling through Italy. The Chevalier had promised Mademoiselle Montpensier, sister of the king (some say the Princess of Orleans, niece of the king), that he would make her a present of an Italian boy, and here seemed the very lad. The youthful Lully was of a bright, joyous nature, and what was more, skilful in singing and playing. The Chevalier took the lad to Paris, and entered him in the service of the grand lady as scullion. His duties were light enough to enable him to take lessons from a Franciscan monk in guitar-playing, and he further became, for his youth, a remarkable expert on the violin. His skill as a violinist led to still other advancement, and he was promoted to the private orchestra of his patroness. By a piece of folly his prospects became suddenly clouded. He was possessed of some gift as a poet, and he mischievously used his powers in this direction in a spirited satire on his princely mistress. He was dismissed, but must have soon found another patron, as we find him taking lessons in composition, piano, and organ-playing of Metru, Roberdet, and Gigault. But it was in

violin-playing that he evinced the greatest skill, so that at the early age of seventeen or eighteen we find him entering the service of the king as violinist. The orchestra of Louis XIV., known as "Les Violons du Roy," consisted of violins, violas, and basses. The extraordinary gift of



Fig. 226.—One of the Twenty-four "Violons du Roy."

(From Vidal's "Les Instruments à Archet," Paris, 1876.)

the young violinist must have been speedily recognised by his fellow-musicians, for we find them welcoming him in 1652 as their chief director, although he had not then attained a score of years. With the king he was a great favourite, and ever remained so, Louis instituting a second orchestra and appointing him director. This second band was called "Les petits Violons de sa Majesté," to distinguish it from the older body, which was named "The Grand Band." Besides conducting, Lully played the solo violin parts, and acquired further reputation as a composer of symphonies, sarabandes, courantes, and giges. Later he essayed his gifts in the new dramatic style, and being an orchestral conductor his first efforts were in purely instrumental music, chiefly dances. Of these we may name

his music to Benserade's ballets *Alcidione* (1658), *Le Ballet des Arts* (1663), and the divertissement *L'Amour Déguisé* (1664). From this time dates his connection with Molière, writing the music to that master's ballet-comedy *La Princesse d'Élide*, and also *L'Amour Médecin*. He sometimes left the orchestra for the stage, appearing both as an actor and dancer. He performed the title-rôle in Molière's *M. de Pourceaugnac*, a play of which ballet formed a part; also that of "Mufti" in *Le Noble Citoyen*.

Whilst Lully was busy writing ballet music, &c., Cambert and Perrin were not idle. Their reputation as operatic collaborateurs had steadily increased, so that in 1669 they were enabled to obtain from the king the surprising monopoly of the sole right of performance of every kind of theatrical piece throughout France.* Perrin and Cambert were joined by the Marquis de Sourdeac, a clever theatrical machinist. The three began their partnership in Paris with the pastoral play *Pomone* (1671), meeting with the most triumphant success. All their productions seem to have been well received, for at the end of eight months it is recorded that Perrin alone received 30,000 francs as his share of the profits. Some misunderstanding now arose between the poet and the marquis, which ended by Perrin seceding from the partnership. His place was supplied by Gilbert, secretary to the Queen of Sweden, who wrote for the company *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*. The music was composed by Cambert, and the pastoral was performed in 1672. But Perrin had to be reckoned with. Although largely indebted to the Marquis de Sourdeac, yet he was ill inclined to relinquish his rights in the patent. He accordingly started a rival company consisting of himself, Henri Guichard, poet, and Sieur de Sablières, a music director. It was now that the astute Lully saw his opportunity, and promptly availed himself of it. The feud of Perrin and the marquis was his gain. He made proposals to purchase the remainder of the patent, which were accepted, and the wily Italian prevailed on the king to make its provisions even more exclusive. It was not difficult for him to obtain from Louis whatever he wished, as he was exceedingly in favour with the king, who loved his composer and clever instrumentalist, perhaps especially for the reason that he, the monarch, was the only one against whom the pointed shafts of Lully's sarcasm and wit were not levelled. The amended patent invested in Lully the sole right of operatic representation, and restricted the number of singers at all other theatres to *two*, and string instrument performers to six. This harsh provision was very unfair to other managers, and especially to Molière, who, now rudely discarded by Lully, was severely hampered in arranging his ballet comedies for so few executants. But Lully cared nothing

* The patent granted to Perrin and Cambert ran as follows: "Académies dans lesquelles il se fait de représentations en musique, qu'on nomme opéra." It will be observed that the word "opera" is used; this was probably the first official use of the term.

for a friend when his own chance of success was weighed in the balance. His conduct is the more blamable because when in straitened circumstances Molière had advanced him large sums of money. But this affected him no more than that his old colleague Cambert, who for so many years had laboured diligently in the field where Lully was now reaping large rewards, was obliged to take up his residence in England, there, to gain a sustenance which the rapacity of his friend denied him. The only ray of light in the whole of this sorry spectacle is that when Lully had climbed to the summit of his worldly glory he did not lapse into artistic idleness, but set to work with tenfold vigour to elevate the national musical drama. His ambition was to found securely a French opera; and in this he was eminently successful, so much so that the grand French opera of to-day has retained much of the style created by him. To Lully, beyond all others, belongs the proud distinction of being called the father of the French opera, and his name is written in imperishable letters on the tables of the history of music.

The first piece produced by Lully after he had obtained his patent was *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, a festival play by Quinault, interspersed with ballets, to which Lully supplied the music. Between 1673 and 1687 Quinault provided Lully with the libretti of the following five-act operas:—*Cadmus*, *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Atys*, *Proserpine*, *Persée*, *Phaëton*, *Amadis*, *Roland*, and *Armide*, which the composer, from their serious character, called *Tragédies lyriques*. Between 1678 and 1679 his productions met with no success. He attributed his failure to the poem supplied by Quinault; and accordingly turned to Thomas Corneille (the brother of the great Corneille), who wrote for him two operas, *Psyche* and *Bellérophon*. He sometimes inserted in his serious operas one of those ballets which had first directed public attention towards him and made him famous. In 1675 he wrote the divertissement *Le Carnaval*, in 1681 *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, "grand ballet en vingt entrées," and in 1685 *Le Temple de la Paix*, "ballet en six entrées." His last dramatic works were *Acis et Galathée*, "pastorale héroïque en trois actes, paroles de M. Campistron," and *Achille et Polixène*, by the same poet. This was the last work on which he was engaged, and which, alas, was never finished, as the master died 22nd March, 1687.*

* *Achille* was subsequently completed by Colasse, pupil of Lully, in a manner so like his master's, that it is impossible to distinguish where the one begins or the other ends. This

We will now try and discover in what the French opera of Lully was inferior and in what superior to the Italian opera. Turning to its weak side first, it must be admitted that, regarded from a purely musical point of view, it was not equal to the standard of his Italian contemporaries. The solo songs did not possess that organic membering of parts which distinguished the art-forms of the Italian masters of the second half of the seventeenth century. They were bare and undeveloped. Neither could the *ensembles* favourably compare with those of the Neapolitan grand opera writers, either as regards freedom of voicing or the independent treatment of parts. Compared with the opera buffa *ensembles* they were still more inferior. The rhythm of each voice and its direction of movement in Lully's *ensembles* were always the same, causing a bareness of polyphonic combination and want of effectiveness. In his duets the two voices never united, but always alternated. But these shortcomings were counterbalanced by certain excellences which his genius prompted, and which were of the greatest value in the development of the musical drama. In these he stood alone. With him dramatic consistency was the first and chief thing to be studied. His music was, according to his own light, the tonal expression of the words, and in this he is distinguished above all his contemporaries, and placed far above the masters of the Neapolitan school, who debased the opera by making it the vehicle for the display of the virtuoso. To a striking dramatic appropriateness he added a masterly and excellent declamatory expressiveness. On the whole his music was, considering the time and state of the art, so truthful a tonal interpretation of the words and the dramatic situation that it should command our unstinted praise. He further increased the importance of the chorus, using it to elucidate the story. With the Neapolitans the part played by the chorus was quite outside the plot. The principal part of the opera was allotted to the ballet, a few festive songs being all that was assigned to the chorus. But with Lully the chorus entered actively into the working of the drama, the music set down for it being either of a passionate or supplicating character, according to the requirements of the situation. He also closely followed the example set by the Tuscan school, of fully recognising the immense im-

will be easily understood when it is mentioned that for some years prior to his death, Lully was in the habit of dictating to his pupils Colasse and Lalouette, either by playing the violin, the piano, or singing.

portance of the orchestra as a factor in the musical drama, although he cannot be said to have equalled either Monteverde or Cavalli in this respect, notwithstanding his unquestionably skilful and appropriate use of special instruments. He invented the French overture form, consisting of three movements, *grave*, *allegro*, and repetition of the first movement, in opposition to the Italian, which opened and closed with the *allegro*, with the *grave* as a middle movement. This form found favour with his contemporaries and successors. The musical form of the dances for the ballet, then called *airs*, was also improved by him. His manner of employing orchestral instruments, either singly or combined, having due regard to their special character and tonality, served to render his instrumental colouring very effective and appropriate. The use of the trumpets and tympani in *Alceste* and *Thésée* is especially to be noted. Hitherto the trumpet had been used as though it were a voice (nor is this to be wondered at, if we remember that the climax of the polyphonic art had been but just reached), but with Lully the music assigned to it possessed always the character of a fanfare or festive blast consistent with the true martial nature of this instrument.

If an examination of Lully's operas were undertaken, these excellences would not be found side by side in the same work. They were not all born in the master at the same time, but were the growth of years of studious writing and practice. His recitatives were not always the reflection of the dramatic situation. Sometimes a hollow rhetorical form was employed which, from the oft recurrence of its grandiloquent phraseology, becomes wearisome. Nor are all his arias or duets as happy as Admet's touching song "Sans Alceste," and the little duet between the royal pair, "Alceste, vous pleurez." But notwithstanding the defects and mannerisms of the writer, he must be regarded as a master of great note. He succeeded, as none other, in representing in his operas the feelings and predilections of the nation which he had made his own, and so created an operatic art-form which the French adopted as their standard. He entered fully into the stiff French conception of the Greek drama based on a mistaken interpretation of Greek art and supported even by Boileau (see "L'Art Poétique"), his contemporary, and so thoroughly did Lully identify himself with it that what he achieved entitles him to be honoured as the creator of the first independent national style of French dramatic music.



Fig. 227.—Portrait of Lully.

(After N. Thomas. From Vidal's "Les Instruments à Archet," Paris, 1876.)

In his musical relations with Louis XIV. Lully obtained almost incredible favours. In addition to the monopolies we have mentioned the

monarch accorded him the still greater one that only his music should be performed in the theatre, at court concerts, and at church. This special mark of patronage naturally incited Lully to compose several new works. The shrewd Italian had favours and privileges heaped on him to a degree that is very surprising to us in these days. Not only his royal master but also the nobility fêted him, and we cannot but regret that amidst his excess of worldly possessions the master musician should have shown himself so regardless of the welfare of his brother artists. He managed to acquire privileges such as none other before him had enjoyed. We will enumerate the principal of his appointments and monopolies, all of which he obtained during a period of fifteen years' service: Court composer, "Surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roy," sole master of music to the royal family, his patent of naturalisation free of all stamp duties, the assurance of large sums of money to his widow and children in the event of his demise, the right for his children to succeed him in each of his three court appointments, each of which was valued at 30,000 francs. From a financial point of view, the patent granting him the sole right of performing operas in Paris was even of greater value. In addition to all these honours he received innumerable presents from the court and several families of nobility, so that at his death he was found to be worth 250,000 francs in cash, a theatre valued at 91,000 francs, two houses in Paris, besides plate and trinkets estimated at 30,000 francs. His widow further increased this splendid fortune by 71,000 francs by the sale of her late husband's appointment as secretary to the king.

Lully was most active in the management of his theatre. He combined the offices of acting manager and stage manager in himself, and performed the necessary duties in a brilliant business manner. He was exacting in his demands on the performers, and required from them a dignified carriage and bearing. He arranged all groupings, and instructed the actors in the facial expression to be assumed. Pure enunciation and intelligent modulations he insisted on as a first necessity. No matter in what part of the stage or orchestra his presence was needed, there he was to be found. No detail was too trifling for him. In his realm he was a tyrannical despot. Of an impetuous temperament, he oftentimes physically chastised the singers, even to kicking them. It is recorded of him that in one outburst of passion he angrily snatched a violin from an

executant, and shivered it on the back of the offending performer. Even his librettist did not escape his irritable temper. To erase, add, or rearrange was a common practice with him; but it must be admitted that, from his inborn dramatic instinct, his alterations were always for the better. Where force was of no avail, gold opened the way. To propitiate the poet Quinault, and induce him to write just in the strain that he, Lully, wished, he presented him every year with 4,000 francs from his own pocket, that is, twice as much as the writer received as court poet. That so whimsical and passionate a man should have few friends, and sometimes should be at war with the whole universe, is hardly to be wondered at. His death, even, was owing to one of these frenzied moods. He had written a "Te Deum" to be performed at a thanksgiving service in celebration of the king's convalescence, and at its performance in 1687 he so violently beat time with his bamboo cane on the ground that he struck his foot, causing a wound which terminated fatally. On his death-bed he was greatly distressed at the remembrance of his sorry treatment of his colleagues. And yet, though conscious of his end being near, he still resorted to double-dealing. His confessor had refused the last rites of absolution unless the master's last unfinished opera was cast into the fire. Lully had no alternative, and directed that it should be done, upon which the absolution for the dying was pronounced. But it was discovered that Lully had expressly ordered that the parts only should be destroyed, but the score was to remain where it was, in his private *escritoire*. He died chanting earnestly the penitential song "Il faut mourir pecheur." His operas were performed at the Paris opera house for a little over a hundred years. The last, *Roland*,* was performed in 1778 at Paris, at a time when Gluck's *Orpheus*, *Iphigenie in Aulis*, *Alceste*, and *Armide* had been already performed.

Among the followers of Lully, the first to attract our attention is Marin Marais (1656—1728, according to some 1650—1718). He was a member of the royal chamber of musicians and virtuoso on the viola da gamba. As a dramatic composer his chief works were *Ariadne* (1696) and *Alcione* (1706). In his recitatives and choruses he followed in the wake of

* In Moritz Hauptman's letters to Franz Hauser, reference is made to an arioso in G major, from Lully's *Roland*, "Aimez Roland à votre tour," which he describes as "most heartfelt and charming." It is so fresh and simple that it would receive a welcome even to-day.

Lully, but in his arias he adopted a broader development of the melody, and employed a more advanced art-form—*e.g.*, as regards the first point in the aria in B minor of the heroine in *Alceide*, “Cruel amour, sois touché de mes peines,” there is a fuller working out of the motivo, and for the second, the division of the parts by repetition marks. The aria “Cruel amour” is noteworthy for its dramatic truthfulness of expression, and also for the interesting symphony for the orchestra which introduces it. Marais often essayed realistic tone-colouring in his orchestral writing; in the chorus “La mer est en fureur,” we find the up and down motion of the waves fairly well suggested, the painting of a storm also being attempted.

The lesser lights of Lully’s school comprised Desmarets (born 1662, Paris); Elisabeth Claude Jaquet (1669—1729), the wife of the organist Marin de la Guerre; Destouches, Inspector-General of the royal opera; Joseph Moutet, Director of the Concerto spirituels; Monteclair (1666—1737); and the two Florentines, Teobaldo de Gatti and Andrea Campra, drawn to Paris no doubt by the success of their countryman Lully.

But now we come to a man who accomplished more for dramatic music than any of Lully’s followers. As a body they added little to what Lully had achieved; but in 1734 a Frenchman born came to the front, who completed and crowned the work Lully had begun. This was Jean Philippe Rameau (born at Dijon in 1683, died at Paris, 1764). In him we meet a man full of contradictions, both as an artist and as a man, whose manner by turns repulses, interests, and often attracts us. His versatility surprises us. He was a physicist, mathematician, and as profound a theorist as he was an expert virtuoso on the organ and clavichord. In the science of acoustics he was especially skilled. His compositions for the organ and clavichord place him in the front rank of French writers for these instruments. He also excelled as a teacher. But his reputation is founded on the many grand operas he wrote, in which as a musician he showed a genius greater than the great Lully’s. If we were to examine the works of these two great men from a musical standpoint, we should find that those of Rameau are of a much deeper kind than those of the naturalised Frenchman. We accorded Lully the first place in this chapter because he was the father of the French opera, and because on that which he had wrought by hard work, Rameau based the lines of his own grand opera.

Before Rameau arrived at that exalted position which he occupies in the history of the musical drama, he spent a number of years in the pursuit of his ambition, which, to the historian, seem to have been positive waste of a great intellect. As a child he possessed great gifts, which his parents, who were also musical, wisely resolved to cultivate. He seems to have profited greatly by his early tuition, for at fourteen years of age it is recorded that he could extemporise a fugue at the piano on any given theme. His studies were interrupted about this time by his entry into a college of Jesuits, where his mental work took a legal turn, his father having a secret desire that he should be trained for the law. But the boy's soul was evidently in crotchets and quavers, for instead of listening to his Latin teacher, he employed the time in scribbling snatches of popular chansons and suites in his school books and those of his school-fellows. School was not to his taste. He disobeyed his masters, would not apply himself to the work set down for him, and altogether showed himself so unruly that he was at last expelled the school and sent back to his father. His parents then acquiesced in the boy's one great desire, and he was put into the hands of the best organists of Dijon to be instructed in theory and organ-playing. He eschewed all literature, except that treating of his favourite subject. Scarcely arrived at adolescence, his "dear music" lost its charm for him. Love filled his heart in the person of a young widow, whose attractions monopolised the whole of his thoughts and left no place for his music. The escapade was not without its good, for the object of his idolatry so teased him on account of his inability to write or speak his mother-tongue correctly, that he set to work with ardour to make up for his deficiency. His father was desirous that the friendship should cease, being fully alive to the misery of an imprudent marriage. He therefore made arrangements that the youth should go to Italy, ostensibly to continue his musical studies. And so in 1701 we find the young Rameau, at eighteen years of age, in Milan. But the music of the Italians affected him but little. He had no taste for the operas of Alessandro Scarlatti and Giovanni Buononcini the son of Maria Buononcini, nor for the Church music of Lotti and Caldara. The explanation is perhaps to be found in Rameau's youth, and in the contrast of the music of the new Venetian school to that of the Lully following, the latter of which he had imbibed from his cradle. In the latter, rhetorical declamation preponderated, whereas with the Italians generally

love of colour, and with the Neapolitans in particular melody dominated. We can understand, then, why it was that Rameau left Milan and joined himself to a travelling operatic troupe, with whom he took service as a violinist, visiting Marseilles, Lyons, Nîmes, and other cities in the south of France. When tired and weary with this Bohemian life, he returned to Dijon, stopping for a time on his way at Montpellier to prosecute his studies with real earnestness. But his was a restless nature. It had now entered his head that only could he find his proper level at Paris, and for the capital he forthwith set out. Here we find him in 1717, at the age of thirty-four years, rich in experience, but with no reputation as an artist. His talents were speedily recognised by Louis Marchand, court organist, who took him under his patronage, but speedily dropped him when he discovered the real genius of the man and found that he was likely to prove a dangerous rival. Marchand carried his malignant jealousy so far that it caused Rameau to leave Paris. We shall have again to refer to this deplorable trait in Marchand's character when we deal with Sebastian Bach and his relations with this envious court musician. Rameau left Paris and obtained the appointment of organist at Lille, which post he exchanged for a similar one at Clermont. His sojourn at this quiet mountain town was full of value for the future. The perfect solitude he enjoyed enabled him to reflect and mature those great principles which have made his name so exalted in the history of the opera. Here he produced his celebrated "*Traité d'Harmonie*," a work that has insured its author an immortal name among musical theorists. His zealous study when a lad of the treatises of Zarlino, Mersenne, and Descartes now began to bear fruit of the richest kind. He was the first man to prove that the system of harmony then prevailing, and which has come down to us, was based on a purely scientific foundation. While in his mountain retreat Rameau wrote a number of motets and cantatas, besides several ingenious pieces for the organ and piano. The feeling now took possession of him that his talents were lost in the quiet provincial town. It offered no scope for the development of that which, as a man of science, he felt he possessed, and his thoughts turned again to Paris, where we find him in 1721. No sooner returned to the French capital than he set about publishing his "*Traité d'Harmonie*," and a few years later (1726) another theoretical treatise, "*Nouveau Système de Musique Théorique*,"

two works which caused much controversy, but at the same time brought him well into public notice. His reputation speedily rose. He was regarded as a great and learned man, and his fame increased tenfold when it was discovered that he was also an expert in organ and harpsichord playing, as well as a gifted writer for those two instruments. But Rameau was not satisfied with the success that attended him. His heart yearned for other triumphs. He was pained that a great number of composers, many of inferior ability, should enjoy the favours heaped upon successful operatic writers, whilst he, in the years of ripe manhood, had not had one dramatic work performed. His patron, Popelinière, Controller-General, obtained for him (1730), from the then celebrated Voltaire, a libretto, *Samson*.* Rameau set to work and soon completed his *Samson*, but it was not destined to be performed, Thuret, directeur de l'Académie Royale de Musique, excusing himself from producing it on the ground that the public were not attracted by Biblical subjects. But by 1733 he seems to have overcome all obstacles, as in that year his opera *Hippolyte et Aricie* was publicly performed. He had now reached the age of fifty years, an advanced one for a man to make his first appearance as an operatic writer. His musical genius was, however, vigorous and fruitful, and showed no signs of approaching decay. As energetic in working as his intellect was strong, he produced, during the remaining fifteen years of his life, twenty-one operas. The performance of *Hippolyte et Aricie* divided musical Paris into two antagonistic camps. Rameau had introduced new elements, which brought down upon him the thunders of the Lully worshippers, in whom alone they saw what was right. To allow innovations in Rameau without a vigorous protest would be to admit that their idol, the father of French opera, was capable of error, or at least inferior. The Rameau faction claimed the working and form of *Hippolyte* as an advance upon Lully's operas, and demanded their recognition as such. At the performance of every new opera by Rameau, the quarrel was renewed, and not one of the master's works achieved its right of existence except through the heated fires of strong controversy. Success, however, lay with the supporters of Rameau. All that master's operas were produced, and

* Rameau subsequently used themes, and sometimes whole scenes, of the rejected *Samson* in his opera *Zoroastro*.

the opposition gradually declined, until, just prior to the death of Rameau, a compromise was effected, when it was agreed to regard Lully and Rameau conjointly as the representatives of national opera of France. There were still some, however, who could not be reconciled to Rameau during the master's lifetime, and it was not until 1752 that feuds were forgotten. In that year a travelling Italian operatic troupe journeyed to the French capital and found many friends among the public. Musical Paris saw that the existence of its own opera was threatened, and the two factions closed their ranks and showed a united front towards the invading opera. Instead of contentions between Lully and Rameau cliques, a struggle was now projected between *buffonistes* and *anti-buffonistes*, as the two parties were called—*i.e.*, between the supporters of the Italian and French national opera. The term *buffonistes* arose because the permission granted the Italian company to play in Paris restricted them to the performance of *opera comique*, an offshoot of the *opera buffa*.

The general style of the Rameau opera was based upon that of Lully. The palm of musical worth lies with the former, which in working shows a decided advance on its predecessor. Musical individuality is strongly marked in the operas of Rameau, whilst those of Lully can show but little of this excellent feature. Again, Rameau's harmonies are much more interesting than Lully's, owing doubtless to the former's skill as an instrumental performer and his deep studies on the theory of the tonal art. The richness of his chords and the novelty of his modulations constitute a grander dramatic background to his operas than that which Lully was capable of creating. To this he added a real division of voices, a proceeding that contributed greatly to the effectiveness of his choruses, *ensembles*, and orchestration. We think we can trace the origin of this progressive step in his skill as an organist and his consequent acquaintance with polyphony.* In his orchestration, as far as the use of certain instruments, Rameau was also superior to Lully, the instrumentation of certain recitative passages

* We do not refer to Italian or German polyphony. Rameau's part-writing was inferior to both these, exhibiting crudities and much that is awkward, unclear, and bombastic; but the evident desire to emancipate the voices and individualise them by a greater independence of movement renders his scores more interesting than his predecessor's, and evidences the inborn gift of Rameau for free part-writing.

in his operas *Les Indes Galantes* and *Zoroastro* being remarkably fine. The parts for the wood instruments are entirely independent of those for the strings, though both may be going on at the same time. Formerly the wood instruments had the same phrases as the strings. But the influence of Lully upon Rameau is more strongly marked in the direction of musical declamation, and in a rhetorical musical pathos wherein the rhetoric predominates over the music. Changes of time, often as many as three and four even in short movements, sometimes lasting for a few bars only, a consequent result of the supremacy of the declamation over all other musical factors, are to be met with in Rameau as frequently as in Lully. The style of these two masters of the French national opera finds its parallel in that of their contemporaries Corneille and Racine, in the field of the French drama. In both we find grand dramatic strivings, forcible expression, and occasionally truly poetical scenes full of tender pathos. But side by side with this reigns a hollow rhetoric, which often usurps the place of true nature and passion. Whilst the poets fatigue us with their pompous, even measured "Alexandrines," the musical dramatists tire us with the monotony of their declamatory recitative. As both, however, affected an external pathos, French taste was gratified, and by common consent it was regarded as classical.*

But notwithstanding that Lully and Rameau largely employed a hollow and pompous rhetoric, they created for the opera a dramatic truthfulness and consistency like that which inspired the works of Corneille and Racine; and this entitles them to a high place among the pioneers of the grand opera. To Gluck they were as beacon lights, and from them he gained an immensity of knowledge. That an opera like *Castor and Pollux*, by Rameau, should have retained its hold over the public several years after the production of Gluck's most successful operas, proves how much he must be regarded as a pioneer of the great German composer. †

* Although we have sought to emphasise the dominating declamation in Lully and Rameau by comparing their work to that of the two great dramatists, we readily admit that what Corneille and Racine achieved was more important and possessed more vitality than the work of the two musicians, for poetry as the older art had not, in the seventeenth century, to prepare the ground for a new art-form, as it inherited from the Greeks most brilliant models.

† Of the many musical dramas composed by Rameau we may single out *La Princesse de Navarre*, "comédie avec intermèdes;" the three opera ballets *Le Temple de la Gloire*, *Pygmalion*, and *La Naissance d'Osiris*; and *Acante et Céphise*, "pastorale héroïque."

The principle that governed Rameau's harmonies was his discoveries in theoretical science on the combination of tones generated by one ground tone—*e.g.*, the octave, fifth, and third. If one strikes a certain key on

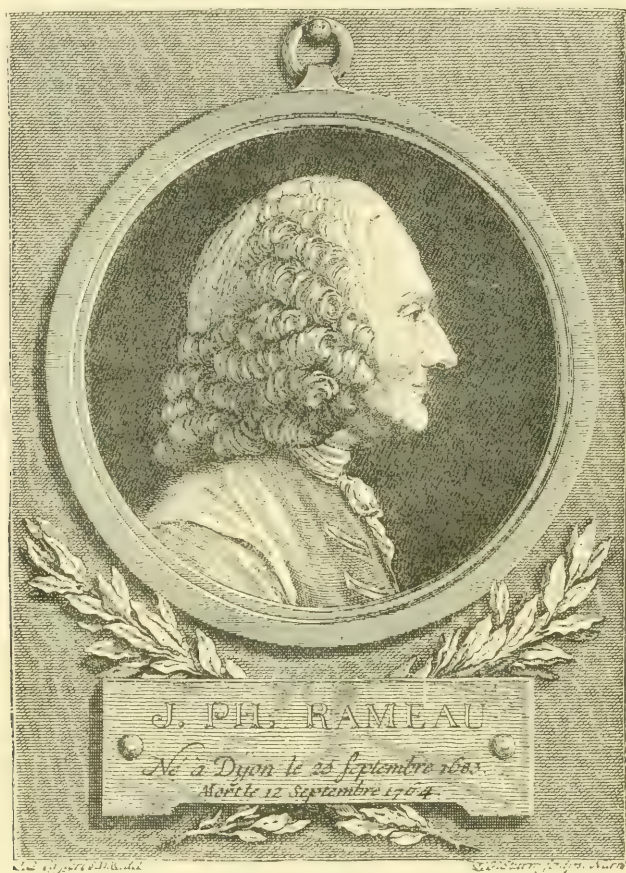


Fig. 228.—Portrait of Rameau.

(After Restout.)

the piano, especially one of the lower ones, and at the same time uses the loud pedal, in addition to the tone actually sounded its octave, fifth, and third will also be heard. The harmonic relation of these tones represents the major triad in extended position, and on this primary

chord all other chords, since Rameau's time, have been based. The *fifth*, which was generated by the ground-tone, Rameau called "duodecime," *i.e.*, twelfth, because it is given out only in the second octave; and the *third*, sounding in the third octave, he called "septdecime," or seventeen. Yet notwithstanding certain harmonic crudities which Rameau, with all his theoretical learning, now and again employed, his is the great merit of proving that our modern system of harmony is based on nature's own laws, while formerly it had been sought to justify it by subjective theory only. To him also is due the thanks of the musical world as being one of the first to introduce into musical practice the even-tempered system based on the division of the octave into twelve equal semitones, in the place of the unworkable tone-system founded upon a purely acoustic division of intervals. Without such a system the improvements which have been made in all instruments with a fixed tuning, such as the organ, piano, and all wind instruments with valves, would undoubtedly have been greatly retarded.*

Rameau, like his predecessor Lully, was brought into connection with most of the prominent men of his time, philosophers, poets, and statesmen. But his learned contemporaries were not all his admirers. Some attacked his principles with violence even. Yet the fact of the musician's theories being so furiously combated shows the importance of the man in his day. His relations with Voltaire have already been referred to. Rousseau's references to him are most eulogistic. He says: "The operas of Rameau have ennobled the lyric stage. He has bravely broken

* With reference to the division of the octave into twelve semitones, Rameau was preceded in this work by Zachino, an Italian musical savant (1519—1590). Zachino is known to have introduced his system about 1548. By it he indirectly influenced the structure of the harpsichord, the notes added by the Zachino theory necessitating additional keys, which were the forerunners of the black keys of the modern piano. Nearly two centuries later Sebastian Bach, in the first part of his "Das Wohltemperirte Clavier," or well-tempered piano, 1722, and therefore still earlier than Rameau, introduced the even-tempered system into musical practice. Bach's application of the system rested no doubt on the discoveries of Neithardt and Werkmeister (1690—1710). Rameau's "Generation Harmonique" was not published until 1737, or fifteen years after Bach's work had appeared; but it was owing mainly to the energetic strivings of Rameau that the system was generally adopted. After Rameau we come to Marpurg's "Essay on Musical Temperament" (Breslau, 1726) and Drobisch's "Musical Temperament and Fixing of Tones" (Leipzig, 1852). Drobisch himself had the great advantage of Chladni's (1756—1827) profound acoustical studies.

through that small circle within the circumference of which our petty musicians have revolved since the days of the great Lully. Even if one were unjust enough to deny Rameau's genius, one would still be forced to admit that he has won for future musicians an immunity from attack when propounding new theories which is of no small import. He has been stung by the thorns; his followers will pluck the roses." In a pamphlet published in 1755, "*Erreurs sur la Musique dans l'Encyclopédie*," Rameau declared war against the encyclopædists. His essay met with a contemptuous rejoinder from D'Alembert, a profound scholar, ridiculing the pretensions of musicians who attempted to enter into controversy with scientists in the realms of physics and mathematics. Rameau replied to the overweening savant in language full of vigour and power, completely vanquishing his antagonist. But the victory was dearly bought. It aroused a spirit of vindictive hostility against him that did not stop short of assailing even his family relations. The splenetic Diderot, in a satirical dialogue "*Rameau's Nephew*" (translated by Goethe), says: "*C'est un philosophe dans son espèce il ne pense qu'à lui; le reste de l'univers lui est comme d'un clou à son soufflet. Sa fille et sa femme n'ont qu'à mourir quand elles voudront; pourvu que les cloches de la paroisse qui sonneront pour elles continuent de résonner la douzième et la dix septième, tout sera bien.*"* Another encyclopædist, Grimm, whose vanity had also been stung by the hard-hitting of Rameau, attacked the musician and, like Diderot, sought to hide his own discomfiture by traducing the private character of his adversary, insinuating that he was a "sauvage," and wanting in the nobler sentiments of humanity. Fortunately for the honour of our learned theorist, the King of France discredited such ungenerous attacks on the musician, and assured him on several occasions of his personal esteem, knighting and decorating him with the Order of St. Michael, and appointing him composer to the court of France.

Any account of the progress of French music during the seventeenth

* This allusion to the indifference of Rameau for his wife and daughter is a licence of the critic and not based on any known fact, as we have failed to trace any evidence pointing to an unhappy Rameau household, whereas on the contrary we do know that through long years he succoured a sick sister and an old organist, Balbâtre, both acts evidencing a nature quite other than that attributed to him by Diderot.

century would be incomplete that did not refer to a family of musicians who for generations fostered and promoted, like Rameau, the classical in musical art amongst French composers, organists, and pianists. This was the Couperin family, the members of which adopted the musical profession for upwards of two hundred years, reaching therefore into our present century. By their numbers and choice of the musical profession, we might compare them to the Lassus and Bach families, whilst as regards numerical strength they greatly exceeded the latter famous house. The first Couperin that engages our attention is one Louis, born at Chaume en Brie in 1630, organist at Versailles and court virtuoso on the viola. He died childless. There exist three grand suites for the harpsichord in manuscript bearing his name. His brother François (1631—1698), the real ancestor of the Couperin family, was organist at St. Gervais, Paris. Some well-written organ pieces by him are still to be found. His daughter Louise acquired a considerable reputation as singer and claviciniste, and was made a member of the royal chapel. Then come Nicolas Couperin, clavicinist, known as "Couperin le Neveu," and Armand Louis Couperin, whose reputation as an organist induced Dr. Burney to attend one of his recitals. This brings us to the eighteenth century, and to the brightest star of the Couperin family, François the second (1668—1733), known as "Couperin le Grand," the son of Charles Couperin, born and died in Paris. In 1696 Louis XIV. appointed him organist of St. Gervais, and in 1701 court player. We can scarcely point to any greater testimony in the distinguished master's favour than that his harpsichord works, represented chiefly by four volumes of "*Pièces de Clavecin*," met with the approbation of Sebastian Bach, whose opinion of them was such that he recommended them to the careful study of his pupils. In addition to these, the celebrated performer has left "*L'Art de toucher le Clavecin, y compris huit Préludes*;" "*Les Gouts Réunis, ou Nouveaux Concerts, augmentés de l'Apothéose de Corelli*;" "*L'Apothéose de l'incomparable Lully*;" also a great number of fugues for the organ, violin trios, pièces de viole, and secular and sacred cantatas. His daughter Marguerite Antoinette Couperin was also a skilful performer, and received the appointment of court claviciniste, an honour that had not hitherto been conferred on any woman.

Among the writings of the Couperin family we frequently meet with the form *Suite*, although not under that name. The suite consisted

of a number of different pieces of peculiar and varied make, each complete in itself. Sebastian Bach composed several works of this kind, naming them "French suites," although they had but little in common with those of Rameau and the Couperins. Compared to his English suites and partites they have a condensed form based on French dance rhythms, and are conceived in a more popular style. To the French people the word *suite* signified nothing but a collection of dances in the same key, but varied in movement and rhythm to afford the necessary contrast and increase of interest. Sebastian de Brossard (1703) states that the sequence of the French suite-form was: Prélude, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, and Gigue, the Courante and Sarabande being sometimes replaced by Gavotte and Bourrée. This type, to which there were exceptions, both as to the number of the component parts and their character, existed in its general form prior to Couperin le Grand. A *Suite* by Auxcouste, consisting of a number of secular part-songs, was published as early as 1652 by the Paris firm Ballard. The praiseworthy work of elevating the popular dance rhythms into tasteful polyphonic movements for the harpsichord might well, we think, be attributed to Couperin le Grand and Rameau.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GERMANS IN THE SCHOOL OF THE ITALIANS, AND THE PRECURSORS OF BACH.

DURING the century and a half, 1550—1700, we have seen (1) the Italians masters of the musical field, the pioneers of the tonal art and arbiters of all controversial elements, and (2) the French, desirous of emulating the successes of their Italian neighbours, bestirring themselves and earnestly endeavouring to consolidate a new kind of music. What the Germans—the third great musical people of that epoch—were doing, will form the subject of our present chapter.

Our last references to the Germans were in the thirteenth chapter, when we watched the growth of a music the outcome of the Reformation movement, and bearing the impress of the bold individuality of the great Reformer. Prior to the appearance of Luther, musical

Germany had been dominated by Netherland doctrine; but borne upon the powerful tide of Church reform was a new Church music, and the last master to whom we referred as receiving instruction, if not directly from Luther, certainly immediately enough for us to regard him as a Lutheran disciple, was Johann Eccard. With the death of Eccard, music in Germany underwent another change. Now that the moving spirit and the personal disciples were no more, Lutheran doctrine had not the same weight, and Evangelical composers and those of the Catholic masters who had followed the musical lead of the Reformer began to be acted upon by other teachings. Together with the influence which the schism in the Church still continued to exercise upon the development of the tonal art at the beginning of the seventeenth century, two great mental streams were steadily and surely operating upon German composers, dividing them into two groups with sharply-defined characteristics. These two groups of masters we have respectively named (1) pupils of the Italians, and (2) precursors of Sebastian Bach. This second group is so designated because on the creations of its masters Bach based a large part of his work, and also because they bear an impress peculiar to the German mind.*

We will first deal with that group of masters who turned from their old Netherland teachers to the Italians. We need scarcely inquire the reason of this change. Since we were last with the Germans there had come upon the scene Palestrina, who enchanted all Europe by his fusion of the delightful euphony and melodic beauty of the Italians with the polyphonic profundity of the Netherlanders. With the culture of the Renaissance in art and science, and the growth of humanitarian principles, Italy became the magnetic centre to which were irresistibly drawn all the most gifted and zealous minds in Europe. And to Italy resorted the German tone-masters; and as Venice was the nearest port to Germany, and the channel of communication between northern and southern, eastern

* This division of the German tone-poets of the seventeenth century does not imply that amongst the pupils of the Italians there were no precursors of Bach, nor that amongst the latter there may not have been some who were pupils of the Italians. But those masters whom we have designated "Bach's precursors" were the most important in that direction, whilst those whom we have classed "pupils of the Italians" were chiefly instrumental in introducing Italian doctrine into Germany, and thereby gained their significance.

and western Europe, and possessed, too, one of the largest and newest tone-schools in Italy, to that city our masters principally flocked.

The first German master who we believe received instruction from the Venetians was Gallus, also known as Handl, Händl, and Hähnel (1550—1591). Gallus' pupilage under the Venetians is established, in our opinion, by the two following facts—(1) the close proximity of his birthplace, Carniola, a town in the Austrian province of the same name, to the city of the lagoons, and (2) the Venetian impress which his sacred compositions bear. Of these the three eight-part motets, "Cantate Domino," "Dominus Jesus," and "Hodie completi," are composed for double choirs that respond to each other in short sentences, after the style invented by Willaert, the founder of the Venetian school. They also possess a strong likeness to the sacred works of the Venetian master Leone Leoni. As Andrea Gabrieli was in the zenith of his fame at the time Gallus would have been about twenty years of age, we think it not at all improbable that the youthful German entered himself as a student under that celebrated master. Certain crudities of harmony, occasionally not uninteresting, distinguish the German from his Venetian fellow-students, with whom euphony was the all-important consideration. His works contain also certain reminiscences of Mouton and other Netherlanders, besides a pre-Palestrina character, which again single him out from his Venetian contemporaries. In 1587 Gallus was attached to the court of Rudolph II. at Prague. Four years after he died at the early age of forty-one. By birth a Southern German, and in religion a Roman Catholic, Gallus remained uninfluenced by the Reformation upheaval and Lutheran workings in the art of music. It is pleasing to note that the works of Gallus found favour alike with Catholics and Reformers. The Protestant master Ehrhard Bodenschatz, cantor at Schulpforta in 1600, published nineteen selected works by Gallus in his "*Florilegium Portense*." As but nine years had elapsed since the master's death when these works were published, it speaks much for the celebrity of the man, and shows that his reputation was well deserved, as all will readily admit who scan his two motets, "*Vespere autem Sabbati*" and "*Ecce quomodo moritur justus*."

The next important German master was Jacob Meiland (1542—1577, according to some 1542—1607). Meiland for a time held the post

of chapel-master to the Landgrave of Anspach. Besides studying at Venice, he also underwent a course of study at Rome, traces of the teachings of these two schools being clearly visible in his compositions side by side with distinct German characteristics. Meiland seems to have been specially impressed with the secular choral song of Venice, as he has left behind him several pieces of this kind in the style of Gastoldi, Donati, Monteverde, Da Foggia, and Brunelli. He also wrote a number of *Song-dances*, a form very popular with the Venetians. In 1564 he published at Nuremberg "*Cantiones sacræ quinque et sex vocum harmonicis numeris in gratiam musicorum compositæ*," of which the copy now in the Leipzig Library is the only known existing one.

The third noteworthy German pupil of the Venetian school, Adam Gumpeltzhaimer, was born in 1560 at Trossberg, in Bavaria. Although a pupil of the Augsburg master Enzemüller, his compositions, especially the sacred, show unmistakable Venetian influence. An eight-part motet, "*Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas*," is modelled after the motet form of Giovanni Gabrieli. In 1591 he published "*New German Songs for Three and Four Voices, written in the Style of the Italian Villanelles*." Even if the title had not pointed to their origin, the musical contents would at once have indicated their Italian source. But notwithstanding these admitted Italian imitations, there is much in the master's works indicative of purely German national feeling, and that, too, in a higher degree than displayed by either Gallus or Meiland. The Teutonic profundity and inward expression of the feelings characteristic of the German are evinced by him in a manner as simple as it is touching, and where his setting is to original German texts and not to Italian verses, these national features are naturally more prominent. But notwithstanding this interesting national colouring, there was yet an immense gulf between Gumpeltzhaimer and Bach, although perhaps in earnestness of intention and truthfulness of expression he is entitled to rank beside the giant Sebastian. In simplicity he is the opposite to Bach, his music being easily understood by the public at large, demanding none of that trained mind necessary to a correct understanding of the illustrious Protestant composer. But to appreciate Gumpeltzhaimer fully, with his many German idiosyncrasies, an acquaintance with his works is imperative. There is for us a charming attractiveness in the pure, simple cadences

of this master's sacred works akin to that of those sweet spring blossoms, the primrose and violet. Yes, in truth, they are the harbingers of that ripened spring in the German tonal art to which we are rapidly approaching, and therefore it is that they possess for us an inexpressible virginal charm. Within the last decade certain German artists, to wit Commer, Mettenleiter, and Wüllner, have edited and republished several compositions of this period.

We now come to the Bavarian, Christian Erbach (1560—1628), the next prominent pupil of the Venetians. Erbach was famous as an organist. First he was organist in the house of the merchant princes Fugger at Augsburg, and afterwards cathedral organist in the same city. He had the distinguished honour conferred on him of being elected municipal councillor. In the "*Florilegium Portense*" of Bodenschatz, already referred to, there are a few pieces bearing the name of Erbach, of which one, "*Angelus Domini*," for six voices, and another, "*Domine Deus noster*," for eight voices, are so thoroughly Venetian in style and feeling that even a practised connoisseur might be deceived into attributing them to no less a man than Giovanni Gabrieli. By his great work, "*Modi sacri seu cantus musici ad ecclesiæ catholicæ usum vocibus 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, et pluribus ad omne genus instrumenti musici accommodatis*," published at Augsburg during his lifetime, he belongs to that body of musical disseminators of the style called by Ambros "*Germanic-Venetian*."

The next prominent German who studied at Venice was Hans Leo Hassler, a master to whom we have already alluded as an adapter of the Lutheran melody, "*A firm fortress is our God*," and as a fellow-student of the younger Gabrieli. Hassler was born in 1564 at Nuremberg, and when twenty years of age went to Venice to study under Andrea Gabrieli. By the Venetians he was called Gianleone Hassler, and, up to a certain point, they were entitled to regard him as one of their own; for, as Ambros says, "he was not only the mental twin-brother of Giovanni Gabrieli, but possessed more of the mind of the uncle Andrea than Giovanni himself." Another writer, Proske, observes: "The work of the master (Hassler) in the fugal style unites in itself the highest and most beautiful that German and Italian art could at that time produce." Hassler succeeded in fusing the two styles in a manner superior to any of his predecessors. In his "*Cantiones sacrae*" (1591) and his masses (1599)

the Venetian element predominates, and in his "Pater noster," the psalm "Cantate Domino canticum novum," and in a mass for twelve voices, published by Kieseewetter, he exhibits powers as a tone-colourist equal to either of the Gabriellis. The German leaning of the master is seen at its best in those psalms and sacred songs for four voices, written in fugato style, first published at Nuremberg in 1607, and reprinted by Kirnberger of Leipzig in 1777; also in some national secular songs—*e.g.*, "The pleasure garden of new German songs" for four and eight voices, brought out in 1601, which became extremely popular. According to the practice of the times, several of these melodies were adapted to sacred words, and found a place in the Church service. We quote two, "O bleeding head" and "Direct Thou my way," the melodies of which were appropriated from Hassler, the latter from his five-part love song, "My heart is sore oppressed because of maiden fair," the initials of the first strophe of five lines giving the name "Maria," an acrostic custom of the times. The style and structure of his popular songs, although distinctly German, gained much through the master's Venetian training. Thus his canzonettes (1590) and madrigals (1596), and even a collection of "German Songs for four, five, six, and eight voices," published at Nuremberg in 1597, which carry a second title of "Cantiones novæ ad modum Italicum," all bear evidence of Italian influence. In 1585 Hassler returned from Venice, and was at once appointed organist to Count Octavus II. von Fugger at Augsburg, and from 1601 to 1608 we find him at Prague attached to the court of the Emperor Rudolph II. He died in 1612 at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where he had followed John George, the Elector of Saxony.

The last important German pupil of the Venetians was Gregor Aichinger (1565—1621). To what extent this master was indebted to Italy we may gather from the preface to his "Sacra cantiones," published by Gardano at Venice in 1590, dedicated to Jacob Fugger, wherein he avows his Italian predilections and attempted imitation of G. Gabrieli. In 1599 Aichinger visited Rome, and in his compositions, as in those of Meiland, we note the Roman influence. His music discovers many new and original traits. In the motet "Ubi est frater tuus," for three voices, the reply of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is written for one voice only, with the direction to be sung "insolently and defiantly." The interruption of the trio for this effective solo response deserves to be noted. In the opinion of Ambros,

Aichinger was superior to Gallus, the latter appearing to him as a "solid talent" beside the "genius" (Aichinger). With this we, on the whole, coincide, as on some occasions Aichinger certainly rises much above Gallus, *e.g.*, in the motets, "Lauda anima," "Factus est repente," and the six-part "Intonuit de cœlo Dominus," published in 1606 at Dillingen, which are among the best of the beautiful compositions that emanated from the Venetian school of German masters. Aichinger, besides being a great musician, was a highly cultivated and thinking man. In the latter part of his life we find him officiating as priest in the church at Regensburg. In the early part of his career he seems to have devoted himself wholly to the study of music, and to have moved entirely in musical circles. His appointment as organist to the Fugger family was apparently the most important post he ever held. As it will be remembered that Leo Hassler, Christian Erbach, and other musicians of eminence filled the same office in this family of merchant princes, a short reference to them and what they did to further the tonal art may not be deemed out of place. Munificent in all that concerned art, they did not restrict their bounty to native talent only. Their personal relations with celebrated musicians and masters of the plastic art extended, like their commercial friendships, far beyond the boundaries of the German fatherland. Giovanni Gabrieli, the most illustrious master of the old Venetian school, was among their most intimate friends, writing several pieces for their family fêtes. It was the attraction of the Fugger family that induced Orlandus Lassus to leave Antwerp for Munich. During the century of the Reformation, and also in the seventeenth century, they held a leading place among the patrons of Catholic tonal art, but, irrespective of religious bias, what they did to further the cause of music has gained for them an honourable place in the history of German art.

Besides the masters we have named above, there belong yet to the Germanic-Venetian school a number of other German composers whom we must content ourselves with naming only, both because they are not so important, and because we have not the space. The most noteworthy among them was Weissensee, from Thuringia, born in 1560, a prolific composer in the Germanic-Venetian style; next the Tyrolese Ammon, from Imst, who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century, his works showing the influence of Orlandus Lassus besides that of the Venetians; then Vulpius,

cantor at Weimar in 1600; and lastly, Christophorus Demantius, born in 1571 at Reichenberg, the author of a celebrated tutor, "*Isagoge artis musicae*," which ran through thirteen editions between 1605 and 1671.

But this does not exhaust the list of German masters who imbibed their higher musical education from the Italians. Hitherto we have dealt exclusively with pupils of the Venetian school, but there was another large and important body that were attracted to Rome through the fame of Carissimi and Frescobaldi. It will be remembered that in a former chapter we spoke of Frescobaldi—the king of all Italian organists of the seventeenth century—as belonging to the new Venetian school. This was really the case, but on being appointed organist to St. Peter's at Rome he took up his abode in the Papal city, and it was while there that the most prominent of his German pupils came to him. It would therefore be incorrect to speak of Frescobaldi's pupils as belonging to the Venetian school, and thus we have treated them as part of the Germanic-Roman school, the more so, too, because the Roman Carissimi's teachings were of great weight with the Germans. Such of those masters as left their fatherland primarily to study at Venice, subsequently visiting Rome, we have included with the Venetian pupils.

Amongst the German pupils of Frescobaldi and Carissimi, Kerl and Froberger stand out in bold relief. Johann Kasper von Kerl was born in Saxony in 1625 (according to Rudhart, in 1628 at Ingolstadt), and at an early age was sent by his patron, Ferdinand III., to Rome, where he studied under Carissimi. On his return to Germany he wrote largely, improving both the sacred and secular recitative. He employed a freer voicing of parts and developed an altogether superior artistic style, all of which advances are to be attributed to his studies under Carissimi. A "*Missa Solennis*" and a five-part Requiem performed in Germany at once established his fame as a composer for the Church, the Viennese joining in the laudations that greeted their fellow-townsmen. He resigned his appointment at Vienna in favour of that of court chapel-master at Munich to the Elector of Bavaria, succeeding Rudolph Lassus, the son of the great Orlandus Lassus. Although Kerl was wholly a pupil of the Italians, he was one of the earliest German masters who contested with the Italians the musical supremacy at the German courts, a struggle which was maintained with as much bitterness as zeal from the end of the seventeenth to far

into the nineteenth century. It was not that Kerl was unmindful of his indebtedness to Italy, but rather that he was possessed of an anxious desire to propagate the classical style of his tutors, Frescobaldi, Carissimi, and of men like Giovanni Legrenzi, to the exclusion of the then encroaching concert style of Italian composers and singers, whose only objects were the gratification of the senses by meretricious vocalisation. This struggle first came to a decided head at the Munich Court Theatre about 1660, where Kerl and his operas were violently opposed by the vain and spoiled Italian singers of the court. That they should be compelled to admit the superiority of a German, a pupil of their own countrymen, was exasperating to the Italians. The struggle was embittered by Kerl insisting on a stricter artistic rendering in their performance of his operas. In vain did the art-loving Bavarian prince strive to strengthen the position of his chapel-master by nominating him councillor of the Electorate; the jealousies and intrigues wore the master out, and in 1673 he left for Vienna. Ten years later we meet him again in Munich, where he died, and was buried in the Church of St. Augustine in 1693. There is not much doubt that Kerl, when in Rome, received instruction in organ-playing from Frescobaldi. All information speaks of him as a most accomplished performer on the organ. This skill he could hardly have acquired from Carissimi, and we may, not without some reason, assume that, as a musician and a man of general attainments, he put himself under the celebrated Frescobaldi, who was then in Rome exciting the musical world by his wonderful recitals. The latest investigations place Kerl in Rome at the age of twenty about the year 1645; according to Della Valle, Frescobaldi was then still alive, and according to Fétis, who dates his death in 1653, he might have enjoyed ten years of that great organist's tuition. A number of modern historians, with more or less certainty, also place Kerl among the pupils of Frescobaldi, and, as further testimony of this, it must be stated that Kerl's earliest fame was acquired through his excellent organ-playing, and that later in life the organist Kerl overshadowed the chapel-master. In 1673, on returning to Vienna, Kerl was at once reappointed imperial organist to the Cathedral of St. Stephen. Again, the Elector of Bavaria, on being crowned Emperor Leopold I., in 1658, at Frankfûrt-on-the-Main, promoted his electoral organist to be imperial organist, and, on account of the extraordinary enthusiasm which Kerl's playing excited, presented him with a patent of nobility.

The influence of Frescobaldi is also distinctly traceable in Kerl's numerous works for the organ.*

The next master of note, and one of whom we possess positive testimony as a pupil of Frescobaldi, Johann Jakob Froberger, or Frohberger, was born at Halle not later than 1612.† He is said to have been the son of the town cantor of Halle, and to have been brought up according to the teachings of the Lutheran Church. By the interest of a high personage he was sent when a youth to Vienna. There he had the good fortune to attract the attention of Ferdinand III., and to secure that monarch's patronage. This same emperor, who at his own expense had sent Kerl to Rome, observing the gifts of the youthful Froberger, sent him also to Rome; and this time we are not driven to speculation, as with Kerl, whether he was recommended to Frescobaldi or to any other Italian master, for we are plainly told that he was sent to Frescobaldi. When in Rome, at the desire of his imperial patron, he entered the Romish Church, and no doubt he the more readily became a convert to Roman Catholicism as he had an unbounded admiration for his Catholic master Frescobaldi; and further, being of a highly-impressionable and imaginative temperament, he was easily excited and attracted by the splendour of the Romish ceremonial. Froberger excelled both as an organist and as a cembalist. In his writings we meet with the highly-developed contrapuntal and fugal style of his master side by side with a tendency to embellishment by an excessive use of ornaments, called by the French *agréments*, a feature introduced into music for keyed instruments by Couperin and Rameau. This imitation of the French is explained by a visit he made to Paris, according to some in 1655 or 1662, but we believe at a much earlier date. It is curious that during the lifetime of the master not one of his compositions appeared in print. This might have been owing to his own excellent penmanship. He wrote his works as if they were engraved, ornamenting them with original arabesques and figures of cherubs and imps. For his patrons he had them

* The court library at Vienna possesses a five-part Requiem in manuscript by Kerl, dated 1653; another Requiem, not named by Fétis, of 1688, is said to exist in Austria or Bavaria.

† The year 1635, asserted first by Matheson, and now generally accepted as the date of Froberger's birth, is completely disproved by Kochel's official calendar, "The Imperial Music Chapel of Vienna," wherein it is stated that the master was appointed organist of the Imperial Chapel in 1637, the date being supported by references to court documents.

exquisitely bound in gold leather of a costly description. He rejected the system of notation hitherto employed by Italian organists and many of his own countrymen, in favour of the five-line staff of the present day, writing indifferently in the C, G, or F clef. When writing for the organ he sometimes used four staves, putting them one under the other as in score. He was at three different periods imperial organist at Vienna. In 1657, owing to his frequent absences from the court, and to often exceeding his permitted leave, he fell under the displeasure of his patron, and left Vienna for Mayence, in which city he took up his residence. Although discarded by the emperor, he immediately found a new patron in the amiable and art-loving Sybilla, Duchess of Wirtemberg, with whom he remained on the closest friendly terms until his death in 1667, and not, as it is constantly but erroneously stated, 1695 and 1700. On his death, Sybilla wrote to Huygens, the celebrated scientist: "I am left alone, God grant me His grace, a pupil, poor and humble, of my dear, honest, faithful, and industrious teacher, the good Master Johann Jakob Froberger;" and in another epistle she says, "his noble compositions are so dear to me, that as long as I live I will hold fast by them." She erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which she found not "unworthy" of him. In 1695 one of Froberger's chief works, "*Diverse curiose rarissime partite di toccate, ricercate, capricci e fantasie per gli amatori di cembali, organi ed instrumenti*," was published for the first time at Mayence. In 1714 appeared a second and a larger work, also at Mayence, containing the most varied harpsichord and organ pieces, entitled "*Diverse ingegniosissime, rarissime e non mai più viste curiose partite di toccate, canzone, ricercate alemande, correnti, sarabande e gigue di cimbali, organi e instrumenti*." The most valuable of the Froberger manuscripts, numbering about 222 leaves, now in the imperial library at Vienna, comprises interesting specimens of the toccate, capricci, canzone, and partite. If Froberger's works do not disclose the grandeur of his master Frescobaldi, they are often more melodious and less exacting than those of the great Italian. They contain much sterling worth, and were held in high honour by Sebastian Bach—a prelude and fugue* in E flat by the great Protestant master, of an early period, being composed on the Froberger model.

* These two pieces are now in the possession of Dr. W. Rust. See Spitta's "*Sebastian Bach*," vol. i., p. 321.

We now come to the two last South German masters of the seventeenth century who owe a part at least of their musical training to Italy—Georg Muffat and Heinrich Biber. They differ from the previous masters treated in this chapter in that they both spent a portion of their time studying in Paris. In a preface to "Fifty Ballet Pieces for four or eight Violins with a basso continuo," Muffat tells us that he modelled them after Lully, whose style he had endeavoured to copy. In 1675 he was organist at Strasburg, and fifteen years later organist at Salzburg, visiting in the interim Vienna and Rome. He was next appointed court chapel-master and page-master at Passau, where he died in 1704. In 1695 he published at Augsburg "*Apparatus musico-organisticus*," wherein Muffat proves himself superior to Frescobaldi and Pasquini in technical writing for keyed instruments, the twelve toccatas, chacone, and passacaille comprised in it demanding a technique of a more brilliant character than that required by the writings of either of the two Italian masters. In this bravura style of writing he approaches very near Couperin le Grand and Rameau.

Heinrich Franz von Biber, who was born on the Bohemian frontier in 1648, and who died at Salzburg in 1705, received his musical education in Germany, France, and also in Italy. He was one of the earliest German improvers of the sonata style. A collection of sonatas, consisting of twelve pieces for four and five string instruments, was published by him at Nuremberg, and many other collections, one of which comprises pieces for solo violin with an underlying thorough bass, and another for three instruments, were also brought out during his lifetime. Like Muffat, Biber laboured earnestly to create among his countrymen a love for a higher instrumental style and an appreciative taste for the skilled executant who rose superior to display for the sake of display. He himself enjoyed the reputation of being one of the first violin-players during the second half of the seventeenth century, and undertook an artistic tour through Central Europe, his masterly performances winning for him the popular applause wherever he went. At one performance given in Vienna, he aroused such an enthusiasm that the Emperor Leopold I., to mark his high sense of pleasure, raised him to the dignity of nobility.

No reference to Muffat and Biber and their meritorious efforts to emancipate instrumental from vocal music in Germany would be complete

without a passing remark on the general improvement in the construction of solo instruments which took place from 1650 to 1720, an improvement which had begun about 1540 and continued up to 1620, when all progress was stopped by the devastating Thirty Years' War. This impetus originated chiefly among civic magnates and the higher ranks of society. The



Fig. 229.—Lute-Maker.

first and most popular instrument to be improved was the German lute, and amongst its earliest improvers were Neusiedler, Gerle (1525—1540), Hofer, Lauffensteiner, Scheidler, Schindler, Setzkorn, Straube, Weiss, and Walter. The lute became a favourite throughout Europe. The accompanying illustration, a copy of a woodcut of the period, represents a German lute-maker in his workroom about to try a newly-finished instrument.*

The working classes also had their favourite instruments, which had been handed down to them from the Middle Ages. Those chiefly patronised by artisan and peasant from the end of the six-

teenth to the middle of the seventeenth century were the lyre (or hurdy-gurdy) and bagpipe.

The beautiful old woodcut below, which seems to belong to the classical Nuremberg school, introduces us to the popular lyre and bagpipe. The joy

* The lute retained its popularity up to the end of the seventeenth century, and was used indifferently in the church, the theatre, the home, and in serenading. It held a place in the affections of the people as great as the piano holds amongst us to-day, and, as is the case with the modern piano, was equally used and abused. Matheson, in 1713, complained that "the flattering lutes have in this world really more partisans than they deserve, and the professors are so ill advised that if they can but play a few allemandes in the Vienna or Parisian manner, they strive not nor care not a straw for real musical knowledge." And further on he waggishly remarks that "should you meet a lute-player eighty years old, you may rest assured he has been *tuning* sixty years of this; and the worst is, that amongst a hundred players, particularly amongst amateurs, you will find scarcely two who can tune correctly."

depicted on the faces of the performers and listeners is well expressed in the Latin quotation, "Music delights and adorns both gods and mortals."

Strictly speaking, Froberger ought not to be mentioned with the advance guard of Bach, to whom, perhaps, we but now come. But before we treat of the most important of these masters, it is necessary that we should make a few observations which the subject seems to demand, and which are of general musical historical interest.

Fifty years ago the belief prevailed that Sebastian Bach was with-



Fig. 230.—A Group of Musicians.

out any real precursor in his grand work, from whom he might have drawn nourishment, and on whose art-styles he might have founded and fashioned his own. Such was the fallacious belief even amongst musicians, not to mention several musical historians. If such a mistaken notion reigned amongst musicians, it may easily be imagined with what thoughts the vast musical public regarded Bach. To that wide worshipping world he was a master who stood alone, without any pioneer, great and wonderful in his isolation. To them he was not a *deus ex machina*, but one who, from his own innate genius, created and developed his grand art. Only as far back as twenty years ago this impression still obtained amongst

a number of usually well-informed musicians, and there is not much doubt that it is even so with the casual reader of to-day.*

Prominent amongst ardent musical investigators and thinkers who have zealously striven to find some connecting link between Bach and his precursors, both in the Bach family and elsewhere, stands the already quoted Moritz Hauptmann. Writing to his friend Hauser in 1827, he asks: "Have you not made any discoveries amongst the old book-shops of Frankfûrt? Can you find nothing of Frescobaldi for piano or organ? I have fallen upon a piece by Frescobaldi, but it does not help me in bridging over the interval to Sebastian Bach, and yet it is in that direction that I feel one ought to alight on it."

The keen artistic instinct of the German critic Hauptmann indicated to him the right path he should explore, but he was so little aware that it was the Germans who were indebted to the Italians for the fugue—transmitted to them in some instances in as fully developed a manner as was possible, and in certain features unsurpassable in its completeness—that only a little later, in 1832, when writing to the same friend, he says: "Italy received from Germany the Gothic in architecture and the fugue in the tonal art, yet neither flourished in their strange soil, but rather degenerated; the fugue fled before the Italian sonata." But we have already shown that it was the Germans who were indebted to the Italians for the fugue, and we shall further show, in the course of the present work, that the most important of the Italian precursors of Bach were those who began to develop the modern fugue, their pupils transmitting the same to Bach in a state so perfect that he had but to put the finishing touch to it, whilst in certain of its features he had nothing to improve or add.

* The explanation of such a mistaken belief is, that if we look at Bach surrounded by his professional German contemporaries, he towers above them in all the grandeur of his undoubted greatness. The creation of Bach's most imperishable works falls just within that period when the *Zopf* style of the Neapolitan had exerted its pernicious influence over Germany, and when the links that had united Germany with the classical schools of Italy were either snapped or almost entirely forgotten. Under such circumstances it is indeed surprising and wonderful that, from his earliest youth, Bach should have turned his back on the deteriorated music that surrounded him and was praised on all sides, and struggled towards those sources of genuine musical art which, in the shape of the master-works of the Italians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were not only more difficult to obtain, but had to be diligently sought for amongst the *débris* of two hundred years. Viewed from this point, it might be said that Bach stood alone, and he might be regarded as a heaven-born master, though in a sense other than the generally accepted one.

The immediate precursors of Sebastian Bach whom we propose to treat of here are Germans. Of these about half were pupils of the Italians; the Italians, therefore, will occupy but a secondary place. It should be remarked that the majority of the German masters treated in this chapter, and whose relations to the schools of Rome and Venice were of a more prominent character than their relation to Bach, were Catholics and South Germans, besides others who found the people of South Germany sympathetic to their work; whilst those masters who influenced the German cantor the most, and were in the closest relation with him, were principally the Protestants of North and Middle Germany. But this does not exclude the fact that among the real Bach pioneers there were also Catholics. To these we shall more fully refer in our chapter on Bach, when it will be seen that they were mostly Italian masters.

The North German precursors of Bach fall naturally into two groups. The first and larger consists of the pupils of the great Netherland organist Swelinck, to whom we referred in Chapter X., p. 349; the second, of those North German masters, who, though not immediate pupils of Swelinck, yet show in their works the influence of that master, adopting, in some instances, almost the very same art-forms.

Amongst the immediate pupils of Swelinck, Scheidt and Scheidemann were the most distinguished. The first, Samuel Scheidt,* was born in 1587 at Halle, the birthplace also of Froberger and Händel. He held the appointment of organist at the Church of St. Maurice, Halle, where he died in 1654. He was the first to introduce into Germany the profound style of Swelinck, which is in part the foundation of the organ compositions of Bach. During a part of his life Scheidt lived at Hamburg, and there he published his "*Tabulatura Nova*" for the organ in three volumes, perhaps the master's most important work. In it he proves himself a perfect master of the then new organ-colour style. In a preface addressed "to the good-hearted musically intelligent reader" there is much interesting matter on the technique of the organ. Besides the serious music for the Church which the work contains, there are also dances, written for the use of a small organ then specially built for home use.

Heinrich Scheidemann, born in 1600 in Hamburg, where he died in 1694,

* Matheson, in his "*Triumphal Arch*," also states that Scheidt was a pupil of Jan Peter Swelinck.

exercised an influence over his German contemporaries and followers not less great than his predecessor. At the early age of sixteen, on account of his musical gifts, he was sent by the Hamburg Church committee, at their expense, to Amsterdam to study under Swelinck. In 1625 he was appointed to succeed his father as organist in St. Catherine's Church, Hamburg, a post that he retained until a ripe old age, and that, too, with so much renown that when one offered to replace the great master he was scoffed at and pronounced presumptuous. Besides a number of excellent compositions for the organ, including several preludes and fugues, he set music to many sacred songs of contemporaneous German poets in a pleasing and melodious manner. A collection of such songs was published at Hamburg in 1652. If Scheidemann cannot be said to have directly influenced Bach, there is no doubt of such influence being exercised by his most important pupil Reinken.

Of the other pupils of Swelinck who deserve special mention, Jacob Schultz, born at Erfurt in 1581, died at Hamburg in 1651, is perhaps the chief. Schultz, who, after the fashion of the time, adopted his Latin equivalent Prætorius, was the son of Hieronymus Prætorius, himself a musician trained at Cologne, and appointed organist in 1582 to St. Jacob's Church, Hamburg, in which office he was succeeded by his son. Swelinck thought much of this pupil, Jacob Schultz, and on his marriage in 1608 composed and dedicated a song to him. Many of his very celebrated organ compositions appear to have been lost; there still exist, however, in the Hamburg town library collection, several *occasional* compositions (*i.e.*, pieces specially composed for certain occasions) which are distinguished by rich invention and novel and surprising modulations. Of the remaining noteworthy pupils of Swelinck we mention Melchior Schild (died in 1668), famed for his organ-playing and benevolence in founding an annuity of eighty dollars for organists; and Paul Syfert, or Seyfert, organist of one of the principal churches at Dantzic from 1620 to 1645. The relations of Swelinck with the Italians seem to have been less friendly than those of the Southern German masters, Syfert taking a leading part in the literary disputations that arose (see his "*Anticribratio Musica*").

We now come to those North German organists, who though not immediate pupils of Swelinck, yet belonged to that master's school, either as pupils of Swelinck's own pupils, or as imitators of the Netherlander.

The first two prominent names that meet us are Reinken and Buxtehude, the writings of both of whom exercised a deep and lasting influence over Bach. Johann Adam Reinken, also Reinke and Reinicke, was, like Swelinet, a Dutchman, and probably also born at Deventer. Swelinet died in 1621, and Reinken was born in 1623; any immediate connection between the two was therefore impossible. Reinken received his early musical education in Germany, at Leipzig, from whence he went to Hamburg to continue his studies under Heinrich Scheidemann, the most prominent pupil of Swelinet, whom he succeeded as organist in the Church of St. Katherine of the same city. When Reinken entered upon his duties as organist at Hamburg, his Amsterdam friends were apprehensive of his reputation in succeeding so great a man. But he quickly proved that he was well worthy to come after Scheidemann, and in a short time acquired a fame that few organ performers before him had enjoyed, and at the end of the seventeenth century he was without a rival. In 1703 Bach, full of enthusiasm for his noble art, wandered to Hamburg to hear the much-talked-of master. Seventeen years later, when Bach himself had risen to eminence, he repeated his visit to Hamburg, playing before the venerable old master, who had reached the good age of 97 years, and was still officiating as church organist. After extemporising for half an hour on the chorale melody "By the waters of Babylon," Reinken addressed these memorable words to Bach, "I thought this art had died out, but I see that it lives in you." The principal work of Reinken was his "*Hortus Musicus*," comprising preludes and chorale arrangements for the organ. He also published in 1704 at Hamburg a collection of pieces for two violins and harpsichord, under the title of "*Sonatas, Concertantes, Allemandes, Courantes, Sarabandes, and Chiques*." Matheson, contemporary critic of Reinken, seems to have experienced a feeling of jealous animosity against the master because of his celebrity, for although he did homage to his greatness in his "*Necrology*," he assailed his private character as a "free liver," asserting that he had often been rebuked by the clergy.

Like Reinken stands the Dane Buxtehude, a prince among organists. As a composer he was the superior of Reinken. Dietrich Buxtehude was born in 1635 at Elsinore, where his father was organist at the Church of St. Olave, and from his father he received his first lessons in the tonal art. Remembering how many of the elder Buxtehude's northern contemporaries were pupils of the Swelinet school, we think it very probable that it was with those

principles that Master Dietrich was indoctrinated. He seems to have made great progress with his studies, and his fame becoming noised abroad led to his appointment as organist in the old Church of St. Mary, at Lübeck. A contemporary, speaking of his marvellous execution, says "that the boldest would have quaked with fear had he to play an *alla breve* or fugue after Buxtehude." Great as was his renown as an organist, it was greater as a composer, his numerous and weighty compositions insuring him immortal fame. There also exist some pieces for the clavecin of a light character, and requiring but moderate execution, which are very pleasing. His preludes and toccatas for the organ are of a much more solid and brilliant character, but both clavecin and organ works are alike permeated with deep, poetical feeling. His fugues and fugal movements surprise us by their masterly development of polyphonic ingenuity. Of this class we specially mention a collection of eighteen great organ compositions which has come down to us, containing preludes with fugues, two chaconnes, a passacaille, a toccata, and a single fugue.* On the death of his father he composed an ode "in grateful memory of a loving parent and teacher:" this was published at Lübeck in 1674. Buxtehude also wrote several vocal works. In a volume of cantatas by him, the first in the book bears a striking affinity to Bach's "Easter Cantata," which leads us to the belief that it was after this that the Protestant master modelled his own. In 1673 Buxtehude instituted musical Sunday evenings in St. Mary's Church, where he was organist, the clergy at the same time instructing the people in spiritual matters. These musical meetings were very popular, not only with the people of Lübeck, but also with the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. They seem to have been the first sacred concerts of the kind ever held in the north of Germany. For these gatherings Buxtehude augmented his regular choir by forty instrumentalists. The immense labour that these concerts entailed on him, in addition to the ordinary difficulties attending the bringing together of so large a body of musicians at that time, will be seen when we state that for one performance he copied as many as 1,600 pages of music. For these concerts he specially wrote the "Marriage of the Lamb," and

* In 1840 appeared "A Collection of Works for the Organ by the best masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," edited by Franz Kommer, which contains a toccata and fugue by Buxtehude.

“Evening Music in nine parts.” In keeping with the spirit of the mediæval times, Buxtehude wrote several pieces having a symbolic meaning. This return to the mysticism of the Middle Ages was not confined to the tonal art; we also meet it in German scientific writers of the seventeenth century; thus Kepler, the celebrated astronomer, in his “World’s Harmony” and “Dream,” returns to the Pythagorean theory of the “music of the spheres.” With the serious investigation of the savant and artist there was mixed a striving after a speculative poetic form, which often led to a resuscitation of the half-faded traditions of primordial times. For example, in seven “suites” by Buxtehude, the composer has striven to depict “the nature and the properties of the seven planets.” In another of his symbolic works he endeavoured to describe in the form of musical conversation “The Awful and the Joyful, or from the end of time as the beginning of eternity.” Side by side with serious works like these we meet simple and child-like pious compositions of the “To my dear God” kind—*i.e.*, of a suite for the organ, in which the solemn melody is written in the dance rhythm of a courante or gigue, in curious relation to the secular spirit of the times.

We have already pointed to the wondrous instinct which led Bach to reject all matter uncongenial to his own way of thinking and feeling, and, with a power of divination bordering on the wonderful, to seek precisely that which was mentally akin to him. Bach’s visit to Buxtehude and his two pilgrimages to Reinken were not, we take it, made in any casual sort of way, but with the distinct object of adding to his knowledge of the art of music, feeling that at Hamburg and Lübeck he was sure to meet something accordant with his own sympathies. In the autumn of 1705 he left Arnstadt for Lübeck to be present at the sacred concerts given under the leadership of Buxtehude in St. Mary’s Church. The strong individuality of the conductor, his gift in composition and skill in organ-playing so deeply impressed Bach that, instead of returning to fulfil his own engagement as organist at Arnstadt, he exceeded the four weeks leave granted him by the Consistory and remained at Lübeck three months. We therefore are not surprised that Bach should have been strongly influenced by the Lübeck master, and feel no astonishment that in some of his fugal pieces he should have directly imitated him. For example, the similar workings in Buxtehude’s Prelude and Fugue in A minor, and in Bach’s double fugue in F sharp minor and in a grand organ fugue in F, both in common

time, are very striking; and again in some lighter pieces for organ and piano by Bach, the resemblance to Buxtehude is so patent that it were an easy matter to point to distinct passages. In referring to Buxtehude's expert organ-playing, Spitta, in his article on J. S. Bach (vol. i., pp. 271—282), says: "The technique of organ-playing was brought to such a state of excellence through Buxtehude's great gifts that it cannot be said that Bach had to strike out in new directions;" and in saying this we do not think that Spitta has asserted too much.

Among the North German masters who were pupils of Swelinck, or belonged to the Swelinck school, there are none that can take rank beside Reinken or Buxtehude. But there is yet one other master who, though the gifts of neither of this brilliant duo can be claimed for him, is of such importance as to claim some reference at our hands. Johann Kuhnau, born in 1667 at Geysing, on the Saxon-Bohemian frontier, died in 1722 at Leipzig. Although from the place of his birth and of his labours Kuhnau belongs to the group of middle German masters rather than to that of the north, we have classed him with the latter because his works evidence the Swelinck influence, and also because he was not a pupil of the Italians. His fame rests on his instrumental compositions, chiefly for organ and harpsichord. In this there is a resemblance between him and his two great contemporaries of Hamburg and Lübeck, who were also celebrated chiefly for their instrumental work. A man of versatile talent, he shone equally outside the musical profession as in it. To his meritorious skill in composition he added excellence in organ-playing, knowledge of theory, and success as a cantor. He was also a jurist and pleader, a mathematician, and a man of great wit and humour. By many he is held to have been the inventor of the *sonata form in many parts*, but we would reduce this to the assertion that he was one of the first to introduce that form into Germany. His own first sonata of this kind is in three parts, and forms part of a work by him which bears the lengthy and odd title "The other part of Clavier Exercise, that is, seven parts from re mi fa, or tertia minor tone, in addition to a Sonata in B, written for the special delectation of the lovers of music." We must not look in Kuhnau's sonatas for a form in which the parts grow out of two or more principal themes of equal importance. His sonatas consisted either of fugues and fugato movements, or parts in the style of the suite, and belong

rather to that instrumental form which consisted in the development of one single subject or motive, a form which had existed prior to Kuhnau in Italy, France, and had been often used by the Swelinck school in their organ fugue and harpsichord suites. This latter form was used by Bach and Handel in their instrumental compositions. Thus, the first-mentioned sonata in three parts by Kuhnau consists of a fugue and prelude in B flat major, an adagio in E flat, and a repetition of the first two movements. Other sonatas in three parts he published in 1696 under the title of "Fresh Sonata Fruits," followed later by "Biblical Stories, illustrated in Six Sonatas," which it is evident was an attempt at tone-painting. The "Biblical Stories" contain some excellent fugal writing. Kuhnau acquired such a celebrity for fugues and double fugues that long after his death Matheson and Marpurg lauded him as a model composer in this style. Superior as the master was in this class of composition, in his vocal works he did not rise above the level of his contemporaries. In any influence which he may have exercised over Bach we may assume, then, that it was only as an instrumental writer. The two men were acquainted with each other at Weimar, and Bach succeeded Kuhnau as cantor at St. Thomas's Church, Leipzig.

There is yet another group of German composers belonging to the seventeenth century with which we have to deal; one that seems to us to invite the title of "The School of Cantors and Organists of Middle Germany," not only because the majority of its masters were by birth or adoption middle Germans, but also in that the whole of their endeavours were in the direction of Church music, both vocal and instrumental. It will be remembered that the masters of North Germany also cultivated the Church style, but the works of the middle Germans differed from them almost as much as from the Catholic masters of South Germany.

The oldest master of this group, Melchior Franck, was born in 1580 at Zittau, in Saxony, and died in 1639, ducal chapel-master of Coburg. We cannot regard Franck as a precursor of Bach, as we fail to find anywhere that he influenced that master; if he did, it was in a very slight degree. As a worker in Evangelical song he was one of the prominent men of his time, and it was this development of the Protestant chorale which gained for the masters of middle Germany their fame. In this respect they differed from their Southern German contemporaries, who, being Catholics, took no part in the building up of

Evangelical song. The Protestant masters of North Germany certainly wrote a good deal of Church music, but in this particular style they were inferior to the middle Germans, as they devoted the largest share of their attention to the cultivation of instrumental music. And thus it happened that the tone-masters of that limited area where Luther's principal labours were carried on remained for a century and a half after the great Reformer's death the truest conservators of the congregational song evolved by him, a song that forms the basis of modern Protestant Church music. Melchior Franck's chorale tunes, "Jerusalem, thou city built on high," "Say what profits to me the world," "O Jesu, when Thy face," and "The bridegroom quickly cometh"—the words of the last two being furnished, it is said, by Franck himself—are still known to Evangelical congregations. These chorales are found in Franck's most important work, "German Psalms and Congregational Songs, set to popular melodies for four voices" (Nuremberg, 1608), a volume that contains many excellent tunes and masterly choral compositions. In Church compositions other than the chorale, in which the invention of the master was unshackled and ranged at will, he appears as one of the most earnest and impressive tone-poets of the first half of the seventeenth century. A reference to his five-part motet, "Into Thy Arms," in vol. vii. of the "Musicæ Sacræ," published by Bote and Bock, of Berlin, and his "My Soul Praiseth the Lord," in vol. xiv. of the same collection, will be found to fully bear out our opinion. Nothing convinces us more of the manifold riches of German musical art than Franck's compositions of this kind, for although differing completely from Bach's vocal works, as regards style and representing a totally different phase of the world's life, they represent the highest of their class in Church music, and should be ranked, always bearing in mind their character and pretensions, with those of Palestrina, Lotti, and Bach himself. We feel, in trying them through, the characteristic German mind speaking to us as strongly as it did in the genial *a capella* compositions of the South German master Gumpeltzhaimer, twenty years before. The explanation of this is that the feeling which inspired the masters to work, though proceeding from different faiths, was one and the same earnest endeavour to write from the soul.

The second prominent master of this group, Johann Hermann Schein,

the son of a clergyman, was born at Grünhain, in Saxony, in 1586. He was first a chorister at Schulpforta, from whence he went to study at Leipzig. Appointed court chapel-master at Weimar, he resigned his post in order to succeed Sethus Calvisius in the office of cantor at St. Thomas's Church, Leipzig. As a composer he is famed for some important choral works, and excellent secular songs, of which the collection, "The Garlands of Venus, or secular songs for five voices, with Intrades and Galliades" (Leipzig, 1609), and "Musica Boscarea, forest ditties in the style of the Italian Villanelles, for three voices" (Leipzig, 1621), are perhaps the best. Notwithstanding the admitted imitation of Italian form, it is only in the form itself that they bear any resemblance to their Italian model; for the rest they are replete with German feeling and German love of forest life. The principal of his sacred compositions are contained in a work entitled "Cantiones; or Song-book of the Augsburg Confession." In this is embodied "The Songs and Psalms of Dr. Luther, of other pious Christians, and of the author, together with hymns and prayers in use in the electorates and principalities of Saxony, and among the congregations of the two churches in Leipzig" (Leipzig, 1627); and further, "Jacob's Well, with selected texts for five and six voices and the thorough bass, in the madrigal style" (Frankfurt, 1623). Michael Prætorius, in his "Syntagma Musicum" (vol. ii., p. 9), dedicated to the members of the Leipzig Council, says, in a lament on the death of Johann Lippias: "He has been replaced by an excellent *musico practico e componista*, Johann Hermann Schein." Whether Schein had any influence on Bach cannot be positively determined; but since he was one of that master's predecessors in the post of cantor at St. Thomas's Church, such a supposition may not be altogether improbable.

The third master of this group, Andreas Hammerschmidt, was born at Brüx, in Bohemia, in 1611. He received his musical education from Otto, town cantor of Schandau, in Saxon Switzerland. Hammerschmidt was organist at St. Peter's Church, Freiburg, from 1635 to 1639, and at Zittau from 1639 to 1675, the year of his death. The master's merits must have been considerable, as the Consistory presented each of his three daughters with a marriage portion. The style of the master was original, elevated, and pure. He distinguished himself in compositions of the sacred concerto class, a form introduced into Germany from Italy by Heinrich

Schütz, his contemporary, whose own efforts in that direction stimulated the Zittau organist. Hammerschmidt's originality showed itself also in the evolution of the *sacred dialogue*, a form which he sometimes embodied in his Church concertos. It is his development and use of the dialogue-form that singles him out from his contemporaries. Between 1645 and 1648 he published "Dialogi Spirituali, or dialogues between God and a faithful soul, for two or more voices." Dialogues of this kind, between "a faithful soul" and its Saviour, were used in the Evangelical Church before Hammerschmidt on special holy days, and we think it probable in the Catholic Church also. But Hammerschmidt was one of the first to stamp the dialogues with a nobler form and to raise them into the sphere of higher art-music. His dialogues were admired alike by his contemporaries and successors. The form was freely adopted by German composers of the seventeenth century, notably by Buxtehude (see his cantata "Dialogus"). It was a form which invited musicians to lose themselves in religious mysticism and allegory, and remained in use up to the time of Bach. Another popular work of the dialogue class by Hammerschmidt was his "Gospel Conversations in Music," in which soli and choir alternate. This combination was discountenanced by Schütz, who was opposed to any combination of the old Church song and sacred art-song in the same work. Hammerschmidt excelled also in the composition of masses for from five to twelve voices, to which he added an accompaniment for the orchestra: he was equally successful in writing secular odes. On the monumental stone that marks the master's burial-place is the following somewhat effusive inscription, "German's Amphion and Zittau's Orpheus; the noble swan who now before God's throne swells the song of the angels."

We now come to the two most important masters of this group, and at the same time the most prominent of Bach's precursors—Johann Christopher Bach, born in 1642 at Arnstadt, and Johann Michael Bach, born in 1648 at Arnstadt, uncles of Johann Sebastian Bach. The field of the labours of these two men and of their course of study, as with all those masters of the seventeenth century whom we have grouped as Middle Germans, was confined to an area extending but little beyond their birth-place. The whole of their artistic work was carried on in the heart of Germany, and not one of them went either to the north or to Italy to study under foreign masters; neither is there the least evidence that any

master came from other parts to take up his abode among them, and from whom they might have imbibed instruction. But although these masters did not leave their home, it did not prevent them from zealously studying the works of the best Netherland and Italian masters, and those of the more celebrated of their own countrymen. The quiet, retired life they led in the small towns of Thuringia, Franconia, Northern Bohemia, and Upper Saxony, and the amount of leisure that fell to their lot, enabled them to peruse with care the best specimens of their art. But even this study of outside masters did not fall to the lot of Johann and Michael Bach. The only instruction they received was imparted to them by their father, Heinrich Bach, himself an excellent organist (1615—1692). It is stated also, and that on authority, that they never went beyond the borders of their quiet Thuringian birthplace, where they lived in the solitude of a secluded country town. It was this peaceful existence which influenced their writings, and impregnated them with a simple, pious character—being works penned only for the glory of God and the edification of the congregation. But, on the other hand, their isolation is to be deplored, for since they had no desire to gain the approbation of those beyond their own very limited circle, very little of their work has been preserved, and what has come down to us as presumably theirs is open to dispute. If we accept these doubtful compositions as the work of the two masters, the first glance is sufficient to show us the importance of the two men, and the intimate mental relation between them and their celebrated nephew. The first master, Johann Christopher Bach, was appointed in 1665 organist at Eisenach. He died in 1703. Several admirable suites bearing his name have come down to us, also a number of excellent sacred compositions. Of the latter, the ten-part choral piece, "There arose contention," grandly depicting the strife between Satan and the archangel Michael, has an accompaniment for strings, two bassoons, four trumpets, and drums. An eight-part motet, "Our hearts' joy," and the double-choir motet, "I leave thee not,"* which belongs to the grandest *a capella* compositions that we possess, show the uncle of Sebastian Bach as scarcely less gifted than his greater nephew, to whom, indeed, it has often been ascribed. After ten years of

* Commonly known in England as "I wrestle and pray."

investigation, this motet was attributed to the uncle; but the strife has again begun, and it is now sought to ascribe it to the nephew. We are of opinion, after a careful analysis, that it should be attributed to Johann Christopher.

The same humble circumstances that attended the elder brother's early life were also those of Michael Bach. In 1673, on being appointed organist at Gehren, near Arnstadt, after having proved his proficiency by examination, the pastor and judicial dignitaries "expressed their humble thanks to the Lord for their wise selection of a quiet, retired, and able subject as their organist." To the office of organist was joined that of clerk to the corporation, and for these services Michael Bach received annually "72 florins, 18 cords of wood, 14 measures of corn and barley, 3½ buckets of beer, a little arable land, and free housing." His youngest daughter became the first wife of Sebastian Bach. In some of his motets, which count among the best of his works, and which are of great beauty, he has embodied chorales in a clever manner. It is important to note how often the art-performer combines in himself the art-workman. Michael Bach is an example of this dual artist. We know him to have been an accomplished organist and composer, and to these gifts he added the art of making clavi-chords and violins.

The last master of the middle German group, Johann Pachelbel, was born in 1653 at Nuremberg. Unlike his confrères, he evinced a restless spirit, journeying from Nuremberg to Altdorf, thence to Regensburg, where he received his musical education, and finally to Vienna, where, in 1677, he was appointed assistant organist to St. Stephen's Cathedral. From 1690 to 1692 he was court organist at Stuttgart. In the early part of his artistic life he was chiefly influenced by the South German style; this is especially noticeable in his toccatas. Although desirous of change, he seems to have spent twenty-eight years of his life in Thuringia and Franconia as organist of the Church of the Preachers at Erfurt, 1678—1690; 1690—1695 as organist at Gotha, and during the closing years of his life at St. Sebaldus, in his native town of Nuremberg. When he took up his abode in Thuringia he began to compose seriously in the chorale manner, making that the basis of his polyphonic compositions for the use of the Evangelical Church. By his work in this direction he has established his claim to a place among the true conservators of the Lutheran song, as his efforts were

of a more pointed nature than those of the South German Catholic masters in the development of the chorale, and more successful than those of his northern countrymen, who never completely grasped its melodic character. It may even be said of Pachelbel that in the Evangelical song he was superior to his fellow-masters. Next to Christopher Bach, he influenced Sebastian Bach more than any other master in the working of chorales; *e.g.*, the using of the melody in imitation form in the parts and in the general contrapuntal working of the Protestant chorale.

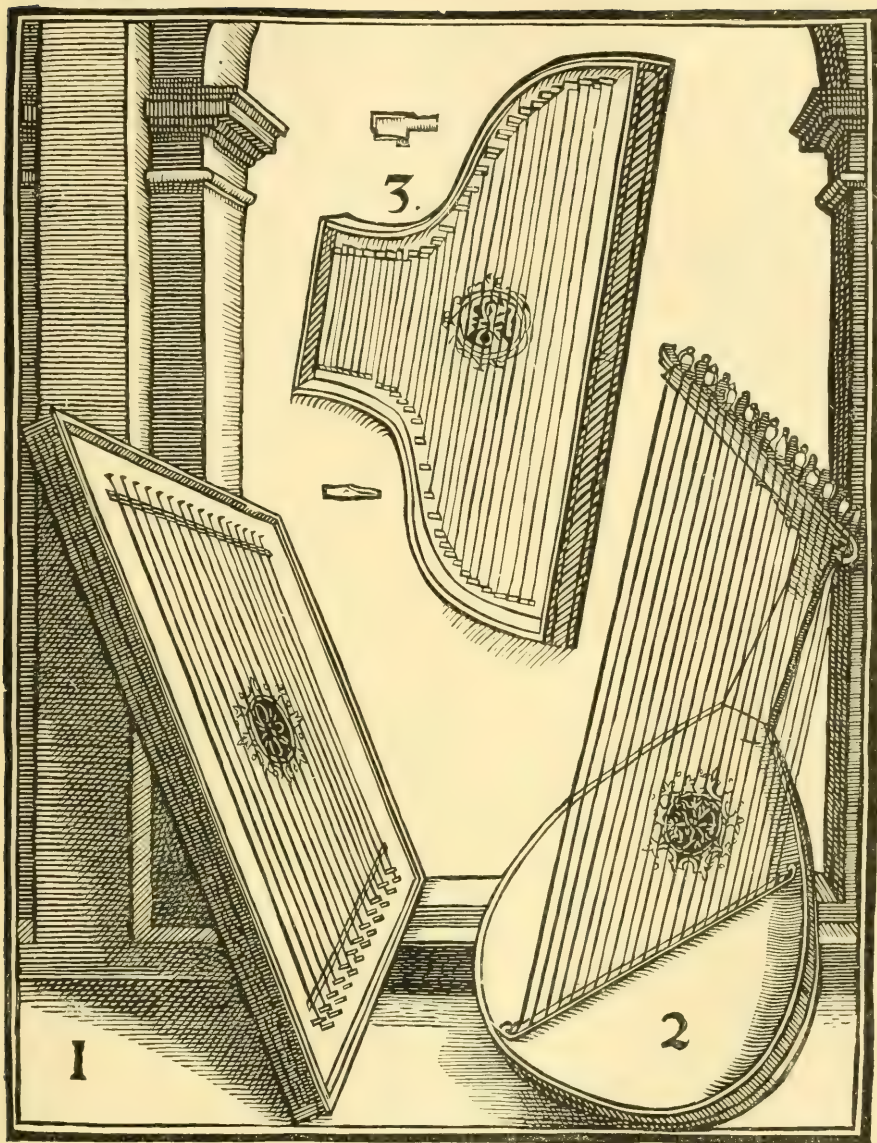
Our division of the German masters of the seventeenth century into three groups has not exhausted all the prominent musicians of Germany of that period. There were others whose striking individuality or their mode of working precluded their being classed in either of the above sections. But though not belonging to any group, their high artistic comprehensiveness made them the mediators of musical culture between Italy and Germany, fusing the different art-styles and forms of the two countries. The most prominent masters belonging to this section are the already oft-quoted Michael Prætorius and Heinrich Schütz, and Johann Jacob Fux.

The first of these, Michael Prætorius, was born in 1571 at Kreuzberg, in Thuringia, and died at Wolfenbüttel in 1621. A scholarly composer, he was as great a master of the various art-styles and manners of Italy as he was of the German forms, which latter, especially in Church music, were either generated directly by Luther or were the outcome of Lutheran influence. A talented composer, he was also a distinguished musical littérateur, an experienced practical musician, a sound theorist, and a distinguished historian. As an historian he has erected for himself in his "Syntagma Musicum" an imperishable monument, a work which, as far as it goes in relation to time, is very valuable as a musical encyclopædia. This remarkable three-volume book, of which but few copies are now in existence, and those in the hands of private collectors and royal libraries, was published by Prætorius himself during the five years 1615—1620. Section vi., volume ii., the "Theatrum Instrumentorum," must possess for every musical historian and every lover of music such an interest that we reproduce its illustrated title-page and other drawings of instruments not yet introduced into this work.

These illustrations afford us a complete insight into the state of musical instrument making in Central Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth

century. On Table xxxvi., Fig. 2, the representation of the fusion of a lute and harp into one single instrument is very remarkable. Table xxi., Figs. 1 and 2, representing the pocket fiddle (*violon de poche*), characteristic of the period, possess an historical interest beyond their own inherent value. Table xxii. shows us peasant lyres (or hurdy-gurdies) which prove the preservation of instruments of the people known to us in early centuries (see page 219, Fig. 142) as the organistrum. Lastly, Table xxiii. illustrates the side and kettle drums used in the German army at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and therefore throughout the Thirty Years' War, which began two years before the publication of these tables.

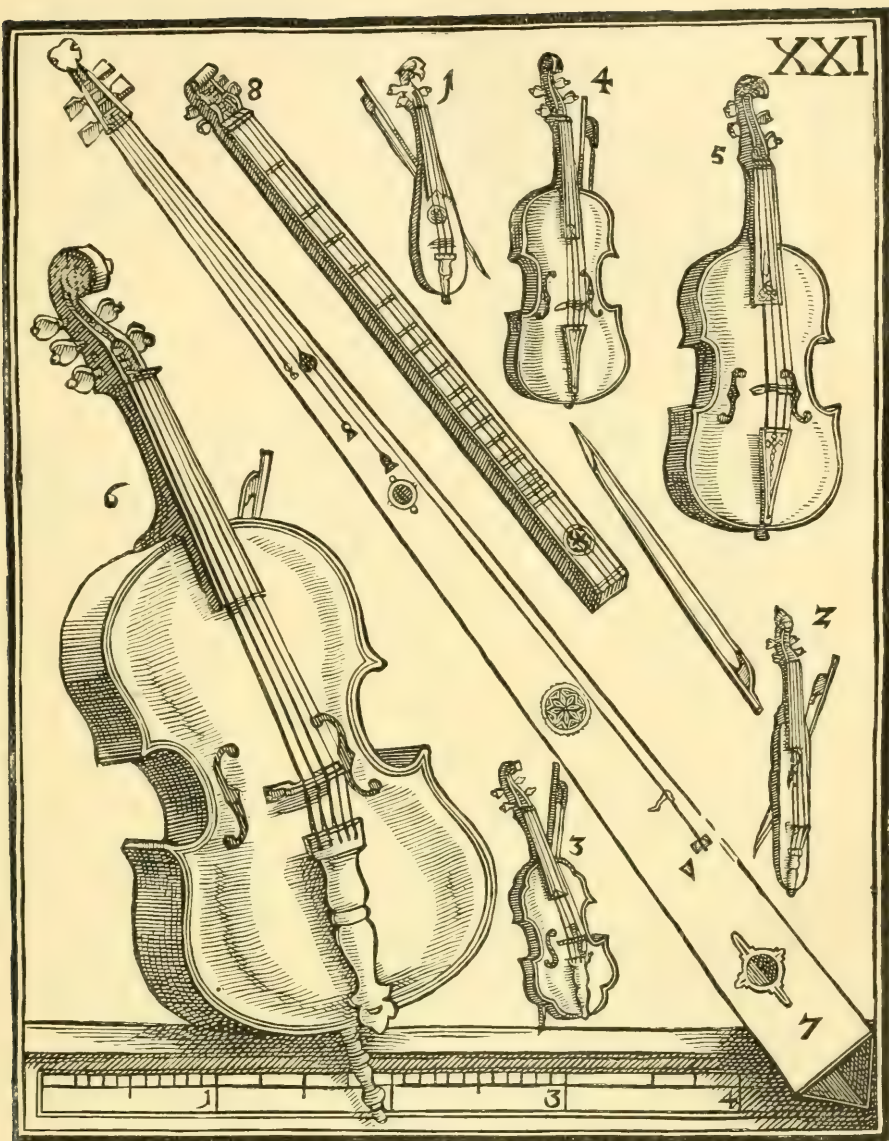
How much Prætorius had the dissemination of Italian art-music among his countrymen at heart may be learned from his "Syntagma Musicum," vol. iii., which throughout speaks of the "present new style and manner of Italian music." The introduction to this volume, written in 1619, is of value, because it marks the epoch at which inventions and discoveries in musical art made by Italians were introduced into Germany. Thus, in this introduction, reference is made to *thorough bass* "as a new Italian scientific invention of great value to chapel-masters, directors, cantors, organists, and lutists, and which is now coming into use in Germany." Farther on he speaks in terms of praise of "the celebrated and noble city of Nuremberg in its relation to music, it having always encouraged and venerated tonal workers, as is seen by the excellent musician Orlando di Lasso, from Ghent, in Flanders, being made chapel-master in Bavaria, where he was greatly loved and honoured, a friendship which Lasso himself affectionately alludes to. Nuremberg was ever the resort of great musicians, and one of the good men to repair there was Johann Leo Hassler, composer and organist, he having first studied in Venice, under that excellent tone-poet Andrea Gabrieli." In another place of the "Syntagma" he speaks of his "humble endeavours to imitate the Italians." Such imitations are to be found in his *a capella* compositions for two and three choirs, to which he occasionally added an orchestral accompaniment in the style of the old Venetian school. Also songs in "concert" style, the melodic embroidery of which reminds us of Caccini, and of which Prætorius himself says, "they are composed *ad hodiernum Italorum canendi modum*." It is of musical and general historical importance to note that in the year 1619 he felt compelled to excuse himself for having written the second and third volumes of



1. Ein Artreines Hackbretts/wird aber mit Fingern gegriffen. 2. Ein son-
derbare Laute/wird nach Art der Harpfen tractiret. 3. Ein gar Alt Italianisch
Instrument. darvon hinten im Indice, bericht zu finden.

1. A species of Hackbret played with the fingers. 2. A curiously shaped Lute, to be played
in the manner of the Harp. 3. A very old Italian instrument.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius.)

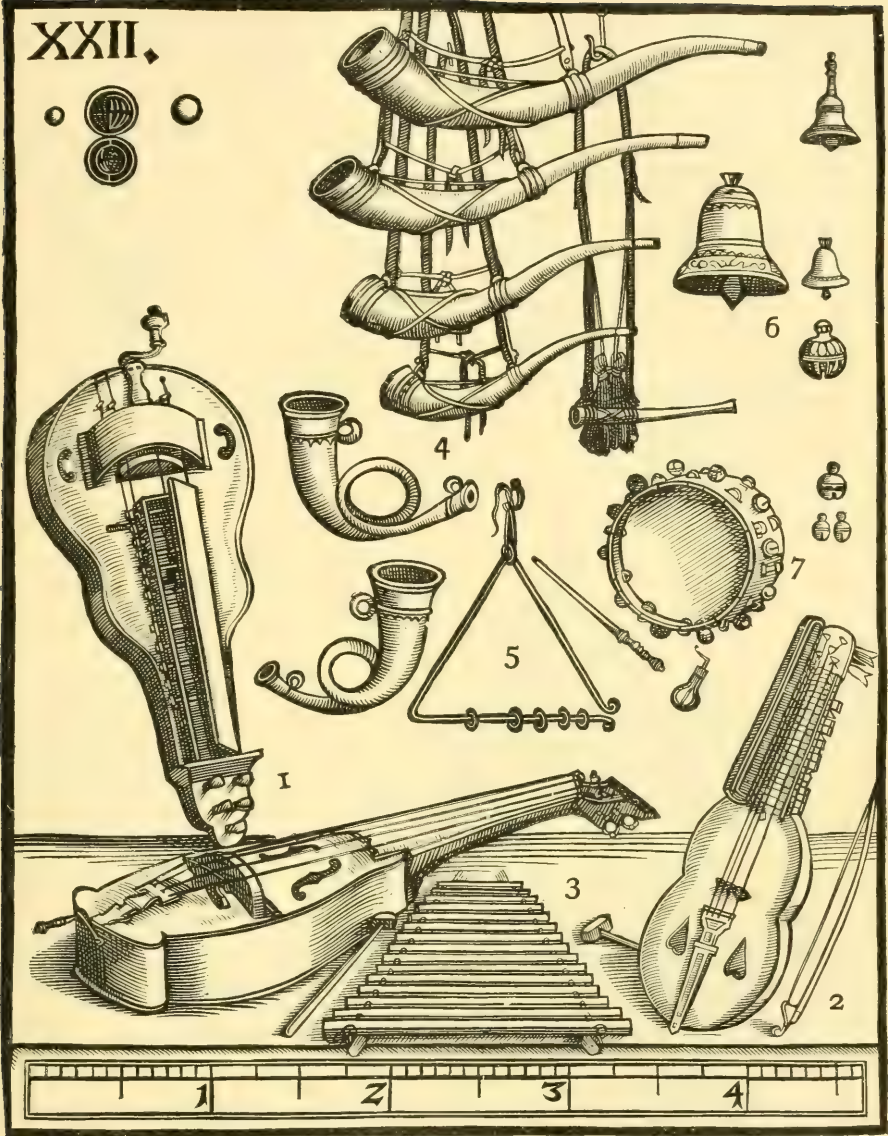


1. 2. Kleine Poschen / Geigen ein Octav höher. 3. Discant-Geig ein Quare höher.
 4. Rechte Discant-Geig. 5. Tenor-Geig. 6. Bas-Geig de bracio. 7. Trumscheit.
 8. Scheidtholst.

1, 2. Pocket Violins tuned an octave higher. 3. Treble Violin tuned a fourth higher. 4. The Standard Treble Violin. 5. Tenor Violin. 6. Bass Viol. 7. The Trumscheit. 8. The Scheidtholst.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius.)

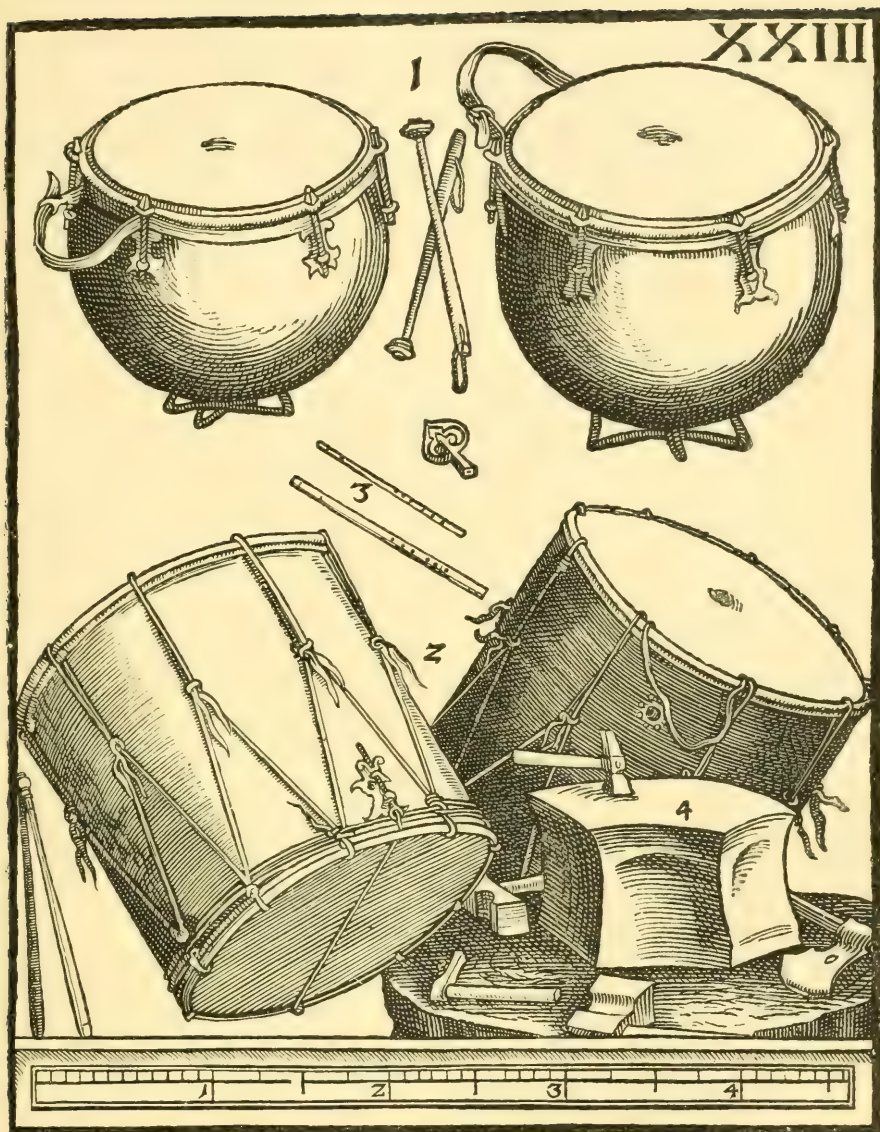
XXII.



1. Allerley Bauwren Lyren. 2. SchlüsselFiddel. 3. StrohFiddel. 4. Jägers Hörner. 5. Triangel. 6. Singekugel. 7. Moorishpaucklin.

1. Various kinds of Peasant Lyres. 2. Keyed Violin. 3. Straw Violin. 4. Hunting Horns.
5. Triangle. 6. Musical Balls. 7. Moorish Drums.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius.)



1. Heerpauken. 2. Soldaten Trummeln. 3. Schweiner Pfeiffen 4. Amboss
 E iij

1. Military Drums. 2. Side Drums. 3. Swiss Pipes. 4. Anvil.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius.)

his great work in the German tongue (the first appeared in Latin), assigning as his reason that "every nation has its own phraseology for the explanation of its art, which often cannot be well rendered in Latin;" but we are inclined to believe that the real reason was his warm love for the Fatherland, as a few lines lower down he says: "The talents which the Lord my God has endowed me with I will endeavour to employ in the service of the German people, however brief the existence of this perishable frame may be."

This praiseworthy example of patriotic love in a man of such high attainments as Prætorius was well calculated to stimulate others to similar exertions in the service of their art, and we appreciate it the more when we remember the master's enthusiastic admiration for the great and good in Italian art. It was just such a man, able to appreciate and ready to extol the work of other nations, that was fitted to fuse the heterogeneous elements in musical art, and Prætorius, by his work in this direction, proved himself one of the most prominent among the tone-poets of Germany and Italy who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries strove to blend the varied workings of writers and composers of different nations. With one-half of his artistic soul he paid homage to the best in Italian art; the other he devoted to the furthering of Evangelical song, working zealously and effectively, and his compositions of this class reveal the true German mind and feeling. An indefatigable worker, he was also an untiring collector, his famous collection numbering upwards of 3,000 sacred compositions, partly arranged and partly composed by him: of these, 1,244 were published in his great work "*Musæ Sionæ*, or sacred concert-songs from the best psalms of Luther and others for use in Church, arranged for organ and choir, with accompaniments for various instruments."

The second great mediator between the music art-styles of Italy and Germany, Heinrich Schütz (according to the fashion of the time, Latinised into *Sagittarius*), was born in 1585 at Köstritz, in Saxony, and died in 1672 at Dresden. His musical gift was of the most brilliant. Like Prætorius, he excelled in both manners of working. In some of his works we find the two styles fused, the outcome being grander and altogether superior to the national style of Prætorius. Schütz proved himself one of the most prominent tone-masters that Germany produced during the whole of the seventeenth century, and his works stamp him as a pioneer of

that epoch of genius in German tonal art, headed by the two grand masters Bach and Handel. His genius was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and he was often referred to as one of the three great S.'s of the seventeenth century—Scheidt, Scheidemann, and Schütz. As a boy, Schütz was possessed of a fine voice. This led to his introduction to Prince Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, one of the most generous art-patrons of his time, who, interesting himself in the lad, entered him as a chorister in his private chapel. Increasing in favour with the prince, he enjoyed all the benefits of a costly and superior education. J. G. Walther, in his "Musical Lexicon" (Leipzig, 1732), says: "His fellow-students were counts and the sons of the noblest families, and with them was he instructed in the arts, sciences, and languages." In 1607, when his education was completed, at the desire of his father he entered the University of Maxburg to study law. He applied himself with vigour to his new studies, and in a short time read an essay, "*De legatis*," which promised well for a brilliant future. On the point of taking his law degrees, he was, to quote his own words, "prevented by divine decree." The Landgrave, conscious of the musical gift of his *protégé*, and desirous of retaining such a musician in his service, generously offered to send him, free of expense, much to his surprise and joy, to Giovanni Gabrieli at Venice, at the same time guaranteeing him 200 dollars a year for the remainder of his life. This noble and liberal offer was gladly accepted, and in 1609 we find Schütz on his way to Venice. Here he was received with every token of friendship, Gabrieli inviting him to take up his abode in his own house. This he did, and until 1613, the year of the Italian master's death, remained his beloved friend and pupil. On returning from the funeral ceremony, at which Schütz had assisted as one of the principal mourners, he was presented with a costly signet by an Augustinian monk, in accordance with the last will of the master. Deeply affected, he returned to Germany, and produced nothing for two years, desiring to remain hidden from the world until, as he expressed it, "he might by some worthy work secure the public favour;" although he had published, in 1612, when in Venice, a volume of madrigals for five voices.* Though he issued nothing during the first two years of his

* In the second editions of Donner, Fétis, and other musical historians, the year 1611 is invariably given as that of the publication of the above-mentioned madrigals, but in a memorandum in the "Saxon Chronicles," vol. i., p. 565, bearing the date 14 January, 1651, addressed



HERR HEINRICH SCHÜTZ (named SAGITTARIUS), IN HIS 87TH YEAR.

For sixty-two years Chapel Master to the Elector of Saxony.

Born 8th October, 1585, at Köstritz, in Voightland, Saxony; died 6th November, 1672,
at Dresden.

A man who loved his God and princes dear,
This epitaph the Saxons write him here.

return to Germany, he did not altogether retire from the musical world, as he accepted shortly after his return the appointment of court organist to the Landgrave of Hesse. In 1614, at the request of John George I., Elector of Saxony, he was granted a year's leave of absence to visit that prince at Dresden. When this term had expired he returned to Cassel, but had barely resumed his old duties when the Elector again requested the Landgrave to extend his chapel-master's leave for two more years. The new term of absence was reluctantly consented to, and for the second time Schütz took up his abode at Dresden. This time it proved to be for good, as the Elector pressed with so much ardour for the permanent retention of the master, that the Landgrave was at last reluctantly constrained to acquiesce.* And thus, in 1617, was Schütz permanently installed as chief chapel-master to the Elector of Saxony, an office which he held for the long space of fifty-five years, dying in 1672, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. During the whole of this period he was actively engaged in advancing the tonal art. In 1628 he left Germany the second time for Italy, to study the music-drama which under the Medicis had developed into such proportions and had taken so firm a hold upon the popular feelings. He tells us that he "went to Italy to acquaint himself with the new music then in vogue, which, since his last visit, had acquired a vast importance." On landing for the second time at Venice, his thoughts naturally reverted to that master who, alas! for him, was no more, and he recorded his reflections in the following words: "When I came again to Venice we cast anchor there where I had passed the first years of my studentship under the great Gabrieli. O Gabrieli! ye immortal gods, what a man was he! Had poetic Greece known him he would have been preferred to the Amphions, and had Melpomene to seek for a consort none other could have been chosen, so great a master of song was he." Prior to his second visit to Italy, Schütz had been much impressed with the music-drama of the Tuscans, for we find that under his direction the *Daphne* of Rinuccini was translated into German by Martin Opitz, he himself supplying original music. This, his first opera—and, be it noted, the first opera performed in Germany, and the first written by a German—

by Schütz to the Elector of Saxony, he writes: "It was not until (1612) three years after my arrival in Venice (1609) that I published my first musical work."

* The correspondence of the two princes relative to the transference of Schütz is contained in Wilhelm Schäfer's "Saxon Chronicles," Dresden, 1854.

was produced under the auspices of the Elector John George I., on the 13th of April, 1627, at the palace of Torgau.*

It is much to be regretted that no trace of this first German opera can be found. As far as our researches have gone it would seem never to have been printed, and the manuscripts, score and parts, are believed to have been burnt in the disastrous fire of 1760. On the return of Schütz from his second visit to Italy he found Saxony grandly exerting herself to alleviate the distress brought about by the devastating 'Thirty Years' War, and in her efforts she sadly impoverished herself, all classes of society suffering by their self-sacrifice. From 1621 to 1631 the Electoral Chapel had existed in a state of high perfection, but in 1639 it underwent a sad change, the reduced treasury being equal to the maintenance of ten musicians only, including both singers and instrumentalists. A year later the court preacher Von Hönegg bewailed the sorrowful state of the chapel music, "that no more figural music could be executed since there was no genuine contralto, and but one discantist." This state of things caused great grief to Schütz. He had loved his chapel with a paternal affection, and now that it was so sadly reduced he felt he could no longer conduct, and prevailed upon his patron to grant him an indefinite leave. During this period we find him in 1633 at Copenhagen, and in 1638 at Luneberg and Brunswick—where he first was introduced to the amiable Duchess Sophia Elizabeth, with whom, later on, about 1645, he carried on an interesting correspondence—and again at Copenhagen in 1642.

His reputation as a chapel-master led to his being intrusted with the re-organisation of the chapel of Wolfenbüttel, and shortly after, when Saxony had recovered herself, he performed a similar service for his old chapel at Dresden, to which he returned. In 1655, owing to his success with the chapel of Wolfenbüttel, he was appointed chapel-master in ordinary to the Duke of Brunswick, an honorary title conferred on musicians of the seventeenth century, in the same manner as that of court chapel-master is bestowed on prominent German composers of to-day. The choir of Dresden was remodelled by Schütz on the general plan of the Italian choirs, especially on that of St. Mark's, so familiar to him when in Venice. Thus we find the reconstructed Dresden choir comprised a number of permanently-

* See "The History of Music and the Theatre at the Court of Dresden," by M. Fürstenau, Dresden, 1861.

engaged instrumentalists, the same as at St. Mark's; Schütz, as chief chapel-master, being assisted by two chapel-masters, Bontempi and Albrici, his pupil Bernhard vice-chapel-master, and Christopher Kittel as organist. In associating Italian masters with himself in the management of the Electoral Chapel, and in advising his princely patron to send young Germans to study in Italy, he proved himself a man superior to all national prejudices, gaining the approbation of artists both at home and abroad, and by universal accord was acknowledged the prince of German musicians. As he increased in years he repeatedly put forward requests to be allowed to retire on pension. But his popularity was so great that his petitions could not be acceded to. Still, however, a concession was made: he was permitted to frequently absent himself from his duties, when his post would be supplied by one of the subordinate chapel-masters. This explains his retention of the office of chapel-master for the surprisingly long period of fifty-five years. At his death he was honoured with a funeral of great pomp and splendour, one such as Dresden had never given before, nor has since, to any musician. Mourners from every rank in society took part in the procession. The music performed over the corpse in the porch of the Church of the Holy Women was a motet composed in the much-admired Palestrina style by his pupil Bernhard, at the desire of Schütz some two years before his death. Immediately preceding the performance of the motet, an oration eulogising the master was pronounced by Magister Herzog, in which were words addressed specially to the musicians, whom he exhorted in the following strains: "And now, honoured musicians, virtuosi, and faithful disciples of the white-haired master, gently bear him to his last resting-place, and well may ye accompany him with your tears. Begin ye, now, the music which his Grace the Elector hath graciously commanded in honour of our dear departed. It is the last act of devotion ye can render him; render it then with the earnestness of your whole souls, and in so doing ye will but honour yourselves."

We will now turn to Schütz the composer, and see what position should be assigned to him in the history of music. As a German he accomplished for his country what Lotti and Scarlatti performed later for Italy. Like these two masters, he revived and invigorated the degenerating Church music with the religious fervour of the new era.

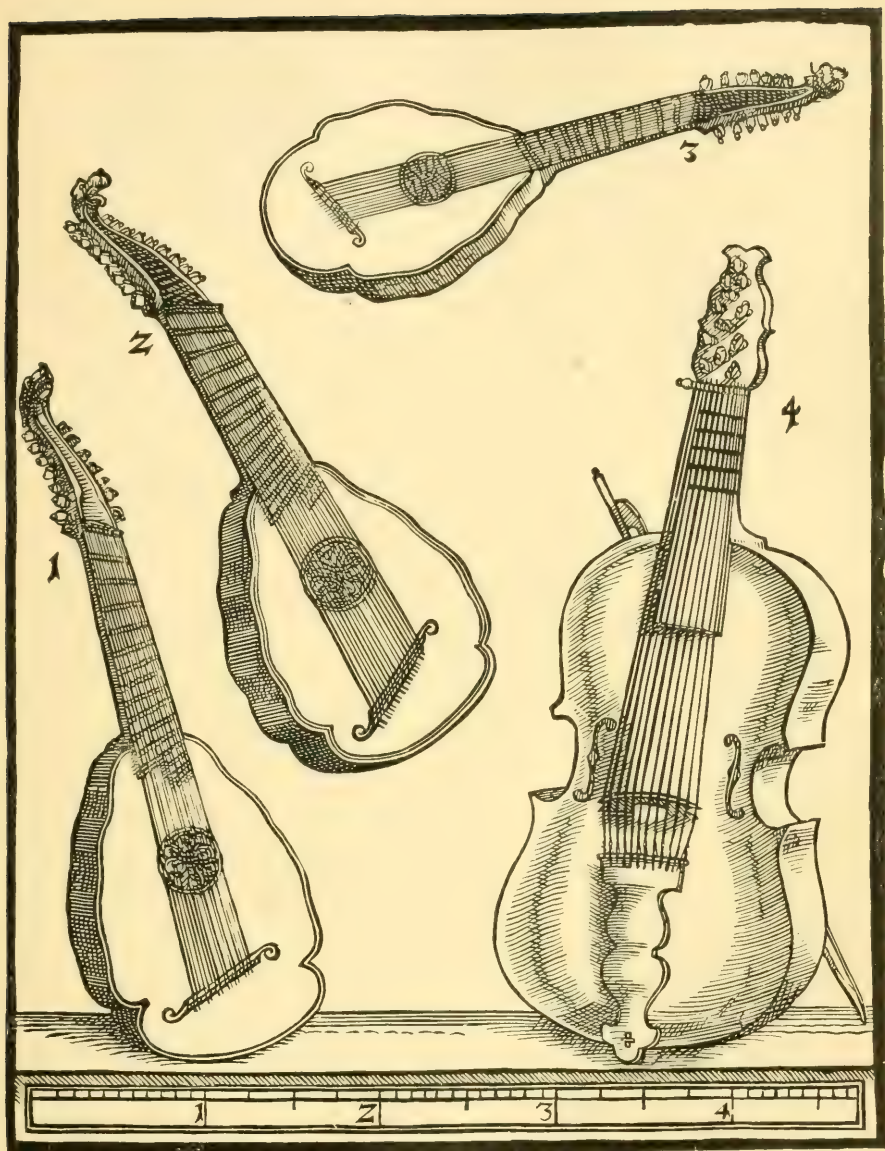
Apart from his unquestionable gifts, he was eminently fitted for this work, as his early musical education had been a serious study of the style forms of the old Italian and German schools, and he had grasped their mental contents more thoroughly than any one before him. Thus is his greatness to be accounted for—a complete mastery of old church form, for it is only out of the known that a vital unknown can be developed, and from the old a lasting new evolved. In him we trace the beauty and devotional simplicity of Palestrina, the pithy and chaste expression of Gumpeltzhaimer and Franck, and the noble and richly-coloured style of the Gabriellis, which, united to his own fervid devotional feelings, raised German Evangelical Church music to a high pinnacle of greatness. It was an ecstatic expression similar to that which later on we observed in Legrenzi and Lotti when zealously defending the music of the Catholic Church against the encroaching Protestantism. Like Scarlatti, he enriched the strict Church style with new forms, and like Lotti and Scarlatti, he went to his own heart for inspiration, inditing what his soul directed, and considerably added to the wealth of form and style of expression in musical art.

As the master that ennobled the antiquated expression and style of Church music hitherto adopted (which in its passionless solemnity suppressed all personal emotion), and gave to it a more animated movement and infused it with a more subjective warmth, Schütz is entitled to our warm thanks. He perhaps appeals to us more especially in those works modelled after the younger Gabrieli, who, as we know, occasionally employed a greater richness of means and a general warmer colouring than the older master of the same name. Amongst the creations of Schütz that fall within this category are his "*Symphoniæ Sacræ*," written between 1629 and 1650, and divided into three sections. It will be remembered G. Gabrieli also wrote "*Symphoniæ Sacræ*," and on examination it becomes clear that the pupil based his "*Symphoniæ*" in a great measure on those of the master. They comprise several polyphonic numbers for from three to six voices, solo-songs with instrumental accompaniment, besides various instrumental pieces. Section iii. of the "*Symphoniæ*" brings out the individuality of Schütz more prominently than the first two parts of the work. In this division there are a number of choruses with German words, one, descriptive of the conversion of Saul on the way to Damascus, beginning "*Saul*,

Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" containing some very effective writing. It is written for fourteen voices, with *violini divisi*, organ supplying the ground bass, the whole producing a mysterious and wondrous effect. The opening of the chorus is especially powerful: the voice from heaven is heard first among the basses *piano*, taken up immediately by a few middle and higher voices, eventually dying away with the violins; then the whole of the seventeen parts, vocal and instrumental, join in one grand acclaim, "Saul, Saul," to again die away in *pianissimo* tones.* In some of Schütz's writings, particularly those of his sacred concertos wherein he approaches a dramatic expression, the influence of Monteverde is traceable, and perhaps still more clearly in his *Orpheus and Eurydice* ballet, performed in 1638. Whether Monteverde's writings incited him to compose the regretted lost *Daphne* must remain a matter of conjecture. In many of his German motets, psalms, and short choral pieces wherein special attention has been paid to dramatic truthfulness, Schütz shows his indebtedness to his immediate German precursors and contemporaries. But there exist three works in which Schütz in the most decided manner asserts his own individuality—viz., in the combination of the art-elements and forms of different schools, and in the invention of entirely new forms. The first, published by Gimel Berg at Dresden in 1623, bore the title, "Story of the joyful and victorious Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for use at Easter in Electoral Chapels and elsewhere as a means of sacred Christian recreation, set to music by Heinrich Schütz." The opening chorus of this oratorio-like composition announces in the quaint traditional manner of the times the subject of the sacred work in the following words: "The ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ as described by the four Evangelists." The several actors in the drama—the Saviour, Mary Magdalene, the angel at the tomb, and the High Priest—no longer express themselves in full chorus according to the spirit of the age, but each tell their story in two or three voices—a great step in advance, and one bringing us appreciably nearer to the solo. Indeed, the part of the narrator was assigned to one voice (a treatment essayed though before Schütz), the music partaking of a psalmodising character, with pauses

* With what feelings Felix Mendelssohn approached this scene is well known to all amateurs; the two settings are very different, but both thrill and impress the hearer.

during which attempts were made to paint the rumbling of the rolling away of the stone and the running of the Magdalene to Simon Peter. The work is brought to a close by a double chorus, with accompaniment for four-fold divided strings. The second of the chief works of Schütz, still more progressive than that just described, "The Seven Words of our Dear Saviour and Mediator Jesus Christ spoken from the Cross, appropriately set to music by Heinrich Schütz, Electoral Chapel-master," was published in 1645. From this oratorio it is clearly evident that to Schütz belongs the credit of being the first to discontinue the hitherto prevailing practice of assigning the part of the narrator to several voices; here the words of Christ are delivered by a single vocalist—a baritone—and that not in recitative, but in the manner of an aria. This was the form adopted a century later by Bach in his grand *St. Matthew's Passion*, and the master who indicated the way should not be forgotten. Nor was this the only point wherein Bach imitated Schütz. As with that great master, the utterances of all the actors are accompanied by the organ, excepting those of the Saviour, which have an accompaniment for string quartett, the poetical description, that "the accompanying quartett seems to reflect the halo of the Divine Being, which vanishes only with death on the cross," which the modern German critic, A. B. Marx, in his enthusiastic admiration applied to Bach's Saviour-music, is therefore equally applicable to the setting of the older master Heinrich Schütz. The work is further interesting and important by reason of two short symphonic interludes for strings, which separate the opening and closing choruses from the sacred drama. The third, and perhaps the most powerful of the oratorios of Schütz, is "The Four Passions after the Four Evangelists," finished about 1666 and left in manuscript. Here it would seem as if the master had had doubts as to the appropriateness of assigning the utterances of single persons to a solo singer, as he returns to the traditional manner of treatment. The incidental choruses of the disciples, the people, and the Roman soldiery (the so-called *Turbæ*) are imbued with a vigorous, passionate expression, often emotional, and always full of dramatic feeling. And be it noted that the eager questioning of the disciples, "Master, is it I?" &c., so cleverly illustrated, clearly proves that Sebastian Bach, though even to-day almost universally regarded as the originator of this effective passion choral form, was not the inventor of it, but only an imitator, although a highly-gifted one, yet, nevertheless, an imitator of Heinrich



1. Bandoer. 2. Orpheoreon. 3. Penorcon, 4. Italianische Lyra da Gamba.

ANCIENT STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.

1. Bandoer. 2. Orpheoreon. 3. Penorcon. 4. Italian Lyra da Gamba.

(From the "Syntagma Musicum," by Michael Praetorius.)

Schütz.* Of the very numerous collection of smaller compositions which Schütz left, a motet for five voices, "O, my soul, why sorrowest thou?" and a setting to Psalm cxxxvi., in which kettle-drums are introduced, and, in the introduction to the *finale*, trumpets also, deserve to be specially mentioned. The motet, "O, my soul," is mentioned by Von Winterfeld in his work on G. Gabrieli: the psalm was published at Dresden in 1619 in "A Collection of Psalms of David, besides Motets and Concertos," in which we find that the master largely wrote for the multiplied chorus first employed by the Venetians. Sometimes four and even five choirs act together, the *chori favoriti* being distinguished from the so-called *chori pro capella*. The *chori favoriti* was purely vocal; the *chori pro capella*, vocal or instrumental, or both. The sacred concertos of the master constitute the first stages of the oratorio, a form brought to such high perfection a century later by Händel. Schütz himself designated these concertos *alla stile oratorio*. The orchestral instruments most frequently met with in Schütz's works are trombones, bassoons, cornets (for illustrations see p. 263), flutes, and violins.

The third and last of the three prominent workers who occupy the position of mediators between Italian and German art-music, Johann Joseph Fux, was born in 1660 in Styria, died in 1714 at Vienna. Whilst Schütz employed all his genius as a creating artist in fusing different national styles, Fux laboured diligently to the same end in his theoretical works. And here he was more akin to Michael Prætorius, whom he indeed surpassed in correctness and scientific profundity, but was inferior in literary versatility and original composition. A Catholic and South German, Fux harmonised the teachings of Venice and Rome with those of the Protestant tone-schools of North and Middle Germany. His chief successes were achieved in instrumental music, and in this he was considerably aided by the earnest strivings of contemporary Italian and German organists to improve the fugue. We have before alluded to the musical relations existing between Vienna and Venice owing to the geographical situation of the two famous cities, and this also proved itself of assistance to Fux in his work of reconciliation. German musicians, whether professing Catholic or Protestant principles, returning from Italy after a course of study in that country, passed through Vienna, where it was the practice

* The "St. John" Passion music in manuscript, now in the library at Wolfenbüttel, is dated Weissenfels, 10 April, 1665.

to rest for a time and discuss with the genial Master Fux what had been learned, and to ask for advice and guidance.

One of the most important of these homeward-bound masters was Johann Dismas Zelenka, afterwards a pupil of Fux, a man much too little known in the history of music. Appointed to the Electoral Chapel of Saxony, he left Vienna for Dresden. This appointment was pregnant with consequence to the future, as it was the means of introducing to Sebastian Bach, in a direct manner, the South Germanic Venetian organ fugue style. In the private musical library of the King of Saxony there is a volume of fugal compositions in the handwriting of Zelenka that date from the time of his pupilage under Fux. They are not all original compositions; many are copies of works by other masters. Among the copies are certain *ricercatas* that possess a special interest for us. The name of the composer of these pieces is often only indicated, but where it is written in full we find it Polietti. These *ricercatas* bear such a strong resemblance to the fugal writings of Sebastian Bach that at the first glance, and before alighting on the full name of the composer, we took them to be organ pieces by the great Protestant master. All musical lexicons of the nineteenth century are singularly silent as to the existence of any master of the name of Polietti, but from investigations made in 1874 we discovered that not Polietti, but Alessandro Poglietti is the correct name, and we further found that he had held the post of organist at St. Stephen's, in Vienna, dying there in 1683, two years before the birth of the Leipzig cantor. We assume that Poglietti was a pupil of the new Venetian school, because one of his fugal subjects is a theme similar to those set by Venetian masters to test the fugal skill of the student. The make and style of the whole piece also support this assumption. Now, if it could be shown that Bach was acquainted with the *ricercatas* of Poglietti, compositions which so surprisingly resemble that master's fugal themes and parts, then the position of Fux as a mediator between masters of the north and south would gain an importance hitherto overlooked, for it must not be forgotten that it was at his instance that his pupil Zelenka copied the writings of the strict Italian organists (in the bundle of manuscripts are copies of works by Frescobaldi), and therefore an Italian precursor of greater importance than has yet been known is to be counted among the pioneers of the Protestant master. Evidently Fux was firmly impressed with the immense advantages to be

gained from a study of the strict polyphonic styles of both north and south masters, and was equally desirous that his pupils should be also acquainted with them, for in 1716 we find him addressing a letter to the Elector of Saxony, urging that prince to send Zelenka to Venice "that he might learn how to do all, and not to work in my manner only." Fux recognised a classical style besides his own German style, and with the true interests of music at heart, he counselled the indoctrination of his pupil with the teachings of equally zealous art-workers of other nations. Fux's advice was approved, and in the April of 1716 Zelenka was sent, together with other musicians from Dresden to Venice, to attach themselves to the music chapel of Frederick Augustus, Crown Prince of Saxony, who then kept court in the city of the Doges.

Bearing in mind the period during which the great Antonio Lotti was in active work, it appears very probable that it was from him that Zelenka received his first tuition in Venice. This supposition is supported by an examination of the writings of Zelenka. Thus in the mass in G major, composed for the festival of St. Cecilia, the "Qui tollis" is a masterly worked seven-part double fugue in the Lotti style. A "Miserere" painted in sombre tones, written in 1722, for four voices with instrumental accompaniment, formerly performed in the Court Chapel, Dresden, on Ash Wednesday, also strengthens our conjecture. The creations and workings of a gifted master like Zelenka, the pupil of so celebrated a German as Fux, and a man imbued with the best principles of the Venetian school, could not fail in attracting and interesting Sebastian Bach. Nor should the contiguity of the abodes of the two men, Dresden and Leipzig, be overlooked, for the long period of twenty-two years, 1723 to 1745, the year of Zelenka's death, during which time the two men must have been well known to each other. If this were so, it would surely naturally follow that Bach should have known that important compilation of Zelenka's, and consequently the ricercatas and fugal writings of Poglietti. Indeed, we think it not at all unlikely that Zelenka, during one of the visits which Bach made specially to him, knowing the interest the Leipzig cantor took in old Italian fugal writings, should have shown or played some of them to the master himself. From subsequent events we know that Bach, like Fux, advised the transcribing of strict fugal writings for home study, and the thought suggests itself that perhaps, following

out his own teachings, he might have copied Poglietti's works for his own enlightenment. We have been careful to accentuate this, first, because in some pieces the working of Bach is identical with that of Poglietti; and secondly, because the name of Poglietti, beyond a reference in 1875 to him by Spitta, only to be ignored in 1880 by the same writer (see footnote, page 661), has never appeared in any history of music up to the present time. A modern German critic, Rochlitz, in his work "For Friends of the Tonal Art," has put forward the statement that Bach preferred Zelenka to Hasse, and engendered thereby a mean spirit of jealousy in Hasse, who took means to suppress the writings of his more admired contemporary. The first part of this statement is corroborated by Fürstenau, but the second, anent the envy of Hasse, seems to require further confirmatory testimony. It is an ascertained fact that at the time of Bach's visits to Dresden in 1724, 1731, 1733, and 1736, Zelenka still held office under the Elector. During the visit in 1731, Bach gave an organ recital on the 14th September in the Church of St. Sophia, at which the whole of the Electoral Chapel were present. Five years later, on the 1st December, he visited Dresden to open the new organ erected by Silbermann in the Church of the Holy Women, the members of the Electoral Chapel again being present in a body to hear the renowned master. We may be sure that none among the audience more fully appreciated the talent of the performer than Zelenka, nor do we doubt that the two men met on friendly terms, as Bach could not fail to have complimented a master so proficient as Zelenka in fugal writing in the style of Frescobaldi and Lotti. Again, their natures were akin and mutually attractive, for Zelenka, like Bach, refused to degrade his art by the composition of meretricious sing-song, and despised the worship of the golden calf. A thoroughly serious musician, he was ignored by his superiors, and appointed only to subordinate offices; *e.g.*, double-bass player and rehearsal conductor. But notwithstanding the shabby treatment he received, Bach recognised his true worth, and valued him far higher than the other members of the Electoral Chapel, who courted the favour of the authorities by a servile submissiveness to the prevailing taste for degenerate Neapolitan showiness, and who by flattery and intrigue were rewarded with the most lucrative appointments the court could bestow, to the exclusion of more worthy men. A master who could write

such a seven-part double fugue as that in the G major mass, and of whom the Abbé Gerber—a serious critic highly esteemed by his contemporaries—declared that “the remarkable pupil of Joseph Fux, Johann Zelenka, chapel-master to the King of Poland, and at Dresden, himself the teacher of many distinguished composers of sacred music, must have been a man after Bach’s own heart.”* Further, Bach’s acquaintance with the music and works of Zelenka at least is placed beyond all doubt, for we know that the great cantor’s son Friedemann, who was appointed in 1733 organist at the Church of St. Sophia, Dresden, holding office there until 1747, copied a “Magnificat” in D major† by Zelenka for the use of the choir of St. Thomas’s at Leipzig, where his father officiated as organist, and, taking the whole circumstances into consideration, we are of opinion that this was done at the instance of Sebastian himself.

We may then fairly assume that Bach was acquainted with Zelenka, and also with the remarkable *ricercatas* of Poglietti, which by their bold progressions, thematic working, and ever-increasing interest herald Bach’s fugal style and, in our opinion, clearly influenced it.‡

Besides Zelenka, there were other pupils of Fux who acted as mediators between the Italian and North German styles. Chief of these perhaps was Gottlieb Muffat, son of the earlier-mentioned George Muffat, who composed several *partitas*, *toccatas*, and *fugues*, in which his master’s strict German style is wedded to the Venetian *ricercata* form. As it would lead us too far to discuss the works of all the noteworthy disciples of the old Viennese master, we shall restrict ourselves, and bring

* See the Abbé Gerber’s “*De cantu et musica sacra*.” The reference to Zelenka is as follows: “*Josephus Fux insignem imprimis discipulum in musica sacra reliquit Joanem Zelenka, regis Poloniae musicae praefectum Dresdae, tot aliorum insignium ea arte magistrum.*”

† The manuscript of this “Magnificat” is now in the library of St. Thomas’s Church.

‡ It is surprising that Spitta should have omitted all reference to Poglietti in the second volume of his “*Bach*,” published in 1880, seeing that in Nos. 35 and 36 of the “*Bock Journal*,” published in 1875, at Berlin, he referred to him as a hitherto unknown precursor of Bach amongst the Italians, adducing examples in notes from the *ricercatas* of Poglietti in support of his statements, and asserting that none other had so completely written in the part-style of Bach, which, in certain respects, was so similar as to lead to instances of mistaken identity. In 1874, when following up the Poglietti scent, we received on the 19th November copies of themes of that master from G. Nottebohm, whom we had commissioned to make researches for Poglietti manuscripts at Vienna; these resemble strongly the S. Bach style.

the present chapter to a close with a short sketch of the life and work of the master himself.

Johann Joseph Fux was born of lowly parents in Hirtenfeld, in Steiermark, and raised himself to the high position that he held in the musical world solely by his own well-directed genius. Of his early life nothing positive is known. The first we hear of him is in 1696, then about thirty-six years of age, organist at one of the churches in Vienna. Two years later he was appointed court composer to the Emperor Leopold I., in 1704 chapel-master at St. Stephen's, Vienna, and in 1715 imperial court-chapel-master to Charles VI., succeeding in this last appointment the Italian Ziani. This office was the highest that could be held by a musician at that time. To most musicians Fux is known only as the author of a "Gradus ad Parnassum," published in 1725 at Vienna, a learned treatise on counterpoint, written in creditable Latin. The work was deservedly popular. It was the best of its period, and holds at this distance of more than a century and a half a very fair place among kindred writings. It treats of simple and double counterpoint, imitation, and contains a clear exposition of the modern fugue in two, three, and four parts, as distinguished from the old canon. But besides his merit as a theorist, he claims (among the South German masters of his period) recognition as a Church composer. He is further to be credited with the composition of several operas, but in these he does not show to the same advantage as in his sacred writings. In a "Missa Constantiæ" he has embodied some excellent *motiri*, and some numbers are worked in a scholarly manner. A few years ago, when Fux's works were under criticism, a "Missa Canonica" by the master met with universal praise; the "Missa" was a real exemplification of the rules laid down in his learned theoretical work "Gradus ad Parnassum." His oratorio *La Cena del Signore*, or "The Lord's Supper," besides several "mysteries," offertories, and psalms, exhibit Fux as a perfect master of form, and contain fragments which can only be pronounced beautiful. In his operas he does not rise beyond the mediocrity of the Neapolitan school. Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of *La costanza e la forza*, a festival opera performed at the royal coronation in 1723 at Prague. But in this he seems to have been unable to get outside of the Church style. Quanz, the celebrated flautist, and an orchestral performer at the time, says of it: "The composition is more

church-like than theatrical." The performance took place in the open air, the orchestra consisting of 100 vocalists and 200 instrumentalists. It was the custom of the Austrian emperors on great State occasions to close the festivities with a grand performance of music. It was on such an occasion that the first great work of Fux, *Alcina*, a fairy opera, was first performed in the park of the Château La Favorite in 1716. One of the incidents of the opera was a sea-fight between two fleets, with the accompaniment of music. The *mise-en-scène* was on a scale of great splendour, the gilt vessels forming a magnificent tableau. Although a serious musician, and caring only for what was good in art, Fux was compelled to make some slight concession to the prevailing Italian taste of the time. And in his dramatic writings he yielded to a greater extent than in his other compositions. During his lifetime the highest appointments at the court of Vienna, besides the most lucrative places in the families of the nobility, were in the possession of Italians, and notwithstanding his concession to Italian feeling in certain things, he would assuredly have been beaten and overthrown had it not been for the generous patronage accorded him by the two earlier mentioned emperors. But the intrigues of his more worldly and successful rivals could engender no spite in the breast of the art-loving Fux. He looked rather with the more affection on the imperishable works which their ancestors had created, the spirit of which, as we have seen, he strove to inculcate into his pupils, and in so doing he showed himself the true art-lover and worker, and claims our praise as a mediator between the different art-styles of the north and south. His following of pupils, immediate and indirect, was a large one, and his influence as a theorist and teacher of composition extended far into the nineteenth century. The "Gradus" remained the standard work for years, all treatises on counterpoint and fugue being based on the principles there enunciated. Sebastian Bach spoke of it in high terms, praising the strictness and purity of the part-writing it sought to teach. The "Gradus" was translated into German by Mizler, a pupil of Bach, and we think it not at all improbable that Bach himself might have had some share in the work.

We now take leave of Germany, but for a short time only, for the moment is nigh at hand when the Germans will take up their position as leaders of musical Europe, a moment prepared for and led up to by the work of men like Prætorius, Schütz, and Johann Fux.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF MUSIC IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII.,
EDWARD VI., AND MARY.

DURING the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, music in England underwent a complete transformation. More than one cause contributed to this result. In the first place, the fondness for metrical



Fig. 231.—King Henry VIII.

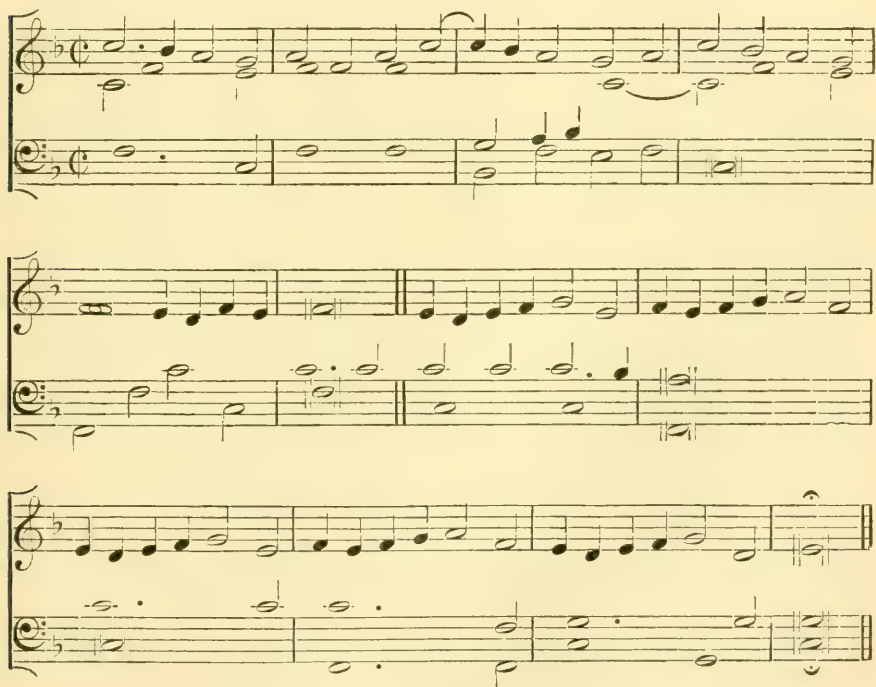
Psalms, originally brought in by the Lollards, and afterwards intensified by the other followers of the reformed doctrines, greatly affected the taste of the nation not only as to sacred music, but also (to a certain extent) as to secular song. And, secondly, the improvements introduced in the construction of musical instruments had a powerful effect in modifying the popular taste. To these may be added, thirdly, the increased intercourse with foreign countries which more gradually, though not less surely, exercised a strong influence in the improvement of musical art.

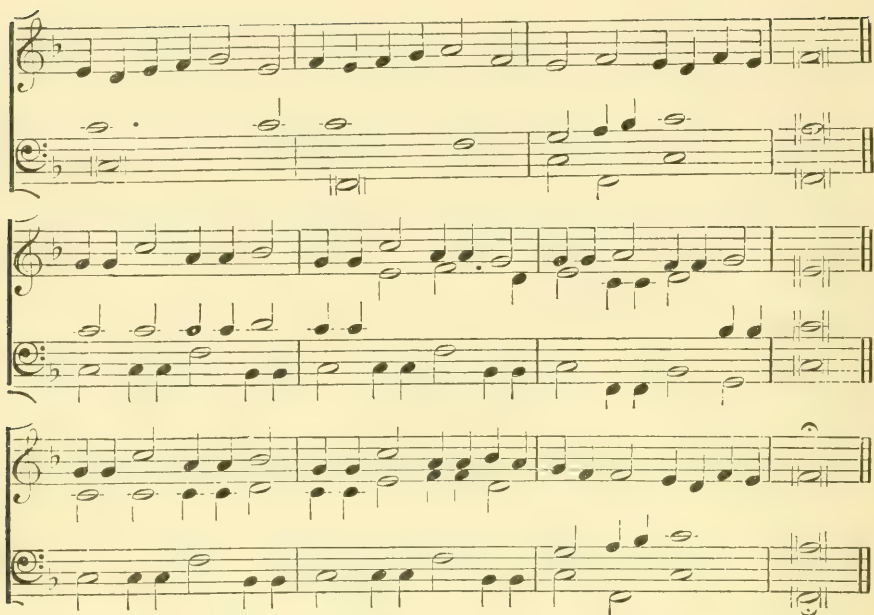
Up to the accession of King Henry VIII., music was by no means in a satis-

factory state. The decline of the ancient minstrelsy, as we showed in a former chapter, was of bad effect, and as yet no other influence had sprung up to compensate for it. In the compositions which emanated from the pens of the best English composers at the beginning of the sixteenth century, much crudeness is to be found, and a sad lack of regular melody. And yet among the popular songs and dances of that period true rhythmical melody exists, which nevertheless the more cultivated musicians disdained to imitate in their more ambitious works.

Henry VIII., however, was himself an educated musician, and several of his compositions have come down to us, which show considerable originality, and are really good specimens of musical work at a comparatively barren period. Of these we will give a few examples, which were transcribed by J. Stafford Smith from the Arundel Collection, and printed in his valuable "*Musica Antiqua*."

No. 232.

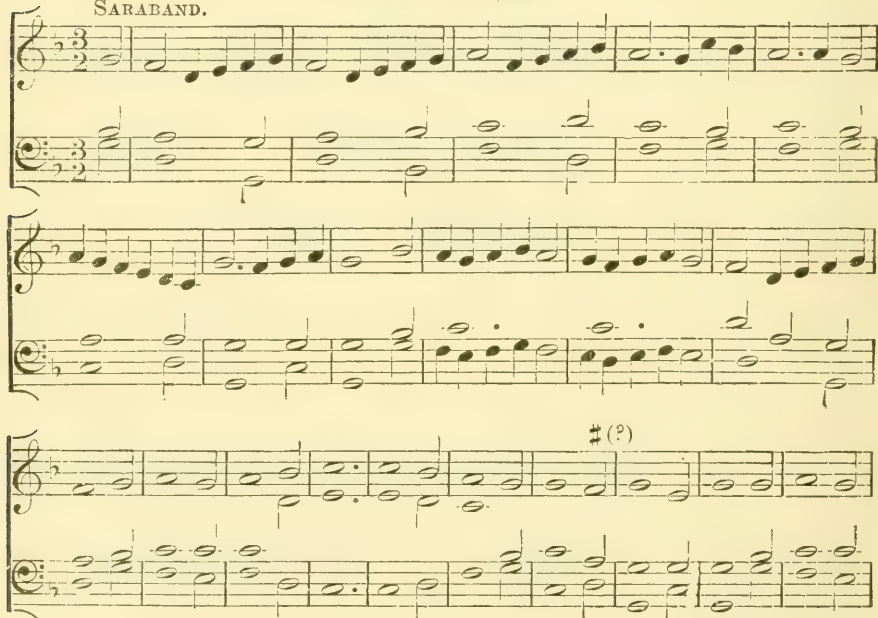
KING HARRY VIII.TH'S PAVYN.



No. 233.

THE KYNG'S MASKE.

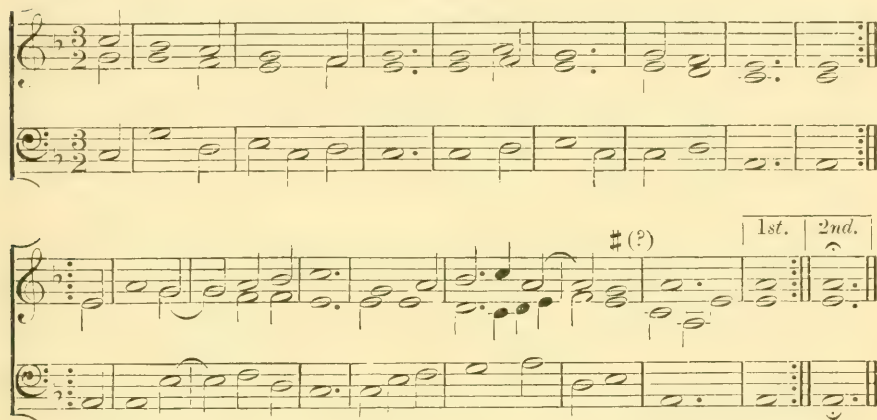
SARABAND.





No. 234.

A GALYARD.



In Dr. Boyce's "Collection of Cathedral Music," vol. i., there is an anthem, "O Lord, the Maker of all things," ascribed to Henry VIII.; but this ascription has been proved to be an error, as the composition is undoubtedly the work of William Mundy, although the words are taken from Henry VIII.'s "Primer." Still, there is evidence enough without this that King Henry was an accomplished musician, and doubtless his example and influence did much to revive and encourage the art at a very critical period of its existence in this country. Among the musical manuscripts in the British Museum there are several collections of songs and chamber-music of this date, some of which are interesting, although none seem to be of any very great merit.

The most prominent name in most of these manuscript collections is that of Dyricke (or Theodoric) Gerarde, who compiled, transcribed, and composed a large number of songs and other pieces. But the preponderance of names of foreign composers seems to prove either a dearth of indigenous

talent, or an unpatriotic preference for the compositions of Italian, Flemish, and French authors, very much akin to that which has prevailed in this country in more modern times. At the same time the great number of anonymous examples which these ancient books contain render it impossible to form any very decided opinion on such a point. The composers of Church music of whom we have any distinct account at the beginning of King Henry's reign were John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, Avery Burton, John Marbecke, Hugh Aston, Thomas Ashwell, John Norman, John Sheppard, and Dr. Tye. A set of books containing compositions for the Latin service by all the above masters has been preserved in the music-school library at Oxford. Of these the best known are Taverner, Fayrfax, Marbecke, Aston, Sheppard, and Tye, some of whom afterwards distinguished themselves in setting the English Book of Common Prayer to music, as we shall show hereafter.

The arrangements of the chapels both of Henry VIII. and of Cardinal Wolsey were on the most sumptuous scale, and the number of singers employed in them was larger than at any subsequent epoch. King Henry is known to have composed two complete masses, and to have encouraged sacred art in every possible way.

Among the additional manuscripts in the British Museum is a valuable collection of part-songs for two, three, and four voices, which once belonged to Dr. Robert Fayrfax, and is probably the oldest collection of English secular part-songs in existence. It has been described both by Dr. Burney and Sir John Hawkins in their respective histories of music. It will therefore suffice to give a list of the composers whose works it contains. These are William Newark, Sheryngham, Hamshere, Richard Davy, Robert Fayrfax, Edmund Turges, Tutor, Sir Thomas Philips, Brown, William Cornysh, Gilbert Banister, and William Cornysh, junior. It will be remarked that of these composers Fayrfax appears to be the only one who also wrote Church music. It is a very noteworthy circumstance that the progress of the Reformation during Henry VIII.'s reign did not materially affect English Church music. The only musical monument which has been left to us of the effect of the reformed system upon music is Archbishop Cranmer's setting of the English Litany to the ancient plainsong simplified. This setting is essentially the same as is still used in all English cathedrals and churches

where there are choirs. It has been reprinted in its original form from the oldest manuscript copy (that in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford) by Dr. Jebb, in the second volume of his admirable work on "The Choral Responses and Litanies of the Church," published in 1857. Cranmer's Litany was brought out in the year 1544.

It is a remarkable coincidence that in this same year, just when the archbishop was taking the first *musical* step towards the adaptation of the old plainsong of the Church to English words and a reformed ritual, a musician was condemned as a heretic for his attachment to the new doctrines. It was in 1544 that John Merbecke, or Marbecke, a lay clerk of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, was arrested and brought to trial on account of his professed theological opinions and controversial writings. He appears to have composed several masses and motets for the Latin service before this time, and he could not have been less than thirty years of age when he fell into this trouble. The date of his birth, however, has not been ascertained. Very few of his compositions have been preserved to us, nor is it by them that his name will be remembered, but by his adaptation of the old plainsong of the Latin services to the English Book of Common Prayer, of which we shall speak more at length when we come to the reign of Edward VI. Merbecke was evidently no ordinary man, for he wrote a "Concordance of the English Bible," on which he was engaged when, with three others, he was arrested on a charge of heresy. His notes for the "English Concordance" were seized, and also a copy he had made of an epistle by Calvin against the mass. The four men were condemned to be burnt alive as heretics, and this sentence was carried out on the three others: Merbecke, however, through the intercession of powerful friends—among them the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Humphrey Foster—was pardoned. Of his great musical and liturgical work more shall be said hereafter. Suffice it to add now that he is supposed to have died about the year 1585.

Before concluding our account of the state of music during the reign of King Henry VIII., it will not be out of place to give a short sketch of the lives of one or two of the chief composers who finished their career before the accession of his successor.

Perhaps the first in date and the first in importance of these is Robert Fayrfax, who was born in the reign of Henry VII., though the

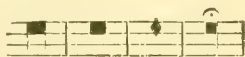
exact date is unknown. He belonged to an ancient Yorkshire family, and came from Bayford, in Hertfordshire. There is reason to suppose that he held some musical appointment at St. Alban's Abbey. In the year 1504 the University of Cambridge conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Music, and seven years afterwards he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford also. This would seem to show that he was held in high esteem as a musician; and although those of his compositions which have come down to us cannot be said to be works of genius, still they may be favourably compared with those of other masters of that period. Fayrfax composed both sacred and secular music, and was considered to excel in both styles. The Oxford music-school collection possesses several pieces by this composer; there are also some preserved in the British Museum. Both Burney and Hawkins have printed some of these, as has also John Stafford Smith in his "Old English Songs." The date of Dr. Fayrfax's death is not known, but it probably occurred before the dissolution of the monasteries, as he was buried at St. Alban's Abbey.

The next in importance of these composers of Henry VIII.'s reign is undoubtedly John Taverner. We know but little of his life, but he was certainly a celebrated composer in his day, as is proved by the mention made of him by Thomas Morley. Hawkins, in his "History of Music," relates how Taverner, after serving as organist of Boston, in Lincolnshire, accompanied John Frith, whose martyrdom is recorded by Fox, and some other favourers of the reformed doctrines from Cambridge to Oxford, where Taverner was appointed organist of Christ Church, or, as it was then called, Cardinal College, which had been recently founded by Cardinal Wolsey. After awhile he and his friends were accused of heresy, on account of certain books and papers which were found hidden in their possession, and some of them (namely, Frith and Hewet) were burnt as heretics at Smithfield in 1533. Taverner fortunately escaped this terrible death, but how long he survived this dangerous episode in his life is not recorded. Both Burney and Hawkins give specimens of his compositions for the Church, and though they are certainly inferior to those of Dr. Fayrfax which have come down to us, still they show considerable contrapuntal skill, which was the only kind of excellence which in those days was aimed at in sacred compositions.

We may also name three musicians of this period who were not only

graduates in the faculty of music, but also in holy orders. The first of these is John Dygon, Prior of St. Augustine's, in Canterbury. Hawkins gives a very creditable composition of Dygon's in his history, and we find that he took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1512. Next comes John Mason, Prebendary and Treasurer of Hereford Cathedral, who was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1508, and died in 1547. Then, thirdly, we meet with William Chelle, Precentor of Hereford, who took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford in 1524. The date of his death is not known.

During the short reign of Edward VI. it cannot be said that music in general made much progress in England. Indeed, there was no time for it. Still, this reign is memorable for one great work which was accomplished in 1550, namely, the setting of the first English Book of Common Prayer to music by John Merbecke. This may truly be said to mark an important epoch in the history of English ecclesiastical music, and therefore we will describe the work somewhat in detail. Its title is as follows: "The booke of Common praier noted. 1550." It begins with the following explanation: "In this booke is conteyned so muche of the Order of Common prayer as is to be song in Churches; wherein are used only these iiij. sortes of notes,



The first note is a strene note and is a breve. The second a square note and is a semybreve. The iii. a prycke and is a mynymme. And when there is a prycke by the square note, that prycke is halfe as muche as the note that goeth before it. The iiij. is a close, and is only used at y^e end of a verse." Then follow Mattins and Evensong, in which the priest's part is almost the same as is still in use in our cathedrals and collegiate churches, and also the inflections for the responses. Only the melody, however, is given, throughout the book. The "Venite" and Psalms are set to a simple form of the eighth ecclesiastical tone. The "Te Deum" is a simplified version of the ancient Ambrosian setting (nearly as old as the words themselves), very well adapted to English words. The

"Benedictus" in the morning service and the "Nunc Dimittis" in the evening are set to the fifth tone, while the "Magnificat" is set to the first. After this we have a setting of "Benedicite omnia opera," to be sung "In Lent, in the place of Te Deum;" also the "Athanasian Creed" set to the fourth ecclesiastical tone. We then come to the "Office for Holy Communion," which contains some very valuable adaptations of old Latin music to the exigencies of the English service-book. They consist of a specimen of a Psalm-chant for the Introit (which is set to a simple version of the eighth tone), the "Kyrie," the "Gloria in Excelsis," the "Nicene Creed," the Offertory sentences, the "Sursum Corda," the "Sanctus," the "Benedictus," the Lord's Prayer (inflected), the "Agnus Dei," and the "Post-communions." Of these the "Creed" and the "Gloria in Excelsis" are still in frequent use in English churches, and deserve long to continue so, for there is a simple majesty and grandeur in these melodies which beautifully illustrate the words to which they are adapted, and greatly tend to enhance devotion. If Merbecke had given us nothing but this music for the "Nicene Creed," he would have been a benefactor to his Church and country. The rest of his work consists of music for the "Office for the Burial of the Dead," and for the Communion service when there is a burial. The name of the composer is given at the end of the service; and on the last page is a curious device engraved, under which is the name of the printer: "Imprinted by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Kinges Maiestie. 1550. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It must be borne in mind that this work was a musical setting not of the present Prayer Book, but of King Edward's First Book, which differs considerably from that now in use. Consequently it is impossible to use Merbecke's version without many alterations and omissions. Still, it has formed the basis of all the musical traditions of our cathedrals, and may be termed the germ of our whole school of Anglican Church music—a school of which we may well feel proud. Before concluding our notice of Merbecke's book, it may be as well to remark that the notation is throughout on a stave of four lines only; and also that the Litany is omitted, for the simple reason that it had been already set by Crammer in (or before) 1544.

The chief composer of Church music during the reign of King Edward was Christopher Tye, who was undoubtedly one of the most accomplished

musicians of the period. He was a Londoner by birth, but received his education at Cambridge, having been first a chorister and afterwards a lay clerk at King's College. In 1537 he took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge, and in 1541 was appointed organist of Ely Cathedral. In 1545 he took his Doctor's degree at the same university, and then was admitted a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. The University of Oxford also conferred the degree of Mus. Doc. upon him in the year 1548. Dr. Tye was the musical preceptor of Edward VI., and also, most likely, of the other children of Henry VIII. There is an old play by William Rowley, printed in 1613, in which, among other things, we find a conversation between Edward and Dr. Tye about music, in the course of which the prince is made to exclaim :

"England one God, one Truth, one Doctor hath
For musicke's art, and that is Doctor Tye."

During King Henry's reign, Tye composed music for the unreformed service in Latin. Of this a few specimens have come down to us, which are far superior to the productions of most of his contemporaries. After the accession of Edward, he composed a great deal of English Church music, of which much has been lost; but a few anthems have been preserved in the collections of Barnard and Boyce; and, more recently, a fine evening service by this composer has been printed by the late Dr. Rimbault. Perhaps Dr. Tye's finest work is the full anthem, "I will exalt Thee," published in the second volume of Dr. Boyce's "Collection of Cathedral Music." In 1553 Dr. Tye entered upon a very curious undertaking—no less than turning the first fourteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles into rude verse, and then setting them to elaborate music. Upon his poetical achievements it is impossible to compliment him, as they are obviously an imitation of Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the Psalms, and too vividly reflect the bad taste of the period. But the musical part of his task is admirable; and many portions of this work have been recently adapted to other words, and used in church as anthems. It is uncertain in what year Tye died. He was still living in 1589, when he translated and published an Italian work entitled "A Notable Historye of Nastigio and Traversari;" but it is probable that he did not live many years after this.

Another composer claims mention in this place, although he also flourished in preceding and subsequent reigns. John Sheppard, or Shepherd, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was a choir-boy at St. Paul's Cathedral under Thomas Mulliner. In 1542 he was appointed organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, in which city he probably then took up his abode, and where he studied and practised music for many years. In 1543 he somewhat unaccountably resigned his appointment, but was re-appointed to it in 1545, when he held it for two years. He was probably in holy orders, and became a Fellow of his college in 1549, though he does not appear to have retained his fellowship beyond 1551. In 1554 he took the degree of Doctor of Music. The date of his death has not been ascertained. Both Burney and Hawkins insert specimens of his skill in their histories, and a good many compositions of his remain in manuscript at Oxford. He was considered an excellent and learned musician in his own day, and is included in Morley's list of "famous Englishmen."

King Edward VI. was a good amateur musician, and inherited a good deal of his father's talent; but the religious controversies of that period hindered any great national advance in the art, in spite of a good royal example.

The accession of Queen Mary neutralised the efforts of her brother to promote the cause of the Reformation. The Latin service was compulsorily restored; and it is noteworthy that most of the court musicians, with marvellous pliability, adapted their music to either form, thus retaining their places and their emoluments. No musical event of any importance occurred during this short and troublous reign; nor can we point to any musician who distinguished himself then particularly. Mary herself was a performer on the lute and on the virginals, but we have no record of the degree of excellence to which she attained. We therefore gladly pass on to a brighter period, when, under the reign of the last Tudor sovereign, the art of music reached a very high standard of perfection—so much so, that the reign of Elizabeth has often been designated as the Augustan age of English art.

F. A. G. O.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF ENGLISH MUSIC DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE art of music entered upon such a period of development in all its branches at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, that it will be necessary to consider it under three separate heads—namely, *Church music*, *Madrigals*, and *Chamber music*. We shall see that in each of these departments English music was quite equal to that of any other nation ; consequently, if we look at the state of the art as a whole, we shall be perfectly justified in regarding this as the Augustan age of music in England. It is pretty certain, at any rate, that at no previous or subsequent time has the art of sweet sounds flourished to so great an extent in this country, as compared with the rest of Europe.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth all the previous uncertainty with regard to the language in which Divine service was to be conducted came to an end. The English Prayer Book was firmly established, and Church composers had the important task assigned them of clothing it with suitable music, either new or adapted from the old Latin services. To this great and important work they addressed themselves with all possible energy, and much of what they thus produced has been handed down to our own times, and may still be heard in every cathedral and in many other churches in the country. What these great men effected may be safely compared, both as to its importance and its merits, with the contemporaneous musical reform inaugurated at Rome under the presiding genius of the immortal Palestrina.

We have seen how the plainsong of the Church was adapted to the Anglican Liturgy by Merbecke and Archbishop Cranmer. But it will be remembered that their labours were confined to melody only. Harmony had still to be applied to the services and chants, and this was one of the first great works achieved during the Elizabethan period.

The earliest publication in which harmonised services are found is one published in single voice-parts by John Day, two editions being extant, one of 1560, of which the title is "Certain Notes, set forth in four and three parts, to be sung at the Morning Communion, and Evening Prayer ;" and the second of 1565, of which the title is "Morning and

Evening Prayer, and Communion, set forth in four parts," &c. &c. This rare and precious collection contains compositions for the Church service in English, by Causton, Tallis, Taverner, Whitbroke, Stone, Heath, and others, some of which have recently been scored and printed by the Rev. Dr. Jebb, Canon and Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral. But the greatest contributor to our repertory of English Church music at this early period was Thomas Tallis, a man of whom England has every reason to be proud. This celebrated composer was born early in the reign of Henry VIII., and was probably a chorister boy, and certainly an adult singer in his chapel. Indeed, it has been said by some that he was organist to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. This, however, can hardly have been the case, as before the Reformation no layman held any such appointments, and the first lay-organist on record is Dr. Tye, in Edward VI.'s time, of whom we have already spoken.

It is supposed that Tallis remained an attached member of the Roman Communion, although outwardly he conformed to the reformed rites. Certain it is that he retained his appointment of gentleman of the Royal Chapel during the four successive reigns, in spite of all the changes in the services performed therein. It was not until after Elizabeth's accession, however, that he began to compose English Church music, his previous works having been all set to Latin words. To that date, or very shortly afterwards, must be ascribed his grand service in D minor (or rather *D dorico*), which comprised not only a harmonised version of the Preces, Responses, and Litany, but some Psalm-chants (only one of which was published in Dr. Boyce's "Collection"), a special chant for the Creed of Saint Athanasius, and a more elaborate setting of the "Venite," of a few special Psalms (these last two items being also omitted by Dr. Boyce), and also of the "Te Deum," "Benedictus," "Kyrie," "Nicene Creed," "Sanctus," "Gloria in Excelsis," "Magnificat," and "Nunc Dimittis." In short, we have here a type and model of what a true Anglican musical service should be. But Tallis did more than this for our Church music, for he also enriched it with many admirable anthems, several of which are still performed, in spite of their antiquated style. On the whole, considering the time when he lived, he must be deemed the greatest benefactor to the music of the English Book of Common Prayer.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, however, that Tallis published a

collection of Latin motets, in conjunction with his pupil William Byrd, in 1575, under the direct patronage of Queen Elizabeth. The title of this valuable work is as follows: "Cantiones, quæ ab argumento sacræ vocantur, quinque et sex Partium; Autoribus Thoma Tallisio et Guilielmo Birdo, Anglis, serenissimæ Reginae Majestati à privato Sacello generosis et Organistis. London, 1575." Most probably these Cantiones were originally composed for the Latin service of Queen Mary, but it is certainly curious that they should have been published so long after the English Liturgy was firmly established; and what renders it the more remarkable is the fact that Elizabeth granted to the authors a patent, securing to them and their successors a monopoly of printing and publishing all kinds of music. This patent, the first of the kind ever granted, is dated 1575.

But there is a yet more wonderful monument of Tallis's powers extant, and that is his celebrated motet in forty real parts. We will transcribe Dr. Burney's account of this astonishing production ("History of Music," vol. iii., pp. 74, 75). "The most curious and extraordinary of all his [Tallis's] labours, was his SONG OF FORTY PARTS, which is still subsisting. This wonderful effort of harmonical abilities is not divided into *choirs* of four parts; soprano, altus, tenor, and base in each, like the compositions *a molti cori* of Benevoli and others; but consists of eight trebles, placed under each other; eight *mezzi soprani*, or mean parts; eight counter-tenors; eight tenors; and eight bases; with one line allotted to the organ. All these several parts, as may be imagined, are not in simple counterpoint, or filled up in mere harmony, without meaning or design, but have each a share in the short subjects of fugue and imitation, which are introduced upon every change of words. The first subject is begun in G, by the first mezzo soprano, or medius, and answered in D, the fifth above, by the first soprano; the second medius in like manner, beginning in G, is answered in the octave below by the first tenor, and that by the first counter-tenor in D, the fifth above; then the first base has the subject in D, the eighth below the counter-tenor; and thus all the forty *real* parts are severally introduced in the course of thirty-nine bars, when the whole vocal phalanx is employed at once during six bars more. After which, a new subject is led off by the lowest base, and pursued by other parts severally, for about twenty-four bars, when there is another general chorus of all the parts; and thus this stupendous, though perhaps Gothic, specimen of human

labour and intellect is carried on in alternate flight, pursuit, attack, and choral union, to the end ; when the *Polyphonic Phenomenon* is terminated by twelve bars of universal chorus, in quadragintesimal harmony."

Thomas Tallis died in November, 1585, and was buried at Greenwich, and a quaint epitaph was put up in the old parish church to his memory. The building having been pulled down in 1720 to make room for the present church, this epitaph was destroyed. Fortunately the wording of it was recorded in Strype's continuation of "Stow's Survey," and in Dr. Boyce's "Collection of Cathedral Music," and about ten years ago it was reinstated by public subscription in Greenwich Church.

The chief characteristic of Tallis's style is grandeur, combined with a devotional solemnity peculiarly his own. To modern ears his works sometimes sound quaint, almost to the point of harshness, especially those which are written in the obsolete Dorian scale. But his grand harmonies to the Responses and Litany can never become obsolete. They are used for festal occasions to this day in nearly every place where a choral service is attempted, and never fail to impress all who hear them with their richness and magnificence.

Tallis had a pupil hardly less celebrated than himself, of whom we must next speak. William Byrd (or Bird, or Byrde) was born somewhere about the year 1538. He received his early musical training as a chorister in St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1563 he became organist of Lincoln Cathedral, where he remained till 1569, when he succeeded Robert Parsons as one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. He also was styled organist of the chapel, though that office was then merely honorary. Of the patent granted to him jointly with Tallis for publishing and vending music, we have spoken above, and also of the "Cantiones Sacræ," which he brought out in conjunction with his master. But besides this collection he published several others entirely of his own. 1. "Psalmes, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie, made into musicke of five parts," 1587. 2. "Songs of sundrie Natures, some of Gravitie, and others of Myrth" (for from three to six voices), 1689. 3. "Liber primus Sacrarum Cantionum quinque vocum," 1589. 4. "Liber secundus Sacrarum Cantionum," &c., 1591. 5. "Gradualia ac Cantiones sacræ," Liber primus, for three, four, and five voices, 1607. 6. "Gradualia," &c., Liber secundus, 1610. 7. "Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets," for from three to six voices or instruments, 1611.

Byrd also printed three masses, which he probably wrote for the Latin service of Queen Mary. A large number of English services and anthems also remained in manuscript, some of which were printed subsequently in the collections of Barnard and Dr. Boyce. But there can be but little doubt that although Byrd composed for the Anglican service, and outwardly conformed to the Established Church, he yet remained secretly attached to the Roman communion all through his life. Indeed, he was "presented" for "Popish practices," in 1605, at which time he was in hiding. It appears from the "Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal," that Byrd died July 4th, 1623, and he is there styled "a father of musicke," in consequence, obviously, of his great age. We shall speak presently of his contributions to collections of madrigalian and instrumental compositions. At present we are only concerned with him as a writer of Church music, in which he especially excelled.

His style is founded on that of Tallis, but is not quite equal to it in breadth and grandeur. Still he must be regarded as one of the greatest English musicians of his time, and one who had a very considerable influence for good upon the art which he so largely adorned. Perhaps the finest specimen of his workmanship to which we can refer is his anthem, "Bow Thine ear, O Lord," which is printed in the second volume of Dr. Boyce's collection, and is familiar to all frequenters of cathedral services. There is also a well-known canon, "Non nobis Domine," traditionally attributed to Byrd, but of the authorship of which no documentary evidence has as yet been found.*

Another well-known and justly esteemed composer of Church music who flourished in Queen Elizabeth's reign was Richard Farrant. This musician deserves honourable mention not so much on account of the number of his compositions as because of their excellence as to style and workmanship. Only one complete cathedral service and two anthems can be quoted as unquestionably Farrant's. The service is published by Dr. Boyce in the first volume of his collection, in the key of G minor; but manuscript copies exist of it one note higher. It is peculiarly solemn and devotional in style, and is probably the earliest specimen of a service containing what are technically called "verses"—*i.e.*, short portions assigned to single voices, alone or in

* We are indebted for most of the above account of Byrd to the admirable article in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians."

conjunction, which in these days would be more correctly described as solos, duetts, trios, or quartetts.

The anthems of Farrant, which have been preserved in the collections of Barnard and Boyce, are: "Hide not Thou Thy face, O Lord," and "Call to remembrance, O Lord, Thy tender mercies." These are both admirable specimens of solemn, pathetic, short full-anthems. Another is commonly ascribed to Farrant which is even more beautiful, "Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake." But it is most probable that the real author of it is John Hilton. In the Tudway manuscript collection in the British Museum there is yet another anthem ascribed to Farrant, "O Lord Almighty;" but Tudway is not by any means a trustworthy authority on such points, and therefore the authorship remains doubtful. There is no record of any secular music by Richard Farrant; nor is the date of his birth recorded. We only know that in 1564 he resigned his post as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and became master of the children, and probably organist, of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. In 1569 he resumed his former appointment, and remained a gentleman of the Chapel Royal till his death, which occurred on November 30th, 1580.

Another celebrated master, whose name we must not omit, is Thomas Morley. He was a pupil of Byrd, and took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1588. He became, but only for a short time, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1591. In the following year he was admitted gentleman of the Chapel Royal, which office he resigned in 1602, and his death is said to have occurred in 1604. He composed some excellent Church music, of which some has been printed by Barnard and Boyce in their several collections. It is remarkable that of his anthems the greater part are solo-anthems interspersed with short choruses. Of his services the only one printed by Dr. Boyce is for the burial of the dead. It is a remarkably fine composition in the highest style of sacred art.

But Morley's reputation does not rest so much on his Church music as on his madrigals and other secular works for voices, of which we shall speak hereafter; and still more on his admirable treatise, published in 1597, and entitled "A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke." This was the earliest English treatise on music ever printed, and although it has been of course long since superseded by more modern works, yet it remained the chief text-book on the subject for more than two hundred years,

and might even now be studied, in some parts, with advantage. Every library of musical works ought to possess a copy, and every musical antiquarian finds it absolutely indispensable. On the whole Thomas Morley may be regarded as one of the greatest "worthies" in music during the Elizabethan period. This will be more plainly seen when we come to treat of his secular compositions.

Before we quit Morley, however, it will be well to quote a very valuable list of composers and theorists which he gives on the last page of his treatise. It may be fairly assumed that the names he gives were exclusively those of the most celebrated men known up to that time. He divides his list into four parts. First, "Such as have written on the art of musicke;" secondly, "Ancient writers;" thirdly, "Practitioners, the moste parte of whose works we have diligently perused, for finding the true use of the moods;" and fourthly, "Englishmen." It is this fourth list which we here reprint. It is as follows:—Mr. Pashe, Robert Jones, John Dunstable, Leonel Power, Robert Orwel, Mr. Wilkinson, John Guinneth, Robert Davis, Mr. Risby, Dr. Farfax, Dr. Kirby, Morgan Grig, Thomas Ashwell, Mr. Sturton, Jacket, Corbrand, Testwood, Ungle, Beech, Bramston, John Mason, Ludford, Fording, Cornish, Pyggot, Taverner, Redford, Hodges, Selby, Thorne, Oelande, Averie, Dr. Tye, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Newton, Mr. Tallis, Mr. White, Mr. Persons, Mr. Byrde. It will be perceived that we have adhered strictly to Morley's spelling of these names. But in those days it was customary for people to spell their own names in a variety of ways, even on the same document.

But it is time now to inquire into the state of secular vocal music during the Elizabethan period. And here again we find England holding her own bravely among the nations of Europe. It is probable that when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, secular polyphonic music for voices was already largely cultivated. It was partly a legacy left by the old minstrels, and partly a secular adaptation of the rules of ecclesiastical art, as practised by the Church composers of the day. We have already spoken of a manuscript book of such pieces, belonging once to Dr. Fayrfax, and now in the British Museum; and there was also a volume of English polyphonic songs printed in 1530 by Wynkyn de Worde, which contained secular as well as sacred pieces. The same may be said of William Byrd's "Psalmes, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie," of which the first

volume was published in 1588. John Day had already brought out (in 1571) a collection of sacred and secular part-songs, edited by Thomas Whythorne. Now in all these collections are contained compositions so much akin to madrigals that they have often been termed such, although the word had not yet been adopted in this country. One very familiar example is that very beautiful piece by Richard Edwardes (1560), "In going to my lonely bed," which is virtually a madrigal to all intents and purposes, although not called so by the composer. The late Mr. de Pearsall would call such a piece an "ante-madrigal."

In 1588 was published a very curious work, of which the full title is as follows: "Musica Transalpina. Madrigales translated of foure, five, and six parts, chosen out of divers excellent authors, with the first and second part of *La Verginella*, made by Maister Byrd upon two stanz's of Ariosto, and brought to speak English with the rest. Published by N. Yonge, in favour of such as take pleasure in musick of voices. Imprinted at London by Thomas East, the assigné of William Byrd, 1588. *Cum Privilegio Regie Majestatis.*" Of this work a second and similar volume was published in 1597. Young was a merchant of London and an enthusiastic amateur of madrigalian music, and by his influence he soon got his book so well known that a popular love of madrigals was established, and all our English composers began to emulate the foreign models thus brought under their notice. Byrd was the first who wrote in this new vein, but he was quickly followed by Thomas Morley and a host of other Englishmen, who produced a large quantity of most admirable madrigals, many of which remain favourites to the present day.

The word madrigal is of doubtful etymology, nor is this a proper place for discussing its derivation; suffice it that it was applied first to a certain kind of lyrical poetry, and afterwards to the music to which the poetry was set. As regards the poetry, Le Brun defines a madrigal as "an epigram without anything very brisk or sprightly in its fall or close; something very tender and gallant is usually the subject of it; and a certain beautiful, noble, yet chaste simplicity forms its character." In fact the madrigal may be looked upon as the shortest kind of lyrical poetry, and may consist of fewer verses than the roundelay or the sonnet. As regards rhymes and metres there is no rule beyond the fancy of the author; and yet in some respects *regularity* is an essential characteristic of the madrigal. But we

are more concerned here with the music to which the poetry is set, and as to this it may be observed:—First, that a madrigal is always set for several voices, and sung in chorus, thus differing from the glee, and also from the ballad or serenade: secondly, the style of the madrigal belongs to its own period, now long past, being originally based, for the most part, on the ecclesiastical scales: thirdly, a madrigal is essentially a vocal composition, and should be unaccompanied by instruments, although, as will be seen hereafter, accompanied madrigals were substituted for the genuine kind, when the style was in its decadence: fourthly, as to the *form* of the madrigal, it is difficult to lay down any rules. Sometimes they were divided into two portions, after the fashion of the old motets—as, *e.g.*, in Wilby's "Sweet Honey-sucking Bees." Sometimes, again, the music was simply repeated to the different stanzas of the words, as in the case of Dowland's "Come again, sweet love" (if that may be strictly called a madrigal). Usually, however, madrigals consisted of only one movement, flowing on evenly to its close without part-divisions of any kind. They usually contained much contrapuntal imitation, but no regular fugue; and the various figures or passages were, for the most part, employed but once, new ones being introduced to suit each succeeding sentiment of the words.

Such then was the style of vocal music which almost exclusively prevailed during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, and in which England shone with a brilliant lustre to which she has perhaps at no subsequent period attained. It is mainly to Thomas Morley that this national excellence is due, for in the first place he gives admirable instructions as to the method of composing madrigals in his great treatise, to which reference has already been made; and then secondly he himself was a voluminous composer of madrigals, and especially of the lighter sorts, to which the names of *Canzonets* and *Ballets* were applied; the former on account of the style of the words, and the latter because (like the Italian "Ballata," of which they were an imitation) they were meant to accompany dances. As a familiar example of this style we may mention Morley's well-known madrigal (or ballet), "Now is the month of Maying." But besides all this, Morley contributed greatly to the advancement and popularising of madrigalian music by the publication of a fine collection, in praise of Queen Elizabeth, of which we must attempt a description, as it was undoubtedly one of the most important musical works of the period. It is

entitled “*Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5 and 6 voices; composed by divers severall aucthors. Newly published by Thomas Morley, Batchelor of Musick, and one of the Gentlemen of Her Majestie’s honorable Chappell.*” London, 1601. This collection was first reprinted *in score* by William Hawes, in 1815. It was, in all probability, originally made to solace the queen at the time when she was much depressed by the execution of the Earl of Essex. She is celebrated in every one of the madrigals it contains, under the name of Oriana. It would seem, however, that as regards its plan this work was got up in imitation of another, published in the same year at Antwerp, of which the title was, “*Il Trionfo di Dori,*” &c., and which must have been in preparation concurrently with Morley’s collection. All the greatest English composers of the day contributed to the “*Triumphes of Oriana,*” and the result was a matchless combination of madrigalian excellence, which must have had a very beneficial influence on the progress of the art.

The contributors were—1. Thomas Morley himself. 2. Michael Este (or East), Mus. Bac. Cantab., organist of Lichfield Cathedral. 3. Daniel Norcome, lay clerk of St. George’s Chapel, Windsor. 4. John Mundy, Mus. Doc. Oxon., organist of the Chapel Royal, and also of St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, where he succeeded Merbecke; he died in 1630. 5. Ellis Gibbons, organist of Salisbury Cathedral, and brother of the more celebrated composer, Orlando Gibbons. 6. John Benet (or Bennett), a fine composer of madrigals, styled by his contemporary Ravenscroft, “a gentleman, admirable for all kinds of composures, either in art or ayre, simple or mixt.” 7. John Hilton, Mus. Bac. Cantab., organist of St. Margaret’s, Westminster. 8. George Marson, Mus. Bac. [? Cantab.]. 9. Richard Carlton, Mus. Bac. [? Cantab.], in priest’s orders. 10. John Holmes, organist first of Winchester, and afterwards of Salisbury, a voluminous composer of services and anthems. 11. Richard Nicholson, Mus. Bac. Oxon., who lived to be the first Oxford Professor of music, in 1626, dying in 1639. 12. Thomas Tomkins, Mus. Bac. Oxon, a pupil of William Byrd, and a very prolific writer of English Church music. He was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and also organist both there and at Worcester Cathedral. He is best known by his collection of cathedral music, entitled “*Musica Deo Sacra et Ecclesiae Anglicanae,*” published in 1668, soon after which he died. 13. John Farmer, author of a treatise on Canon, and com-

poser of an excellent set of madrigals. 14. John Wilbye, one of the very best of all our composers of madrigals. All that is known of him is that he was a teacher of music in London, and that he was deservedly looked up to as a master of his profession. 15. Thomas Weelkes, Mus. Bac. Oxon., was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and organist first of Winchester and afterwards of Chichester Cathedral. He was a voluminous composer both of madrigals and of Church music. 16. John Milton, the father of the great poet, was a scrivener by profession, but found time to compose a great quantity of music of all kinds; he died in 1647. 17. George Kirbye, was known as a good madrigalist. 18. Robert Jones, appears to have composed much music of all kinds, of which but little has come down to us. 19. Thomas Bateson, organist of Chester Cathedral in 1600, was the first man upon whom the newly founded University of Dublin conferred the degree of Mus. Bac. He became organist of Christchurch Cathedral in that city in 1618, and is well known as an excellent composer. 20. Giovanni Croce, is the only foreign composer whose works are included in this collection; he has been sufficiently described in a former chapter. 21. Francis Pilkington, Mus. Bac. Oxon. He was a famous lutenist, and well known as a composer of good madrigals. 22. Michael Cavendish, of whose biography nothing is known, beyond the fact of his having published a volume of "Ayres for Four Voices" in 1599, and been a contributor to Este's "Whole Book of Psalmes," published in 1592. 23. William Cobbold, also a contributor to Este's "Psalmes." 24. Thomas Hunt, Mus. Bac., of whose life nothing is known. 25. John Lisley, of whom nothing whatever is known. 26. Edward Johnson, Mus. Bac. Cantab., who was also a contributor to Este's "Psalmes."

But there was yet a third branch of musical art which flourished greatly in this reign. Chamber-music certainly received much encouragement at court, and the fashion thus set extended throughout the kingdom. That Queen Elizabeth was herself an accomplished performer on the virginals admits of no doubt. Dr. Burney, in his third volume, relates an amusing anecdote on this subject, which we feel bound to reproduce. "Sir James Melvil gives an account of a curious conversation which he had with this princess, to whom he was sent on an embassy by Mary Queen of Scots in 1564. After her Majesty had asked him how his queen dressed? what was the colour of her hair? whether that or

hers was best? which of them two was fairest? and which of them was highest in stature? Then she asked, what kind of exercises she used? 'I answered,' says Melvil, 'that when I received my dispatch the queen was lately come from the Highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals.' She asked 'if she played well?' I answered 'reasonably for a queen.' The same day, after dinner, my Lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music (but he said that he durst not avow it), where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging, she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked me how I came there. I answered, as I was walking with my Lord Hunsden, as we passed by the chamber door, I heard such a melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the court of France where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so grave an offence. Then she sate down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She inquired whether my queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise."

The instrument on which the queen performed on this occasion, and on which she must have been a great proficient, was called the "virginals;" and it is a disputed point whether its name arose from the fact of Queen Elizabeth's use of it, or from its being commonly played upon by the young ladies of the period. The latter is the more probable hypothesis, inasmuch as the word occurs before Queen Elizabeth's time. The instrument was the predecessor of the spinet, which it resembled in every way, save that it was of a square shape and without legs or

tressels, being usually placed on a table. It was strung with one wire to each note, and the keys acted on the wires by the mechanism of a jack and quill, after the fashion of the clavicytherium, the spinet, and the harpsichord. We would refer our readers to Dr. Rimbault's admirable work, "*The Pianoforte*" (London, 1860), for a more complete description of these instruments. There is a curious manuscript volume preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, said to have been Queen Elizabeth's virginal book. It consists of 418 pages of music written on six-lined staves, and apparently all in the same handwriting. It contains all manner of variations on popular songs, dance-music, &c., for the virginals, and mostly very difficult and complicated in structure. It may be well to give a list of the composers whose works it contains. They are Dr. John Bull, Ferdinand Richardson, William Byrd, Thomas Morley, John Munday, Giles Farnaby, William Blitheman, Peter Phillips, Nicholas Stogers, Martin Peerson, Thomas Warrock, Thomas Tomkins, Robert Johnson, Richard Farnaby, Marchart, W. Tisdall, Hooper, Edward Johnson, William Inghott, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Oldfield, Giovanni Pietri, Johan Pieterse Swellinck, Thomas Tallis, and a few anonymous authors. Dr. Burney, referring to this book, describes the enormous difficulty of the contents, and argues from thence the great execution Queen Elizabeth must have possessed. Bating a certain amount of exaggeration, this is a correct view of the case.

It is remarkable how fashionable chamber-music for stringed instruments became about this period in England. Six-stringed viols, with frets on the neck like those of a modern guitar, were usually to be found in sets (*viz.*, treble, alto, tenor, and bass), and these were denominated "chests of viols." A large quantity of music in four, five, six, and even more parts was composed for these instruments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by all the best composers, both on the continent and in England, and this music often partook of a semi-madrigalesque character. Pieces called "*Fancies*" were most in vogue in this country, and collections of them still exist in manuscript, although the instruments for which they were written have long become obsolete.

The lute retained its place also throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was cultivated by every one who had any claim to be considered an accomplished and well-educated lady or gentleman.

Music for the lute, and also sometimes for viols, was written in a queer system of alphabetical letters called "Tablature," of which many examples still exist, although very few persons now-a-days would be able to decipher them. Probably the greatest lutenist in Elizabeth's time was the well-known John Dowland, whose exquisite madrigalian part-songs are still deservedly admired. Most of these were written with accompaniments for the lute and viols. Dowland was born in 1562. From 1584 to 1587 he travelled in France, Germany, and Italy, which was by no means an ordinary course for a musician to pursue in those days. In 1588 he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford, and afterwards also at Cambridge. In 1592 he contributed to Este's "Psalmes;" and in 1597 he published his "First Booke of Songes or Ayres of foure parts with Tableture for the Lute." Of this work new editions appeared in 1600, 1603, 1608, and 1613. It was also reprinted in score by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1844. About the year 1598, Dowland was appointed lutenist to the King of Denmark, and it was while he lived in that country that he brought out (in London) his "Second Booke of Songes or Ayres," &c. This came out in 1600. In 1602 it was followed by his "Third and last Booke of Songes or Ayres." In 1605 he returned to England and published a work with the following quaint title, "Lachrymæ, or Seven Teares, figured in seaven passionate Pavans, &c., set forth for the lute, viols, or violins, in five parts." After another brief sojourn in Denmark, Dowland finally settled in England in 1609, where, in the following year, he published his excellent translation of the "Micrologus" of Andreas Ornithoparcus. After publishing a few more works for the lute, Dowland died in 1626.

In former chapters of this work attention has been called to the rise of metrical psalmody in France and Germany, and to the important part played by the chorale in the Reformation, both under the auspices of Calvin and Luther, but especially the latter. In England the same spirit arose, first among the Lollards, and then more generally throughout the country. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth this essentially Protestant taste for psalm-singing received great accessions of strength. Not that the queen herself cared much for such music, neither did it ever find admittance as an essential ingredient in the English choral service; but it became so popular that it was found necessary to regulate its use by royal injunctions,

authorising the singing of metrical psalms in church *before* and *after* each service. In 1562 appeared the first edition of what was long known as the "Old Version" of the Psalms, of which the real title was, "The Whole Booke of Psalmes," the versification being the joint production of Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, W. Whityngham, and others. Some of these had been printed by Sternhold as early as 1549 and 1551, and were then used by the English Calvinists in Geneva, where another edition, with additions, was printed in 1556. But the earliest *complete* edition was that of 1562, and in it the metrical psalms were accompanied by the melodies only of what were then called the "Church Tunes." What the origin of these tunes was has never been clearly ascertained; but certain it is that they formed the basis of all future collections and arrangements for more than a century. It was not long before they were published in harmony. The earliest work in which this was done was, "The Whole Psalmes, in foure parts, whiche may be song to al musical instrumentes, set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolishyng of other vague and triflyng ballads. Imprinted at London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath Saynt Martyn's. 1563." It is evident from the title of this work that it was only intended for private recreation, and not for use in church. It was reprinted in 1565. In 1579 John Day published "The Psalmes of David in English Meter, with Notes of foure partes set unto them by Gulielmo Damon, for John Bull, to the use of the godly Christians for recreatyng themselves in stede of fond and unseemly ballades." In 1585 was printed "Musicke of six and five partes, made upon the common tunes used in singing of the Psalmes. By John Cosyn." Like the other publications which preceded it, this was clearly intended only for private use. A second and improved edition appeared in 1591. But in the year 1592 a far more important collection of tunes was brought out by Thomas Este, to which we have already several times referred. The title of this work is as follows: "The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with their wonted tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts: all which are so placed that foure may sing ech one a several part in this booke. Wherein the Church tunes are carefully corrected, and thereunto added other short tunes usually song in London, and other places of this Realme. With a table in the end of the booke of such tunes as are newly added, with the number of ech Psalme placed to the said tune. Compiled by sondry

Authors, who have so laboured heerin that the unskilful, with small practice, may attaine to sing that part which is fittest for their voice. Imprinted at London by Thomas Est, the assigné of William Byrd: dwelling in Aldersgate streete, at the signe of the Black Horse, and are there to be sold. 1592." This work was reprinted with improvements in 1594, and a third edition was "printed by Thomas Este for the Companie of Stationers" in 1604. It is noteworthy—first, that it is probably in this book that the tunes are for the first time *named after places*, as is still the custom; and, secondly, that the "old Church tunes" in all these old works are given not to the *treble* but to the *tenor* voice, evidently on the model of the Gregorian plainsong in the Latin service, which was often similarly treated. Here we must finish our account of English music during the Elizabethan period, which, as will certainly be admitted, was a very brilliant epoch in the history of the art of sweet sounds in England. F. A. G. O.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPREAD OF THE MUSICAL "ZOPF" OVER CENTRAL EUROPE.

WE left classical Italy in Chapter XVIII., at the time its genius was winging itself for a new and what proved its last flight into the region of a pure tonality. The effort was confined principally to the Neapolitan school, and more especially to Scarlatti and his immediate pupils. Hitherto the "strict" style, with its organic membering of tone-material and well-balanced parts, had been the model for all, but this was gradually succeeded by a sort of gambolling with notes, which ultimately resulted in the substitution of a pleasing sensuous music for a sound, pure tonality. Alessandro Scarlatti, even in his most elevated mood, did not escape the contagion, and his later writings exhibit a shallowness sadly in contrast with his earlier efforts. It might be asserted that Scarlatti was the leader of this degenerating style of writing, and without doubt there is some show of reason for the charge, for by the undue attention he devoted to the development of the melodic side of the tonal art, to the exclusion of the harmonic, he unquestionably set an example which less capable men followed and erred in carrying to a still greater extreme. Whilst his genius enabled him to combine the enticing charm of the *cantilena* with a profound and

yet freely treated polyphony, his imitators replaced the "strict style"—*i.e.*, a style that organically binds, the same as it is itself bound by fixed eternal laws—by a weak homophonic progression of parts. In their best efforts they exhibited but the shadowy resemblance of the former skilled contrapuntal method. The generation of Neapolitan masters that succeeded Searlatti gave still greater prominence to melody. With them it was the one thing: Independent bass and thematic working of middle parts were subordinated completely to it, and musical factors which should have ranked equal with melody were lowered to mere accompaniment or employed merely to fill up. At first this process was confined to the opera, but by degrees it gained an equal mastery over Church music, leading to a general manner of composing which, finding its counterpart in the already deteriorated plastic art, was similarly designated *Zopf*. As up to the present time we have failed to trace any clear and satisfactory explanation of this important art-term, we offer the following, though necessarily condensed account of it, referring the investigator desirous for a more exhaustive definition to our "Music in the History of Civilisation." *Zopf* is a term that has at one time or another been applied to indicate a certain style in all the arts. It implies a predominance of the unreal, the incidental, and external, over the real, the essential, and internal; a confounding of the means with the end; an elaboration of one side of artistic creation at the expense of all others; a shifting of the balance of an art-work in which all factors should be relatively proportioned. Thus, when in the plastic arts the distinct and perfectly-balanced component parts of a building, statue, or picture are subordinated to an over-refinement of decorative ornamentation or external elaboration of fitting, or when the architectural proportion and anatomical truth of a grand façade are sacrificed to the sensuous pleasure derived from figured forms and excessive embellishment, or when in a picture the correctness of the drawing is subordinated to showy dazzling colour, that is *Zopf*. The same term applies in music when the skill of the virtuoso is displayed for the sake of display, instead of being employed as a means for an effective interpretation of the composer, or when the composer develops the melodic at the expense of the polyphonic and rhythmic elements of his art. This was the state of Italian music during the last two-thirds of the eighteenth century, and it was during this period that musical *Zopf* spread over Central Europe. The generation that succeeded the Neapolitan school

devoted their attention to the development of melody which should *charm the ear*, to the exclusion of all else. One side of the tonal art was polished at the expense of all others, and an overlaid and unequally balanced solo song, elaborated with passages requiring much executive skill, was the result.*

Such a meretricious and degenerated style of composition, and its surprisingly rapid dissemination throughout the musical world, coupled with the various art-outgrowths which were a natural consequence of this one-sided development, can not only be accounted for by a rigid organic law of all art-development—that an over-yield of fruit of any art-epoch, *e.g.*, such as that which the Italian tonal art had just passed through, must be succeeded by a time of deterioration—but in this instance can also be explained by the presence of other factors which exercised a weighty influence over the musical development of that period. *Zopf* was the reflection of man's conception of the world. In the eighteenth century there was a phenomenal abasement of all national, political, religious, and moral thought among Europeans. In Italy these degenerative tendencies were perhaps more widely diffused than anywhere else: there was an absolute lack of all ideals and inspiriting ideas on which a nobler and grander consciousness of self might have been based. In the preceding century such an ideal element, and that a powerful one, existed in the Romish religion, and the state it finally assumed after its protracted and severe struggle with the Reformation doctrines. It was during this era of the Papal Restoration that new and important schools were founded in painting, sculpture, and music. But in the eighteenth century there existed nothing that could stimulate the Italian to any great intellectual effort. At the time when the tenets of his Church were so violently attacked, every good Catholic exerted himself to the utmost to defend and create that which would support and strengthen his faith; thus art, acted upon by such an incentive and forcible motor, flourished, but as soon as the combative tension was relaxed, man also relapsed into what he vainly construed to be tranquil security, and satisfying his worldly craving for the material pleasures of life, all earnest individual striving in art was neglected. Coupled with this was the wide-spreading domineering influence of the Jesuits, aided by the tyrannical government of the bigoted Bourbons, who

* The word *Zopf* = tuft, top-knot, or pigtail. Cf. the French "style perruque."

completely checked free thought, and carefully watched that nowhere should independence of conscience and the assertion of self raise its head or flourish.

Nor was this all. Other influences were at work, and those not the least powerful, propagating musical *Zopf*. Its universal dissemination was rendered the more easy, because of the weight which the musical world attached to all elements emanating from Italy, the country which, up to that period, had led the van of musical progress. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, Italy had created so much that was grand and imperishable in the tonal art, that Europe had begun to follow as one blind, delivering herself up wholly to its teachings. Every new style developed outside the Appenine peninsula was admired only so far as it reflected the Italian mind. Thus was musical Europe the slavish imitator of melodic Naples, and Germany was so more than any other country. Another reason for the rapid and wide-spread diffusion of the new style was, that it required less invention and skill from its votaries than the strict polyphonic style, and therefore most of the inferior masters were attracted to it. The creation of an embroidered melody is possible by a very inferior talent, compared to the feeling and learning required to work out a polyphonic composition. By submissively following the fashion of the moment, it was an easy task to acquire celebrity, though it were only ephemeral. Certainly, composers should not have written down to the public taste, but have made a firm stand against the one-sided method, and have sought to educate and elevate the public mind to something grander and more truly worthy of the name of art. Yet reprehensible and to be regretted as this effacement of originality was, some excuse is to be found in the power wielded by the solo artist of the period, if indeed any excuse can be admitted for an art-worker weak enough to be borne down by prevailing degenerate taste. The creating artist had not only to wrestle with the seductive siren who temptingly pointed an easy road to fame and favour, but he had also to contend with the potent sway exercised by the *prima donna*, with whom it was an imperative necessity to be on the best terms to obtain recognition of any kind.

The solo, since the creation of the Monody of Florence, had acquired an importance which all composers were forced to recognise and reckon with. Backed too by a court favour that was extended only because of

the sensuous enjoyment it produced, it became a power that the composer was forced to recognise. The social position of the *prima donna* entered largely into this. At this period of musical *Zopf*, and especially at the Italian and German courts, she was at the same time *prima donna* and *favorita* of princes, ministers, and other influential persons. Did a composer dare to write in any other style than that agreeable to her, one which did not contain passages that would admit of the exhibition of executive skill, he at once fell into disfavour, and if holding service under the prince, lost his appointment and was forced into retirement. Woe to that intrepid writer who attempted to assert his artistic feeling in opposition to the will of the *prima donna*. The aristocracy, as a body, loved to hear brilliant musical passages, and supported the singer, so that it was not always necessary for her to avail herself of her double position to turn court and public favour against the fearless composer.

There was also another opposing force in operation against the serious writer. This was the *Castrato*, male soprano or alto, first employed in the period of the Italian Renaissance, and now, in the eighteenth century, occupying a position and power to which the composer had to succumb. The castrato was a man of intrigue, and could raise up bitter and dangerous enemies. He was a being whose services, as solo singer, were much sought after by the Catholic courts of that time, and he was always sure of the personal favour of the prince. Following the example of the court, the nobles contended with each other in securing the castrato for their own households, offering large sums of money. As a natural result, the influence and power possessed by such a man were very strong. It mattered not to him whose composition he sang, all he desired was a piece that would enable him to show off his singing. The disastrous effect of such hampering conditions on the free invention of the composer needs no further comment. It should be remarked that in whatever art and in whatever age *Zopf* has acquired a supremacy, similar coercive restrictions are to be traced. All periods of art wherein an elevated style has been succeeded by conventional mannerism, and a restricted subjective treatment substituted for a complete artistic objectivity, are emphatically periods of degeneration. Yet the Italian musical *Zopf* of the eighteenth century should not wholly and unreservedly be condemned, nor should the musical historian too hurriedly censure it without the fullest knowledge and understanding of the facts

and the manifold causes that generated and fostered it. The history of this period is full of contradictions, and doubtful events cross us that would prove fatal to an investigator already biassed against *Zopf*. But still the period was not without its merits, and its masters are entitled to their just recognition.

The grand and elevated state of the tonal art, as it was with the Italians immediately preceding the appearance of the *Zopf*, could not of a sudden deteriorate into something insipid and worthless. Such a decadence could only be gradual. The influence of the former grandeur would still be sufficiently potent to prevent composers falling immediately away. It could not be otherwise than that we should trace some redeeming feature, some distinct reminiscence of an earlier solid artistic epoch in their creations. But apart from this, even when mannerism has spread itself over a whole epoch and enfolded a whole nation's artists within its injurious and debasing grasp, the born artist will yet uphold a certain amount of real art, and will tower above the mediocre artist who is a slave to fashionable taste. *Zopf* in architecture deviates as much from external beauty and internal appropriateness as in music from heartfelt expression and systematic method. But buildings erected in Germany during the *Zopf* period—as the Barbican and the Catholic Court Chapel of Dresden—notwithstanding the time and the ruling spirit, evidence the born artist and stamp him as a real art-worker for all time. This applies equally to *Zopf* in music. The works of the Italians, Pergolesi, Piccini, Jomelli, Sacchini, and Cimarosa, and of the Germans Hasse and Naumann, all of whom lived at the time *Zopf* was at its highest—prove them to have been, notwithstanding the unpropitious period and the fashionable taste, both of which must have exercised some influence over them, born artists, and even to-day we find much to attract and interest us in their creations. It is not conceivable that an art-period extending over almost a whole century, and embracing all musical Europe, could have been absolutely and without exception vicious and corrupt. The history of the *Zopf* of the eighteenth century teaches us that, notwithstanding its general erroneous tendency, it originated forms and contrivances, and conduced to a perfected executive skill both vocal and instrumental which subsequently proved progressive art-factors containing a surprising amount of vigorous vitality. First there was the *opera buffa* which it developed in Italy, and the *Singspiel*—

song-play—in Germany. It might be supposed by the casual reader, and not without reason, that the *ensemble*—i.e., concerted performances, vocal and instrumental—was an outcome of the *opera seria*. But this was not the case; it was purely an art-outgrowth of the *opera buffa*. This alone is a form of importance in the tonal art, and as it was the *Zopf* which generated it, we look with leniency towards that otherwise debased period. At that time, sick with affectation and false sentimentality, all that was simple, natural, truthful, and unvitiated in life sought refuge in the *opera buffa* and in the French and German song-plays, wherein individuals and situations could be dramatically characterised. In addition to the *opera buffa*, an unsurpassable method of vocalisation was created, which has gained for Italy for a period of now nearly two centuries an unrivalled name for classical vocal tuition. This school successfully stimulated composers to write effectively for the voice, a gift rarely met with in German masters. If the *opera buffa* developed the *ensemble* of the French comic opera, and also that of the German writers who excelled in this species of art-composition, e.g., Dittersdorf, Mozart, Weber (Fatima and Scherasmin in *Oberon*), Lortzing, and Nicolai, it further created the solo song which in modern times has been brought to a high state of perfection, and which will prove of still more importance in the future development of the tonal art. The superiority of Händel over Sebastian Bach in the effective treatment of voices, both solo and choral, is due to his repeated sojourns in Italy during the *Zopf* period. Bach never had the opportunity of going to Italy, and treated his voices as though they were organ or other instrumental parts. Mozart and Gluck united to depth of musical expression a skilful vocal treatment, a power which they both acquired through their studies in Italy. And certain of the more gifted composers of *opera seria* exhibit a pathos and dramatic intensity surprising for their time. In them we find workings synonymous with those exhibited in the grand tragedies of that genius Gluck, the creator of the most striking and powerful music-dramas the world possesses. To arrive at any just knowledge of the merits or demerits of the *Zopf* period, we should also take into account the writings of a less gifted class than the pathetic masters, one that devoted itself exclusively to the humorous. The chief exponent of this phase of *Zopf* was Francesco Conti, composer of *Don Chicotte*, and a capable delineator of musical humour and irony. Finally Agostino Steffani, who developed

the already known "Chamber duet" to a high state of perfection, is also to be numbered with those of his contemporaries who improved the *ensemble* by their *opera buffa* writings. A knowledge of these several facts helps us to a more correct judgment of that period of *Zopf* so often derided and unfairly adjudicated upon, and shows that as regards certain special phases of the tonal art it was not altogether unimportant.

With these necessary introductory remarks we proceed to discuss the masters of the musical *Zopf* era of Italy and Germany. To be just, we cannot regard them as producers of the mere tasteless and unprofitable, or as the representatives of a commonplace mediocrity. Among them were men who at the present day stand out as composers of originality, and claim recognition as men of independent thought. It was their misfortune to have been born at a time when a strongly pronounced mannerism dominated the musical world and when purity and individuality of style were relegated to the background.

The first of these masters, beginning with the Neapolitan disciples, was Nicolò Porpora (1686—1766), already referred to as a pupil of A. Scarlatti. He composed several works for the Church and the stage, the latter principally written for the London public in competition with Händel. He was less successful in the portrayal of dramatic situations than in the writing of a light music which charmed the ear. His compositions were more superficial than profound; but were always most effectively written for the singer. He was himself an excellent singer and teacher of singing, and was one of the founders of Italy's celebrated classical school of vocalisation. His writings, whether for the Church or the stage, contained the most showy florid passages.

The next, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, was born in 1710 at Jesi, and died in 1737, at the early age of twenty-seven, at a villa near Naples. In *opera seria*—e.g., his *Olympiade* and *Adriano in Siria*—he adopted the conventional style of his contemporaries; but in *opera buffa* he is to be regarded as a follower of and next in importance to Logroscino. His comic intermezzo, *La Serva Padrona*, went the round of the civilised world. After a performance in Paris, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was present, remarked that, "to learn how to compose, one must go to Naples." It contains so much vitality, melodic flow, humour, and charm, that an occasional performance by artists of to-day would possess an

interest more than merely historical. Other notable comic operas were his *Il Maestro di musica* and *Il Frate innamorato*. But the work with which his name is mostly associated in our time is his "Stabat Mater," a creation deservedly worthy of high encomiums, although some critics have as much overrated as others have undervalued it. Written for female voices and string orchestra, it may be described as a work studded with passages of sweet euphony, skilful and effective in a vocal scoring, that follows the best traditions, and gracefully melodious, whilst running through it is a sensuous vein more agreeable than elevated, and fantastic rather than serious. This we believe to be a just criticism of this world-wide celebrated composition, a work which even to-day interests and charms us. The graceful though light style of Pergolesi finds its parallel in that of the painter Raphael Mengs, also of the eighteenth century—except that Mengs strove more after academical correctness. Still his effects are solely those of the external, his altar-pieces and sacred pictures generally charming by their colour and correctness of drawing. He was also much overrated by his contemporaries, who placed him on the level with the greatest masters, much in the same manner as Pergolesi had been treated before him. And if the strictures passed upon Mengs and Pergolesi in the early part of this century by the German critics Forkel and Schulz were as unfair as they were severe, both masters have to-day received their just meed in the acknowledgment that as *Zoppf* artists they stand brilliantly out from their contemporaries.

A contemporary of Pergolesi, and a Neapolitan, was Leonardo da Vinci, born in 1690, died some time after 1734. As a *Zoppf* writer he distinguished himself chiefly in the *opera seria*, producing two operas, *Ifigenia in Tauride* and *Didone abbandonata*, which were performed in Venice, and obtained great success. There was every probability of his becoming a composer of great renown, had not an idle boast, compromising a lady of high social rank, brought about his sudden death.

In Nicolo Jomelli (1714—1774) we approach a master whose serious operas found their way into every European capital. In him also we see a gifted man enslaved by the domineering mannerism of the time. A Neapolitan by birth, his first great successes were achieved in Rome. Contemporary with Jomelli was a young Portugese named Terradellas, who successfully rivalled the Neapolitan on his own ground. He became such

a general favourite that his friends had a medal struck in his honour, the subject of which was supposed to satirise the Italians. The end of this jarring incident was that Terradellas was found murdered in his own house. In 1754 Jomelli was appointed chapel-master and court composer at Stutgardt. While holding this office he wrote as many as eighteen operas. In Germany he was extremely popular, all classes singing his praises. Hense, a highly-gifted German poet, exalted Jomelli above all German composers of his day. There is evidence that Jomelli himself affected to look down on his German contemporaries, notwithstanding that they numbered among them Händel and Gluck. The attitude of Mozart, though then but a young man, towards the Italian, is in pleasant contrast to the inflated foreigner's bearing towards his fellow-masters. He says: "The man [Jomelli] has his position and shines in it, and we should leave him alone and not try to oust him from what he fills so nobly."

Superior to either Porpora, Pergolesi, or Jomelli, as a writer of *opera seria* in the *Zopf* period, stands Nicoli Piccini, a Neapolitan by birth (1728—1800). Modern critics have assigned him an equality with the three first-mentioned writers, but his works claim for him an altogether higher recognition. From 1776 to 1781 he had the temerity to contend with Gluck for the supremacy in pathetic opera at Paris. Nor was his rivalry unsupported by gifts of first-rate order. Genuine tragedy and force of characterisation are to be found in most of his serious operas, and especially in *Allessandro nelle Indie*, *Atys*, and *Didone*, which contain scenes with arias and choruses full of well-developed dramatic passion. As a writer of *opera buffa* he was still more eminent, and the two *Zopf* writers Pergolesi and Cimarosa alone of the masters of that period can compare with him. To him belongs the merit of improving the concerted movements and finales of opera to a degree beyond that of any of his predecessors. His first effort in dramatic writing was a comic opera *Le donne dispettose*, successful beyond anticipation, and leading to the rapid composition of several others of the same class, of which perhaps the most famous is *Cecchina*. Piccini studied under Leonardo Leo and Durante, achieving his principal successes in Rome and Naples. Invited to Paris by Marie Antoinette, he speedily acquired the goodwill of a large portion of the Parisians. It was at the time that Gluck's star was in the ascendant, and a rivalry at once commenced. Paris became divided into two sections: Gluckists

and Piccinists, and partisanship ran so high as to lead to open street brawls. Both masters composed an *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the superior genius of Gluck bearing away the palm. Shortly after, Gluck left Paris, and a new master, Sacchini, at once sought to fill the vacant place; but by his *Didone*, Piccini proved himself a much greater talent than Sacchini. His popularity did not, however, remain long with him, for with the dawn of the Revolution of 1790 he lost his income, which had reached 12,000 francs a year. He was buried at Passy, near Paris, his name being spelt Piccini, though it has not unfrequently been written Piccinni.

Pietro Guglielmi (1727—1804), also a pupil of Durante, was a most prolific writer, about eighty operas, *seria* and *buffa*, being placed to his credit. For a lengthened period he was the fashionable composer; but his works cannot compare with those of either Piccini or Sacchini.

Gasparo Sacchini (1734—1786), after many successes in Italy, South Germany, Holland, and England, was, like Piccini, invited in 1782 to Paris. There he was patronised by Marie Antoinette, and the Emperor Joseph II., at that time in Paris, and by his pleasing writing grew quickly in popular favour. He chiefly excelled in the *opera seria*, in which he was evidently influenced by Gluck and Piccini. Fétis, in a glowing criticism on his *Œdipus*, is of opinion that he approached near to the elevated grandeur of the antique. If this be true of *Œdipus*, it cannot be applied to all his works. In place of powerful and thrilling music he oft has given us melodic flow that should please, clearly for no other reason than that it should please; and at such moments he shows himself the son of his time. But his good taste and artistic feeling always prevented him from falling into the commonplace and trivial. He also composed oratorios, masses, and other sacred works, besides string quartetts, trios, and sonatas for piano and violin, himself excelling as a performer on the latter instrument.

Tommaso Traetta, born in 1727, follows next to Sacchini. He obtained success at Parma, Rome, Venice, Vienna, Petersburg, and London. The two operas, *Farnace* and *Ezio*, were considered his best.

In Giovanni Paisiello, born at Tarent in 1741, died in 1815, we again meet a master whose strength lay in comic opera. His chief works, *La madama umorista*, *Le virtuose ridicole*, *L'amore in ballo*, *Il marchese Tulipano*, and *Il barbiere di Seriglià*, were all *opera buffas*. In *opera seria* and in

Church music he was regarded as the genuine representative of the fashionable taste of his time.

The next master, Domenico Cimarosa, born at Aversa, in Naples, in 1755 (according to some, 1749), died in 1801, was a writer of unusual ability. The son of a washerwoman, he seems to have been gifted with exceptional talents, the fame of which, noised abroad, attracted the attention of men of position. One Padre Poleano out of pure affection taught him the organ, counterpoint, singing, and Latin, and read with him the Roman classics and the poets of his country. He also obtained for him a free scholarship at the Conservatorium of Santa Maria di Loreto, where he had the advantages of the tuition of Piccini and Sacchini. His first successful work was *La Stravaganza del Conte*, specially written for performance at the Florentine theatre at Naples, during the Carnival of 1772. Another, *L'Italiana in Londra*, performed in Rome, was also very successful. Added to these were a great number of comic operas, one of which, *Il Matrimonio segreto*, forms part of the *répertoire* of Italian operatic troupes of to-day. It has been performed in Italy, Germany, France, and England, and is vigorously written, fresh, and humorous. Of all the Italian *opera buffa* of the eighteenth century, two others only have found a place on the modern stage, viz., Pergolesi's *Serva Padrone* and *The Village Singers*, by Fioravanti, 1770, which some thirty years ago was performed for several winters in succession at the Theatre Friedrich Wilhelm, in Berlin, with great success. Cimarosa succeeded Paisiello as court chapel-master at St. Petersburg. The Emperor of Austria, Joseph II., and the Polish nobility of Warsaw also patronised and honoured him. In 1793 he returned to Italy, at a time when the kingdom was in a state of disquietude, and was cast into prison as an Italian patriot. As he survived his release but a short time, suspicion of foul play fastened on his persecutors, and all Italy mourned for its favourite. Cimarosa marks the climax of Italian *opera buffa* in the eighteenth century. With his death, and perhaps some years before, a degenerative tendency set in, but it cannot be said that it was his example that led to it.

A history of the *Zopf* masters would be incomplete without a reference to Baldassare Galuppi (1706—1785), a Venetian, and pupil of Lotti, a master who exercised an influence on the comic writings of Cimarosa. He wrote some sixty operas, certain of which were performed in the chief capitals of

Europe, giving additional testimony to the supremacy of the Neapolitans in the musical world. Galuppi shows in his comic operas much of that prettiness and gracefulness which in Cimarosa was carried to excellence. The enumeration of Sarti, Bononcini the younger, Paer, and Righini close the list of masters of the Neapolitan school—writers chiefly of *opera seria*, whose period, contemporaries of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as they were, reaches far into the epoch of genius in the history of German music.

Guiseppe Sarti (1729—1802) studied counterpoint and composition under Padre Martini, teaching in his turn this method to his own grand pupil Cherubini. Of serious operas, *Pompeo in Armenia*, *Semiramide*, and *Armida e Rinaldo* are the best, *Le gelosie villane* and *Fra due litiganti* obtaining the greatest successes of his comic works, the latter of them being performed fifty-four times at Vienna during the seasons of 1783 and 1784. He wrote also several good pianoforte sonatas. Mozart, in a letter to his father, makes allusion to Sarti, saying, “he is a truly good and honourable man.” The life of this master is another instance of the European supremacy of the Italian masters during the second half of the eighteenth century. Successful at Venice, he journeyed to Copenhagen and to London, and appeared also at Vienna and Milan. His fame having penetrated the Russian court, the Empress Catherine II. invited him in 1784 to take up his abode at St. Petersburg. He accepted and went, but it proved a sorry and disastrous change for him. There was at the court a *prima donna* named Todi, a favourite of the empress, whom he had the misfortune to turn into a dangerous enemy, and who, indeed, ultimately caused his dismissal. She even intrigued to get him transported to Siberia; but Sarti met with a protector in Prince Potemkin, who offered him an asylum in one of his palaces. The storm blew over after a time, and the musician was reinstated in favour, the empress striving to atone for his former arbitrary treatment by the gift of landed property and serfs. But Sarti’s health had been permanently affected by the perpetual anxieties he had suffered, and he resolved to return to his native home. He started, but could get no further than Berlin, where he died.

Bononcini, or Buononcini, born in 1672, and already referred to as the master who appropriated the workings of other masters, was not without talent, though he has been very much overrated. He was the representa-

tive of the *Zopf* period in its most superficial phase. He was a great favourite with his countrymen, and achieved much success with his serious operas, three of which, *Camilla*, *Sersi*, and *Polifemo*, deserve special mention. It has sometimes been asserted that *Camilla* was the work of his more gifted though less successful elder brother; but we are not in a position to prove positively one way or the other. In London his fame and popularity for a time eclipsed that of Händel. He was also a favourite in Germany, both at court and with the people, the Queen Sophia Charlotte accompanying a performance of his opera *Polifemo* at the piano. At Paris he gambled and lost his whole fortune. He recovered himself at Vienna and Venice, for the theatre of the latter of which he is said to have been actively engaged in composing up to the good age of eighty.

Ferdinand Paer (1771—1839) was a most prolific writer of both serious and comic opera, rich in melody, but melodic flow of a somewhat commonplace character, though popular and pleasing. A story is extant that Beethoven, on the completion of his *Leonora*, since called *Fidelio*, asked Paer's opinion of it. With the overweening conceit of a successful man, Paer replied, "That was an opera subject for *me*." Paer succeeded Naumann as Electoral chapel-master at Dresden, leaving that city for Paris at the request of Napoleon I. The chief operas of Paer were *Sargino* and *Griselda*, which enjoyed the run of the principal theatres in Europe for some years.

Vincenzo Righini (1756—1812), Paer, and Morlacchi were among the last of the Italian chapel-masters that held office at the German court. Of another, Salieri, we shall treat when dealing with Gluck and Mozart.

We will now turn to the singers and actors who interpreted the works of this long list of *Zopf* masters, and on whose favour or intrigue the success or failure of these creations depended. To begin with the most celebrated of the *prima donnas* of the eighteenth century, we name Anna Maria Strada, Catarina Visconti, Todi, Luzzoni, Francesina, Frasi, Duras-tanti, Peruzzi, Romanina, Faustina Bordoni, and Tesi. Equally famed were the castrati Antonio Pasi (soprano), Bernardi, called Senesino (mezzo-soprano), Carestini, called Cusanino (contralto), Grimaldi, called Nicolini (contralto), and Carlo Broschi, called Farinelli (soprano): tenors—Giovanni Paita, Gregorio Babbi, Angelo Amorevoli, and lastly, Tomaso Guaducci, Giambattista Mancina, and Francesco Tosi; the two last were also cele-

brated as singing masters. All these were eclipsed by Antonio Pistocchi, the founder of a school of singing in 1700, and inaugurator of that classical Italian method of vocalisation which lives even to-day, and is ably represented by the Spaniards, Manuel Garcia, father and son, and Pauline Viardot Garcia, and also by the two Germans, Miksch and Teschner. The pupilage of Miksch can be traced in a direct line from Pistocchi, thus—Pistocchi, Bernacchi, Caselli, Miksch.

The famous Bologna vocal school is an offshoot of the Pistocchi school. It was said of Pistocchi that he possessed the secret of “making every one sing according to the capabilities and peculiar qualities of his own special organ;” and of Bernacchi, that he was indefatigable and careful as a teacher, and sang with much taste. The second generation of singers deteriorated. They indulged in meretricious mannerisms, which though pleasing the uneducated mass, led to manifold abuses—*v.g.*, the adoption of the tremolo; the substitution of an outward semblance of emotion for genuine passionate feeling, or, as an earnest writer of the time said, “a forcing of tone in a coarse bellowing manner;” the excessive embellishment of the melody with trills of all kinds, mordents, grace notes, fiorituri, passages, and runs, which not only interfered with the natural flow of the phrase, but sometimes made it completely unrecognisable. The singers turned their backs on real art, and unfortunately winning the applause of the many, became the more insufferable and presuming, descending to acts performed in the full glare of court and public which, though really disgracing their artistic position, were forgiven as outbursts of eccentric genius. Thus we have the unseemly spectacle of Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina, rivals on the stage of the Italian opera-house, London, publicly boxing each other’s ears. Of Cuzzoni, Quanz the flautist said her impersonations were “innocent and touching,” though in daily life she had the temper of “a very dragon.” The following story is also told of the perverse and wayward Cuzzoni. Händel had specially composed an aria for her which she bluntly refused to sing, upon which the enraged musician lifted her in his strong arms and held her outside the window of the house where they found themselves, saying, “Now, madam, you shall sing this aria, or I’ll let you fall.” In those days force of will was very necessary to control rebellious *prima donnas*, who, flattered by all, and the favourites of the people, often allowed their own whims and feelings to dictate what the creating artist alone had the right to order.

Händel, with his forcible character, was not the man to efface himself and his beloved art before the display of a virtuoso. Commanding in figure and given to passionate outbursts of wrath, performers were awed into submission by the iron will of the great man. In 1733, without a moment's notice, he dismissed the popular singer Senesino, for some offence against him, whilst on the other hand, for Bernacchi, who was then singing before the London public, he gladly wrote "soft pathetic arias." But however much Händel may have suffered at the hands of overbearing vocalists, it was as nothing—to cite but a few instances that at once suggest themselves to our minds—compared with the treatment Sarti experienced from the *prima donna* Todi, to that of the Dresden chapel-master Heinichen from the dismissed Senesino, and the insolent behaviour of the Italian opera singers of Vienna towards Mozart.

But the climax of arrogance was reached in Farinelli, born in 1705 at Naples. He possessed an extraordinary voice, and used it with admitted skill. His contemporary Quanz speaks of him in the most laudatory strains. At an early age his powers of endurance and strength of voice were so extraordinary that he boldly entered into a contest with a solo trumpeter, over whom, too, he proved victorious. As a representative of the *Zopf* style he stands pre-eminent among vocalists. He so overloaded every melody with ornaments that the original tune was entirely lost sight of. To such an extent did he carry this that the Emperor Charles VI., a patron of the tonal art, sent for him after a performance, and, notwithstanding the fashion of the time, admonished him, saying that if he wished to touch the heart it must be with strains far simpler than the embroidered ones with which he now delighted his hearers. But the well-intentioned warning of the art-loving prince was disregarded, and Farinelli continued to strive after showy effect. Dr. Burney compared his vocal skill to the fleetness of a racehorse, declaring that "he surpassed all competitors as 'Childers' outstripped all other racehorses." It was the possession of this executive skill that led to his acquisition of large riches, and comparatively unlimited power and influence. King Philip V. of Spain engaged him for ten years, at the sum of £2,000 a year, merely to sing the same four arias every evening. Nor was this his only reward; his favour with the king was such that he obtained the right to nominate the chief officials in the State service, and shamefully did he abuse

his trust, selling the offices to the highest bidder. The trills and roulades of the virtuoso were more powerful with the king than the counsels of the first minister of state, who in vain strove to counteract the debasing influence of the favourite.

Our task will be more agreeable now that we leave this degenerated school of vocal virtuosi to turn to the eminent Italian theoretical and historical writers of the eighteenth century, and to the celebrated instrumentalists. The two names renowned above all others of this period are Padre Martini and Padre Tartini. The period of these masters is identical with that of Fux in Germany; but the teaching of the two Italians was less classical and strict than that of Fux, though, at the same time, considerably more modern. Giambattista Martini, priest, philosopher, and mathematician, was an able master of counterpoint and composition, and also a distinguished musical historian. His fame as a teacher was great, and students came to him from all parts. His chief works are "*Storia della musica*" (Bologna, 1757—1781), and the theoretical treatise, "*Esemplare ossia saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*" (Bologna, 1774). As a composer of sacred music he did not rise above the conventional level of his time, but as a historian he claims recognition as the first who compiled a history based on the careful study of authenticated writings. Throughout his life he had been an indefatigable collector, and possessed perhaps, one of the most voluminous and interesting musical libraries ever enjoyed by a single individual. It was owing partly to this, and partly to his unwearied researches, that his history of the tonal art proved of so much worth. Patrons and pupils alike strove to enrich the library of the Padre with presents of costly manuscripts and rare printed works.

Not less important than Martini, and in some respects more remarkable, was Giuseppe Tartini (1692—1770), greatly celebrated as a violinist and composer of sonatas. As a composer for his instrument and enlarger of the sonata form he cannot be said to have excelled Francesco Veracini, after whom he modelled his style, but as an executant and theorist he was superior. The influence he exercised over musical development during the whole of his period is very remarkable. As Corelli was the king of Italian violinists of the seventeenth century, so was Tartini monarch of the eighteenth century. The Padre seems to

have been endowed with an energy equalled only by his extraordinary creative powers. He is credited with the composition of more than a hundred sonatas, a large number of concertos for the violin, besides several solo pieces of a brilliant character. His celebrated "Devil's Trill," and the beautiful and pathetic sonata "Didone abbandonata," are among the most effective concert pieces of our best violinists to-day. Most of the sonatas are for violin solo with a thorough-bass accompaniment, or for two violins with *basso continuo*. The scores of his concertos are written for eight instruments, sometimes more, and require therefore a small orchestra. Tartini, like Martini, was, besides being an excellent musician, a distinguished savant, mathematician, and acoustic investigator. A contemporary of Rameau, he is equally celebrated for his theoretical studies. Rameau based his studies on the combination of the upper partial tones generated by a given sound, whereas Tartini's studies were on the combination of lower tones given out by that particular sound.* Of this Tartini believed himself to have been the discoverer. The number, and manner of producing these "combination" tones, has been increased by Helmholtz by his discovery of the so-called "summation" tones. To distinguish between "combination" tones and "summation" tones he designates the former "differential" tones. The results of Tartini's investigations in the science of acoustics and on harmonic combinations were embodied in "Lessons in Harmony," published at Padua, 1754, and in a learned treatise entitled "De' principii dell' armonia musicale contenuta nel diatonico genere." As a teacher he was famed beyond any of his contemporaries. Pupils from all parts of Europe came to study under him, and so great was the diversity of tongues spoken that he was called "Il maestro delle nazioni." His best pupils were Graun and Naumann, Germans; Pagan and Lahoussaye, Frenchmen; Bini, Nardini, Manfredi, Ferrari, and Meneghini, Italians; and Maddalena Lombardini, a famous violin-player. Tartini's most prominent contemporaries were Pugnani of Turin, Lolli of Bergamo, Mestrini of Milan, and Brunetti of Pisa, violinists and improvers of the sonata form. But a still greater was Giovanni Sammartini of Milan (1704—1774), the herald of Joseph Haydn, and composer of the enormous number of 2,000 sonatas and other chamber compositions. We should further mention that Pietro Nardini, Tartini's

* Our author here refers to what are now denominated "resultants."—F. A. G. O.

favourite pupil (1725—1793), is the master credited with the development of the sonata in its present form. The last Italian writer of the eighteenth century claiming recognition as a master of the sonata form is Luigi Boccherini (1740—1805). Besides symphonies and quartetts, no less than sixty quintetts bear his name, written for two violins, viola, and two violoncellos, several of which are still performed in our public concert-rooms.

All the degenerate workings of the Neapolitans in sacred and dramatic music, their conventionalities and mannerisms, and likewise all the good in their effective treatment of voices and sterling improvements in the sonata style, were received and filtered through the German mind in a surprisingly rapid manner, and that in the spirit of earnestness which is part of the nation's character. The reason for the rapid spread of Italian doctrine may be sought in the brilliant prestige which had encircled the land of Italy in matters musical for two centuries. Europe had been, and was, so dazzled by the glamour and magic of the name of Italy, that it was unable to distinguish between the true and the false, or to note the tide of degeneration which had already set in in its music. It was almost universally believed that the whole course of the development of the tonal art had been carried on in Italy, and by Italians. But the vaguest notions existed—and, inaccurate and weak as these were, only among musicians—concerning the existence of an earlier Netherland and French school. Even the celebrated treatise of Schubart, 1806, "Æsthetics of the Tonal Art," presents this one-sided Italian view. Nor was it difficult to propagate such misconceptions while the pretentious Italian, Jomelli, was reigning at Stutgardt, the adored of all Germany, and when the work of native composers, heard or unheard, was stigmatised as barbaric. Nor was Mozart even excluded from this wholesale condemnation. One critic, Baptist Schaul, attacked him with inconceivable fury. A musician who had not studied in Italy was valued at nothing by the public, the aristocracy, and the courts. If suffered at all, he was looked upon as a mere art mechanic, and socially regarded as on the level of a domestic, or at best as a generally useful subordinate; witness Schütz and the uncle of Bach, both of whose careers were passed in subordinate positions. Whilst German musicians were ignored by their countrymen, the Italian *prima donna*, castrato, and *maestro di capella* were laden with honours, distinctions, and more solid gifts, and were the accepted

favourites of a society which rigidly excluded its own people. Perhaps a further explanation of the excessive patronage bestowed on the Italian musician may be that he was an operatic artist, and the opera was a form of art originated and nurtured at Italian courts, and which, from its earliest development, had numbered princes, princesses, and ladies and gentlemen of the court amongst its exponents. Whilst such a marked preference was shown for the Italian artist, it is not surprising that German musicians, seeking to acquire fame, should have adopted the subterfuge of appearing under assumed Italian names. Thus the real name of the *prima donna* Bernasconi was Antonia Wagele; of Rosetti, Franz Rösler; and of Venturini, who triumphantly starred through Italy, Mislivecsek.

There were other causes, also, which conduced to make Germany peculiarly receptive of the *Zopf* style. The devastating Thirty Years' War, which impoverished the upper and middle classes and destroyed national patriotism and self-reliance, blasted, like the withering simoon, the spring of German art. All sense of German strength of mind was crushed in the lavish patronage heaped on the foreigner, and from regarding the *present* as incapable of sterling creations, the *past* also fell under the same dark cloud of German incompetence. Nothing was suffered that did not bear the impress "foreign," either as an original work, or as an imitation. With what eagerness this search for the alien was pursued, and its calamitous consequences on the rise of native art, a glance at the general history of the time will conclusively show. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, and during the generation that succeeded that period, Germany was at its best as regards its teachers of religion, of science, and of language—in theology she boasted of Spener; philosophy, Leibnitz; philology, Thomasius; and mathematics, Wolf. But the political and social status of the German people at this period is a very sorry chapter in German history. It affected and impeded the growth of a healthy national art and the cultivation of polite literature. All petty German princes contracted foreign alliances to maintain them in the sovereignty of their principalities, at the same time patronising and promoting the art of the stranger. The search after the foreign extended itself to the ordinary usages of daily life. The French language was assiduously cultivated. Fashions, toilettes, and even the manner of dressing the hair, were imitated from the outside. Indeed, it would not be asserting too much were we to

state that *all* was foreign. With such a slavish submission to others, how was it possible that a national art could be developed; and even if generated by the genius of some strong intellect, where was the patronage necessary to its growth to be sought for? Yet, after the peace of Westphalia, there appeared, in sculpture, a man who of himself was powerful enough to have awakened German art from its death-like trance. But, alas! he stood alone. His contemporaries either did not understand him, or preferred to support the foreigner, and thus this Michael Angelo of the north, Andreas Schlüter, can only be looked upon as a man before his time, rather than as the regenerator of a nation's art. This was too well proved by the works of his contemporary countrymen, who adopted all the affected attitudes, theoretical mannerisms, and lustful poses characteristic of the Italian sculptures of the masters Bernini, Algardi, Mocchi, and Sammartino, of the middle and second half of the seventeenth century.

This same dying out of national artistic power and imitation of the foreigner extended itself also to painting and architecture. In architecture the enormities of style of Borromini were treated of and systematised into a method by the Jesuit, Andrea Pozzo (1642—1709), entitled "*Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*," out of which grew that tasteless style, with its superfluity of ornamentation, known as the "Jesuit style."

The petty German princes patronised nought else but Italian in the graphic arts, seeking to fill the German people with an almost slavish reverence for this, and preaching that there alone were they to seek for models. In literature they were directed to French thinkers and writers. And following this leading came Gottsched (1700—1766), a man as vain as he was poetically impotent. And yet this man wielded a power before which every one bent the knee. He extolled Corneille and Racine as the only poets worthy of imitation in tragedy and comedy. Doubtless the works of the two great Frenchmen were superior to any that the German school of the time could furnish, but Gottsched proves that he himself failed completely to grasp the spirit of his French models—see his drama, *The Dying Cato*, a very poor and watery imitation of Addison and the French writers, although he boastfully asserted he had equalled them, and gave it to his countrymen as a model worthy of imitation.

And now, how stood the case with the art of music? We have pointed to the growth of a kind of music among a few composers of the seventeenth



JOHANN ADOLPH HASSE.

Born 1699; died 1783.

(From the Portrait by C. P. Rotavi. Engraved by L. Zucchi.)

century, wherein was clearly displayed the distinctive individuality of the German mind. But it must also be remembered that these men, or the greater number of them, were pupils of the Italians. In the seventeenth century Germany's artistic relations with Italy were pregnant with good for the art of the Fatherland; but with the decline of Italian music in the eighteenth century, this trustful reliance and simplicity of belief had, if not a directly pernicious influence, a retarding effect on the development of German music. And when German artists did strive to shake off the hindering trammels of Italian traditions they did not meet with that home support which they had a right to look for, and which, if bestowed, would have been much to the gain of their art. The greater number of German masters were still swayed by the glamour of Italian tradition, and never rose above a poor imitation of the sorry *Zopf*. Although Bach, Händel, Gluck, and Haydn were then energetically striving to found a national pure art, they could not stem the tide of servile imitation resulting in overflowing mediocrity. Similarly the efforts of Klopstock, Winckelmann, and Lessing, distinguished German literary men, were of little or no weight in forming the style of their compatriots, whilst the shallow Gottsched, and an admiring crowd of equally superficial followers, were regarded as the lights of their age. The influence of the great geniuses of Germany was not felt until the next generation. During their lifetime they were valued and revered at their proper worth by a very small section only, or, like Sebastian Bach, if not entirely unknown, not understood. But if not acknowledged as prophets in their own country, there were other nations whose keen judgment had discerned their genius, and who held out the helping hand. The great art-critic Winckelmann left for Italy in despair at his fruitless endeavours to lead German art-opinion aright, whilst Haydn and Händel found their warmest admirers and supporters among the English nation. Mozart, too, although he belongs entirely to the second half of the eighteenth century, did not escape censure from German imitators of Italian *Zopf*.

We will now turn to those German composers who, though writers of *Zopf*, were yet not without talent. Those who can lay claim to no merit beyond that of mere pattern-painting we ignore. Of the more gifted of the first class we name Telemann, Hasse, Graun, Doles, Adam Hiller, Michael Haydn, Gottlieb Naumann, Joseph Schuster, Von Winter, Gyrowetz, and Joseph Weigl. Although their musical training had been

based almost entirely on Italian tradition, and although their early compositions were conceived in an unmistakable *Zopfish* vein, yet they were not unsusceptible to other influences. Like their Fatherland predecessors of the seventeenth century, who, notwithstanding their Italian studies, were influenced by French feeling, reproducing distinctly Gallic features in their creations, so among the German *Zopf* masters of the eighteenth century we meet Germanic traits which, no doubt, were owing to the imperceptible influence of the great composers mentioned in the previous paragraph.

George Philip Telemann was born at Magdeburg in 1681, and died at Hamburg in 1767. In his sacred works he shows himself an imitator of the Neapolitans, whilst in his instrumental compositions he evidences a leaning to the French school. He first established his fame in all the principal towns of Germany, and then having a predilection for the French, also laid siege to Paris. He was a very hard worker, and, possessed of a facile pen, wrote largely, but always in the conventional and superficial manner of the period, so that he might justly be regarded as the prototype of the *Zopf* style in North Germany. His fugal themes bear the stamp of Italian degeneration; they are wanting in conciseness and those characteristic unusual intervals which lead so effectively to a climax, and through which the fugues of Bach and Händel distinguish themselves.* The want of depth in Telemann did not prevent his compatriots from exalting him and also his two younger contemporaries, Hasse and Graun, high above Händel and Bach. Telemann was director of the Johanneum and paid composer to the opera-house at Hamburg. Amongst other works he left 44 settings of the "Passion," 12 annuals of sacred cantatas, 40 operas, 600 overtures, and 33 festival pieces composed for the installation of the captain of the civic guard. He had the gift of satirical, not to say malicious, epigrammatic writing, and was greatly feared by his contemporaries.

Johann Adolf Hasse was born in 1699 at Bergedorf, near Hamburg, and died in 1783 at Venice. A tenor and excellent pianist, he went in 1722 to Naples, and put himself under Porpora and Scarlatti for composition. Four years later his opera *Sesostrate* was performed, which at once gained for him a place in the affections of the people, who called him "Il caro

* For further information respecting fugue subjects by composers of the German *Zopf* period, see Naumann's "Dissertation on the Formation of Classical Fugal Themes Hitherto not Treated of." Berlin, 1878.



FAUSTINA BORDONI HASSE.

Born 1700; died 1783.

(From a Portrait by Torelli. Engraved by Zucchi.)

Sassone" (the beloved Saxon). This must have been very flattering to the German, as Italy, in her heart, looked upon all other nations as barbarians in music. The following year Hasse was appointed chapel-master to the "Conservatorio degl' Incurabili," Venice. While here, he married the beautiful and wonderful singer Faustina Bordoni, the idol of the Italian people. The portrait of the *prima donna*, representing her at an advanced age, can afford no adequate notion of her youthful beauty. Besides her musical gift, it speaks much for her genius as an artist that she discerned the talents of the foreigner, and honoured him above the crowd of her countrymen who were suitors for her hand. She studied, with the earnestness of an enthusiast, the principal soprano parts of her husband's operatic scores, and displayed exceptional talent in her impersonations. The reputation she assisted in winning for Hasse led to his appointment as Electoral and royal Polish chapel-master and composer to the court at Dresden, 1731, she herself accepting the post of *prima donna*. The two celebrated operas *Dalisa* and *Artaserse* were composed by Hasse expressly for his wife Faustina, both of which had an immense success. During his holiday rambles from 1731 to 1740, he travelled round about Germany, and also visited Italy and England. From 1740 to 1763 he remained with his wife at Dresden. In 1745 *Arménia* was produced, Frederick II. heartily congratulating the composer on its brilliant success. In 1763 he was pensioned, and returned to Vienna and Venice. Hasse wrote more than 50 operas, a large number of oratorios, and several sacred pieces, besides certain "occasional" instrumental works. His celebrated "Te Deum" in D, Mass in D minor, and Requiem in C major, though written in the domineering *Zopf* style of the period, pompous and brilliant, show in their majestic impressiveness the inborn talent of the composer, and count among his best productions. They are now occasionally performed in the Catholic Court Church of Dresden on high feast-days, and never fail to induce a feeling of solemnity. Hasse's operas and oratorios greatly resemble each other, and serve to show how the peculiarities of the style, confined almost exclusively to the outward form, and at first to secular music, began to impregnate sacred music. In both we meet grand arias, duetts, choruses, *recitativo secco*, and obligato recitative, all with a strong family likeness. Although his oratorios and operas have suffered the fate of the mass of *Zopf* creations, *i.e.*, are almost entirely forgotten, they yet

contain arias and other fragments showing a genius that would well repay their reproduction in the modern concert-room. Hasse was of a retiring and modest disposition, and although he enjoyed a far-reaching popularity, effaced himself in lauding those whom he considered his superiors. On being asked to accept an engagement at the London opera-house, his first anxious inquiry was—"Is Händel dead?" and upon being told "No," "Then," said he, "where Händel is, no one else in the same profession dare hope to stand." Similarly did he express himself in reference to Mozart, whose *Ascanio in Alba* had prevented the success of his own opera *Ruggiero* at Milan, in 1771, saying, "This youth will live when all are forgotten."

The third *Zopf* master, Charles Henry Graun, was born in 1701 in the province of Merseburg, died in 1795 at Berlin. He was the favourite of Frederick the Great, and has found a place on Rauch's splendid monument of Frederick now standing before the Imperial Palace. Graun showed promise of future greatness whilst a youth at the "Kreuz" School at Dresden, but his successes did not equal Hasse's triumphs, nor does his music display the dramatic intensity and descriptive characterisation that distinguish the earlier master's writings. He wrote a number of operas and several sacred works, one of which, "The Death of Our Lord," is still sung in Germany during Passion week. Impressive as it is, the theatrical spirit is plainly felt. Like Hasse, he received a good vocal training in the best Italian method, and distinguished himself as a singer. His solo vocal pieces therefore, as may be guessed, are effectively written for the exhibition of executive skill. The aria, "Sing to the divine prophet," exhibits Graun at his best as a writer for the voice, and by it he helped to establish a German school of vocalisation. In 1742 Frederick II. erected what was the first permanent opera-house, and directed his chapel-master Graun to visit Italy for the purpose of engaging the best vocalists for it, saying at the time "that he would as soon hear a horse neigh an aria as hear a German *prima donna* sing it." And this man, so full of prejudice against German singers, was the hero-king and the first prince who, after a period of lengthened struggle, forced respect for the German name. In his early depreciation of German art he was but in unison with other European princes. How much prejudice can blind even solid thinking men of the character of Frederick, is illustrated by that prince's ignoring

Hasse and Graun, who were entitled to recognition not only as composers, but also as master-singers, and, further, by his indifference concerning the successes of Anton Raaff (1714—1797), a famous German tenor. It was



Fig. 235. —Charles Henry Graun.

not until Elizabeth Schmehling, known as Mara, created an altogether exceptional sensation that the king felt and acknowledged the talent that existed among his own subjects.*

* Frederick the Great, after the genius of German art had forced its recognition from him, warmly championed native artists; but we fear it had been a fruitless effort to have

After Graun we come to Johann Friedrich Doles (1715—1797), cantor of St. Thomas's School, Leipzig. His first ambition was the Church, and with that view he entered the University of Leipzig, but subsequently abandoned theology for the study of music, entering himself as a pupil of Sebastian Bach. The influence of his great master was not strong enough to entirely extinguish Italian contemporary influence, which appears here and there in his works. It is recorded that Mozart, when on a visit to him at Leipzig, began one evening on the piano to parody the Italian Church style adopted in the Catholic Court Chapel at Dresden, which drew from Doles a vehement protest in its defence. Doles has left a number of excellent motets, cantatas, and psalms, in which the guiding hand of his master is plainly seen.

Johann Adam Hiller (1728—1804) was also cantor or precentor of the famous St. Thomas's School. Educated at the "Kreuz" School, Dresden, he went thence to the Leipzig University to study law, continuing at the same time to exercise his musical gifts, and earnestly applying himself to theory. He diligently studied Bach's compositions, and also those of Gluck, but failed to grasp their true meaning. Through the recommendation of the poet Gellert, he was appointed tutor to the son of Count Brühl, the Saxon minister, with whom he returned to Leipzig in 1758. In 1763 we find him still at Leipzig, conductor of the already celebrated Gewandhaus concerts. It was after this that he was appointed cantor to St. Thomas's School. While holding this office he composed several psalms, motets, cantatas, and hymns, and different parts of the mass. At one of the vocal schools founded by him at Leipzig the famous singers Corona Schröter and Elizabeth Schmechling studied. The special German feature of Hiller's artistic nature is to be found in his songs, and, in a higher degree, in his operettas. Of the latter, the best known are *The Village Barber*, *The Harvest Wreath*, *Love in the Country*, *Lottie at Court*, and *The Chase*. These occupy a place in musical history. This last retained its hold over the public for more than a century, and is performed even to-day in some towns with effect. We ourselves witnessed several representations of *The Chase* at the Frederick William Theatre, Berlin, about twenty-five years

endeavoured to win other German potentates to an acknowledgment of it, and it is to the great king's honour that he of all the German princes was the only one who discerned the rare gifts of Sebastian Bach and publicly acknowledged them.

ago, when it was very favourably received. Hiller had the good fortune to hit the popular taste. There was that in his melodies which reverberated in the German mind. Looked upon as art-works, his operettas occupy but a modest place, yet they contain such a wealth of airy, graceful melody, and such genuine German humour, that they cannot fail to interest and charm the hearer. His style combined Italian beauty with German solidity, and at once gained a firm hold over the people. It was on what Hiller had accomplished in the north, and Mozart and Dittersdorf in the south, that the German comic opera was securely founded. These three masters returned to the form of the old Singspiel—sing-play—galvanised it with a renewed vitality, and shaped it into a more complete organic whole. It is honourable to Hiller that he was among the first to arrange and conduct performances of Händel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabæus* at Berlin and Breslau. He was a man of broad and liberal understanding. He recognised the genius of Haydn, and copied with his own hand the score of Mozart's "Requiem," superscribing the title-page with the words "Opus summum viri summi W. A. Mozart." Such were the German musicians of the eighteenth century, men who, starting from different beginnings, were instinctively attracted towards each other and swayed by the irresistible magic of the works of the heroes of the great art-epoch in German musical history.

Michael Haydn (born in 1737 at Rohrau, died in 1806 at Salzburg) was the brother of Joseph Haydn. He takes us from the north to the south of Germany. Compared with his brother, Michael is as the man of talent to the genius, for although Michael represents in the best light the style of the period to which he belonged, Joseph soars far above the manner of his time, and, indeed, of all time, carrying us, in the flight of his genius, to the eternal and ideal, where we are no longer controlled by the fashion and manner of any art-epoch. Although Michael Haydn did not visit Italy, he was intimately acquainted with the latest art-style of the Neapolitan school through the colony of Italian composers, conductors, and singers who resided at Vienna, and which was continually recruited by new-comers. The best of his writings are to be found among his sacred compositions, consisting of 20 masses, a number of offertories, and 114 graduals. Besides being acquainted with the Italianised writings of Hasse and Graun, he knew in part, also, the works of Bach and Händel,

and almost the whole of his illustrious brother's compositions. In 1762 he was appointed *concert-meister* to the Bishop of Salzburg, which office he retained until his death. A vein wholly German is only to be met with in his 50 four-part songs, in which he was no doubt largely influenced by the genius of his great brother.

With Johann Gottlieb Naumann (born in 1741 at Blasewitz, died in 1801 at Dresden) we return to the middle of Germany. A peasant boy, he



Fig. 236. —Johann Gottlieb Naumann.

showed at a very early age a considerable musical gift. Under circumstances of a somewhat strange nature he was taken by a Swedish musician to Italy and placed under Tartini. Having achieved a surprising success with an opera at Venice, he was appointed (1764) church composer to the Elector of Saxony, and rose in the service of that prince to the position of first chapel-master. He was offered an appointment in Berlin by King Frederick, but pleaded affection for his native Saxony, and remained at home. Among the masters who represented the Italian style in Germany at its best,

Naumann ranks after Hasse and Graun. He wrote equally well for the church and the stage. His works of the latter class, *Amphion*, *Protésilao*, *Solimano*, and an opera buffa, *La Dama Soldata*, which were extremely popular in their day, have disappeared from the modern stage, but his Mass in A flat major, and one in A minor, and the grand "Our Father" (poetry by Klopstock) are still performed in the Catholic Court Church at Dresden, as well as in many other sacred edifices. A few years ago an opera, *Cora*, written by Naumann in 1782, to a Swedish libretto, was performed at Stockholm, at the centenary celebration of the founding of the opera and royal chapel in the Scandinavian capital. A second Swedish opera, *Gustave Wasa*, contains, like *Amphion*,

several numbers worthy of reproduction. He also adapted his *Orpheus* to Danish words for performance at Copenhagen.*

Joseph Schuster was born at Dresden in 1748, and died in 1812. If Naumann by his "Our Father," the "Pilgrim Song" in the oratorio *I Pellegrini*, and the "Miserere" in the A flat Mass, stands out from the crowd of contemporary writers in the Italian style, Schuster, although a born musician, never rose above the level of his period. The two men travelled in company to Italy, where Schuster formed an acquaintance with Padre Martini, and, for a short time, was his pupil. He became Electoral chapel-master, and wrote several sacred compositions, besides a great number of Italian operas and operettas, which were favourably received by his contemporaries.

In Peter von Winter (1754—1825) we meet a master influenced as much by French as by Italian tradition. In his early youth he visited Italy. His fame rests mainly on his operas, of which the most important are—Italian, *Il Sacrificio di Creta* and *Il Maometto*; and German, *The Interrupted Sacrifice*, and *The Labyrinth*, written as a companion to Mozart's *Magic Flute*. Notwithstanding that Winter exhibits the strong influence of Salieri the Italian and Marchand the Frenchman, his *Labyrinth* and *Interrupted Sacrifice* show original German traits. He died holding the office of court chapel-master of Bavaria.

The next two masters take us back to Vienna. Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763—1850), a fellow-student of Sala at Naples, was court chapel-master to the Emperor of Austria. The immense success which his works had, incited him to much composition; perhaps the most popular of his works were the grand opera *Agnes Sorel*, and a comic opera, *The Eye-Doctor*. He was introduced to the Vienna public by Mozart, who played the first of his thirty symphonies. Of his quartetts and quintetts, which

* Although the tonal art was passing through a period of great change from the superficial Italian to the solid German, there was no antagonism between the representatives of the two styles. Thus Doles dedicated the same work both to Mozart and Naumann (a curious practice), and the Countess Elise von der Recke invited Beethoven in the autumn of 1811 to a performance of a selection of Naumann's church music at Dresden, to which Beethoven replied, that owing to press of work in finishing certain compositions under contract he regretted his inability to attend. Again, Carl Maria von Weber, the founder of the German modern romantic school, in a letter which we have already given, refers to the Italianised Naumann and his "Our Father" in words of praise that have a special interest for his grandson.

number about seventy, and a very large number of dances, marches, concertos, serenades, overtures, ballets, and pantomimes, none have survived his time.

Joseph Weigl was born at Eisenstadt in 1766, and died at Vienna in 1846. His first intention was to become a lawyer, but having made the acquaintance of Mozart through Baron van Swieten, he relinquished the study of the law for music. He based his style on the teachings of Salieri and Albrechtsberger. He wrote a number of Italian operas, which were performed in Italy, his first successes being obtained at the Theatre La Scala, Milan. His most popular work was *The Swiss Family*, an opera conceived in the German vein, and which for nearly half a century had the run of almost all the principal stages of Europe. Amongst his Italian operas, *La Principessa d'Almafi* would seem to have enjoyed the greatest success. Joseph Haydn, godfather to Weigl, says in a letter to the youthful master: "It is a long time since so much enthusiasm has been aroused in me as I experienced yesterday when listening to your *Principessa*. I found it rich in ideas, elevated, expressive, and, in short, a master-work. Persevere, my dear godchild, that you may convince foreigners what a German can do." It is strange that, considering his intimate relations with Haydn, he should have assumed, in conjunction with Gyrowetz, so antagonistic an attitude towards the heroes of the new period in tonal art development—Beethoven, C. M. von Weber, and F. Schubert, whose writings they considered "entangled" and "chaotic."

We now have to mention a Leipzig cantor, J. G. Schicht (1753—1823), successor of Adam Hiller in the conductorship of the Gewandhaus concerts, and, like him, a student at the University of Leipzig. He married an Italian operatic singer, Baldesturla, from Pisa. As a writer he was a master of that strict style which S. Bach developed to its highest perfection. Although he cannot be said to have reached Bach's height, yet he was a profound master of fugue and double counterpoint.

Christian Theodore Weinlig (1780—1842), successor of Schicht in the precentorship at St. Thomas's School, counts among the best of those prominent German masters who were hindered in the free expression of their own German individuality by an over-submissiveness to Italian teachings. He was a thorough master of all *Zopf* form, and possessed, too, an unusual facility in counterpoint, fugue writing, and the "strict style," but

employed them, alas! in his sacred compositions in so conventional a manner that, by degrees, he developed into a mere music pattern maker. Weinlig was conscious of his poverty of invention, and in a conversation with the critic Moritz Hauptmann—from whom we have the story direct—humorously remarked, "I feel so old, and in such a state of mental collapse, that for some time I have restricted myself to the composition of sacred music." It is noteworthy that Richard Wagner was a pupil of Weinlig for about six months, to whose tuition Wagner refers in grateful terms. We must, however, not forget with what passionate ardour the creator of *Tannhäuser* threw himself into the study of the classical scores of Beethoven, Gluck, and Weber.

Most of the German masters that were dominated by *Zopf* composed operas on Italian models. Some account of the introduction and popularising of the opera in Germany being imperative in a history of music, we are led back to the time of Heinrich Schütz and the performance of his *Daphne* at Torgau. Although *Daphne* had failed to acclimatise the new form to German soil, there was in the German mind a craving for the dramatic; still, it was not until after a whole period of crude attempts, and those by most circuitous routes, that the opera finally established itself in the heart of the German nation. One of the preparatory forms was the school-comedy. This was interspersed with scenes having musical accompaniments, vocal and instrumental. We do not here include the sacred plays with occasional music, from which the oratorio and passion oratorio were developed. The interspersed scenes of the school-comedy were called "Interscenæ," and bore no relation to the action of the play. As they preceded the several sections or acts of the play, they would perhaps have been more correctly termed "preludes" than "interludes." One of these comedies, still extant, specially interesting for its musical interscenæ, bears the title *Jerusalem delivered by the noble Prince Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon*. It was performed as an oratorio by the students of the ducal college, 14th June, 1630, at Coburg. The first interscena—the purpose of all interscenæ being "to amuse the public"—included (*a*) a pantomimic performance by Pallas, Diana, Daphne, and Mercury, with an instrumental accompaniment; (*b*) a chorus sung by "all the nymphs;" (*c*) versified solos by Mercury and the goddesses; and (*d*) a ballet "neatly danced" by Mercury and the nymphs. In the

second interseena "amazon maidens fought with men." Alluding to this particular interseena, Forkel says, 1630, "It was pleasant to listen to the one voice representing the queen and amazon leader, and to the four instrumental parts apportioned to the amazons and men." The third interseena was a Spartan war-dance by old men, young men, and boys, also with an accompaniment of music. In the fourth interseena "four rustic maids sang an accompanied quartett, which was answered by four youths in the octave." These two choruses were called by Forkel, who was present at the performances, "Chorus puellarum" and "Chorus juvenum rusticarum." It would appear that in the fifth and last interseena no music was employed, since the report makes no reference to music. In it an amorous Jew would a-wooing go, but at the instigation of a soldier named Antony, was taken by Mops, a clown, into the house of correction before one Master Storax and sorely pommelled.

After the Reformation the dramatic spirit of the German people found vent in the widened popularity of the sing-play. The national feeling exhibited therein was the same that spoke from out the school-comedies. In form and contents the sing-plays bore but slight resemblance to the still older German puppet plays, among which is to be found the original story of Doctor Faustus. Although they were called sing-plays, they are not to be confounded with, nor regarded as offshoots of, the sing-plays of the French people, since they contained distinctive and peculiarly German characteristics. One of the oldest and most interesting plays of this description is "*Seelwig*, a forest poem or joy-play, melodiously composed in the Italian manner by Johann Gottlieb Staden," published at Nuremburg, 1644. The *dramatis personæ* are nymphs, shepherds, shepherdesses, a matron, and a satyr, Trügewaldt. The orchestra consisted of 3 violins, 3 flutes, 3 shawms or shepherd's pipes, a "coarse horn," and a theorboe.

These and other kindred dramatic performances, enlivened by music, were firmly established among the German people far and wide at the time the opera was unfolding and fashioning itself in Italy, and aided considerably in acclimatising it when first introduced into Germany towards the end of the seventeenth century. The opera first found favour at the courts. German princes as a body were indifferent towards native art, and encouraged almost entirely foreign talent. The sensuous, pleasing Italian

music, the beautiful *prima donna* with her extraordinary vocal skill, and the castrato ready for all court intrigues, were the objects of princely patronage. Following the example of the courts, the higher strata of society also gave their countenance to the seductive art of the Italian. School-comedies and sing-plays, simple in their story and construction, though often with a significant meaning lying below the surface, contained very little that was attractive to the aristocracy. But with the middle classes and the people they were very popular, and remained so long after the introduction of the opera into Germany.

In 1732 a sing-play, *The Defeat of Goliath*, written by Grosser, rector of Görlitz, was performed by a company of weavers under the direction of the schoolmaster of Eyba, near Zittau. In the same year twenty-five junior students performed a solemn *Actum comicotragicum* in Latin, at the Gewandhaus, Dresden, a versified rendering by Christopher Kretschmar, head-master of the Alumni of the Kreuz School, of a comedy by Weize, entitled *Masaniello*. In the large free towns, and those cities where no court was established, *e.g.*, Leipzig, Hamburg, and Breslau, the people did not readily, as has been said, accept the Italian opera. Nor did they eagerly welcome its outgrowth, the so-called German opera, which was German only so far as the words were concerned, the music being quite Italian. It was not until long years after that the opera began to take any strong hold of the people. At Leipzig it was violently opposed by Gottsched. If we were to criticise his opposition from a literary standpoint only, it would deserve praise at our hands, since the new opera threatened, if not entirely to displace the national school-comedy and sing-play, at best to degrade it to burlesque and the lowest kind of buffoonery. Gottsched did not live to witness the upgrowth of Hiller's operas in which was contained the vital spark of German national sentiment. Hiller did not produce his opera, *The Reformed Wives*, until 1767, the year after Gottsched's death. After this he wrote fourteen similar works, all with a national tendency, thereby gaining for himself a place in German musical history. More than half a century before Gottsched's death, therefore about the year 1700, the ratio of performed operas to plays was as fifteen to one. The libretti were of the thinnest, and then, even, coloured with mannerisms that destroyed all claim to original merit. One such librettist was Christian Dedekind, who, with

his confrères, delighted Germany with vapid, feeble productions. At Hamburg the opposition to the opera was not less violent. The clergy thundered against it from the pulpit, warning the people against the blandishments of the wicked and the works of the devil. And yet, strange to say, it was at Hamburg that the attempt was made to create an opera that should be completely free from foreign influence, and which at the same time should meet the requirements of a higher musical feeling. To aid in this work a number of art-loving burghers, including members of the Hamburg senate, lawyers, and the celebrated organist Reinken, formed themselves into a society, and the result of their efforts was the performance on the 2nd January, 1678, at the town theatre, of the first original German opera, *Adam and Eve, or the Creation, Fall, and Regeneration of Man*.

The representation was eminently successful. Support flowed in from all sides, and the Hamburg opera flourished for a period of sixty years. We do not intend it to be understood that a new opera permeated with national feeling was created. Similar plays to this had been evolved by the Italians about 1630 out of their sing-play, which were quite distinct from the Florentine music-drama; and also by the French, in imitation of the Italians, about 1645. And just as little as the sing-plays of Italy and France represented the grand opera, so little did the Hamburg *Adam and Eve* represent the national German opera. Various demands were made upon it by different classes of society. The cultured demanded musical pathos and types like Jason and Iphigenie; the middle classes and the people, used to coarse food, required homely characters like Störtebecker and Gögge Michaels; whilst a third party insisted on the sacred element finding a place, and were gratified only by such plays as *Adam and Eve*, *Cain and Abel*, *Esther*, *The Wife of Maccabæus and her Seven Sons*, &c.

From this heterogeneous jumbling of Biblical personages with the goddesses and heroes of Greek mythology, the warriors of old sagas, and even with local characters of a burlesque nature, whose coarseness and empty wit contrasted sadly with the scenic pomp, arose musical productions of curiously fantastical incongruity. With the appearance of Kusse and Keiser, two Hamburg musicians, things took a somewhat better turn. Siegmund Kusse (1657—1726), a musician gifted with a fair share of dramatic talent, wrote *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Porus*, and *Scipio*

Africanus—operas which, if they did not elevate, certainly did not lower the stage. They were written in the best vein of Italian melody, and exhibited a better style than the works hitherto performed.

His sometime contemporary, Reinhard Keiser (born at Leipzig about 1673, died in 1739), was a man of great ability. Had his private life been in keeping with his musical gift, he might have accomplished much more for German opera than he did. As it is, his creations are epoch-making works in the history of the German stage. Possessed of a creative genius that produced the large number of 120 operas, he for some time dominated the music theatres of Hamburg and of North and Middle Germany. Those that enjoyed the largest amount of popularity were *Adonis*, *Irene*, *Janus*, and *Almira*. His last creations were *Parthenope* and *Circe*. At the time when he was the adored of the Hamburg people he was gaining large sums of money. Of a generous disposition, scattering gold with both hands, and followed through the public streets by two servants in liveries of gold, his extravagances and stupidity brought him into trouble with his creditors, and he found it advisable to leave Hamburg. We find him next at Weissenfels, where he married the daughter of a rich nobleman of Oldenburg. He stayed there for a year, writing *Helena*, *Desiderius*, *Orpheus*, and many other operatic works, which, having found their way into the hearts of his former friends, enabled him to return to Hamburg, when he again fell into his old spendthrift ways. It is characteristic of Keiser's and of Kusse's operas that *everything* is to be sung, just as in the Italian opera, whilst the comic opera, influenced by the German sing-play, reinstated in 1686 the spoken dialogue. With few exceptions, the spoken dialogue has held its place up to the present day in comic opera—witness Lortzing's *The Czar and the Shipwright*, Nicolai's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Ignaz Brüll's *Golden Cross*. Keiser was a master of recitative, and possessed an apparently inexhaustible flow of melody. But he rarely soared above the Italian style of the period, and still rarer were his touches born of pure Germanic feeling. He was sadly overrated; one critic, Scheibe, says that his music was "galant," and the tonal expression of love—praise in which we gladly concur. Scheibe goes on to say that "it exhibits all the passions of which the human heart is capable." This we think extravagant, for, readily admitting the unquestionable gifts of the master, his compositions do not show that profundity which would

warrant such an expression. It is to be regretted that Keiser should have disfigured some of his operas by obscenities. Thus the performance of his *Hamburg Schlachtzeit*, or Butchers' Feast, was prohibited by the town council, and the public notices of such performances ordered to be torn down from the city walls. Although the Hamburg opera contained the germ of an improved art-work, it was unfortunately mixed up with the coarsest buffooneries. Clown and harlequin appeared both in the pathetic opera and in the sacred drama. In Mattheson's *Cleopatra*, a band of chimney sweepers appeared whose antics were of so low a description that a repetition was impossible. And added to this coarseness and clownish nonsense was the barbarism of using in the same opera high German, low German, Italian, and French indiscriminately.

While the people's opera was a conglomeration of totally unconnected elements, the opera patronised at the courts aimed at an improved style, and was, at the same time, healthier in tone. The chief royal cities, the centres of encouragement to the opera, were Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Brunswick, Stutgardt, Weissenfels, and Cassel, and also some lesser important residences. At all courts Italian opera reigned supreme. Vienna and Dresden during the whole of the eighteenth century, with their Italian colonies, were genuinely foreign, exhibiting Italian culture in every direction. But, alas! it was not only in the higher sense that these cities were dominated by Italian thought; they became the "El Dorado of all ambitious and intriguing maestri, castrati, and instrumentalists," and we would add, of dancers of both sexes, fortune-hunters, alchemists, *parfumeurs*, mesmerists, and ghost-seers *à la* Cagliostro. Nor were certain other of the German courts behind Vienna and Dresden in respect to the crowd of necromancers that fed on them. Yet were not all bad; amongst the stream there were a few Italians and Frenchmen who, notwithstanding the prevalence of *Zopf*, and Brummagem imitation of the Greek drama, preserved a part of that good old art-culture of which they were the natural inheritors, and from these there occasionally flashed forth bright sparks of truth. There existed also among people of the highest rank, and among certain of the princes, a growing appreciation for that better part in music which had been created by the greatest and best of the *Zopf* writers, and from this arose a power of discrimination, an understanding of the strides made in vocal art, and a consciousness of the improved dramatic style.

The lively interest evinced by the German courts in the progressive art ripened into enthusiasm, and princes and princesses entered with the utmost eagerness upon the study of the tonal art under their Italian or Italianised chapel-masters. With such earnestness and directness did they work that they have earned for themselves an honourable name as executants and composers of both operatic and sacred music.

An interesting instance of this we have in the Princess Maria Antonia of Saxony, pupil of Porpora and Hasse. She created no small stir as a vocalist of genuine merit, although singing only at court or at the residences of her personal friends. She was also a talented composer of operas, which were performed at Dresden and at other court theatres with much scenic pomp. Dr. Burney, who heard the princess, at Nymphenburg in 1772, sing a whole scene from her own opera *Talestris*, accompanied by Naumann on the spinet, and by the Prince Maximilian of Bavaria on the violin, reports that "the princess sang the recitative in a praiseworthy manner, and in the style of the great old singers of the best period." Frederick the Great, on receiving in 1763 the score of her two principal operas, *Palestri Regina delle Amazzone* and *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, of which she also had furnished the libretti, congratulated her with: "Je dois vous confesser, madame, que vous faites honneur à la musique, en conservant par vos ouvrages le bon goût, prêt à se perdre, et que vous donnez un exemple aux compositeurs, qui tous, pour bien réussir, devraient être poètes en même temps." And a little later he wrote: "Votre Altesse royale doit s'attendre qu'elle ne trouvera personne capable de troquer contre elle des ouvrages comme ceux que je tiens de ses bontés. Metastasio lui fera des vers, Hasse de la musique; ni l'un ni l'autre ne pourront cependant lui présenter une pièce dont ils aient fait le poème et la mélodie en même temps." It was not in a spirit of gallantry that the king complimented the princess thus; for, first, this was not in accordance with his character, and, secondly, we know that he commanded a special performance of the *Trionfo della fedeltà* at Potsdam, for which he himself wrote an aria that was introduced during the play. But, above all, there stand the works of the princess to point to her gift.

The court chapels and theatres were, compared with the people's theatre, richly endowed. A more complete and perfect performance was guaranteed than could be secured elsewhere, and advantages were offered to German musicians more substantial than could be obtained outside the court, although

their chances of success were less than those of the Italians. For a German to aspire to the appointment of chief chapel-master at any of the courts it was not enough that he should be possessed of undeniable and brilliant gifts, but, above all, that he should be a master of the Italian style. Such men were Hasse, Graun, and Naumann. The same rules governed the appointment of German singers. Only such as had undergone a course of study in Italy could hope to make any headway beside their more favoured Italian art-brethren. We, however, do find instances of *concert-meisters*, *i.e.*, orchestral leaders, and of instrumental virtuosi engaged at the German court chapels. Thus, at Dresden, there were George Pisendel (1687—1755), famed as a *concert-meister*; Franz Benda, violinist, and founder of a school; Johann Joachim Quantz (1697—1773), the oft-mentioned flautist, teacher, and court-composer to Frederick the Great; and at Mannheim, Stamitz, of Deutchbrod, in Bohemia, violinist and *concert-meister*.

Glancing at the constitution and construction of the German theatres, we find that the Dresden stage enjoyed the highest reputation in its day, and deservedly too. Contemporary journalistic notices of the middle of the eighteenth century, verses by the poet Algarotti in praise of the Saxon theatre and Hasse, and references by Jean Jacques Rousseau in his "Dictionnaire de Musique," all testify to the glory of the Dresden court orchestra. In the article "L'Orchestre," Rousseau says: "Le premier orchestre de l'Europe pour le nombre et l'intelligence des symphonistes est celui de Naples; mais celui qui est le mieux distribué et forme l'ensemble le plus parfait est l'orchestre de l'opéra du roi de Pologne à Dresde, dirigé par l'illustre Hasse (ceci s'écrivait en 1754)." And Burney corroborates this by declaring that "the instrumental performers were of the first class, and more numerous than those of any other court in Europe." For the following plan of the arrangement of the Dresden orchestra, which was in the eighteenth century looked upon as the model for all orchestras, we are indebted to Rousseau.

In 1750 the Electoral orchestra of Dresden numbered 3 double basses, 3 violoncellos, 4 violas, 8 first and 7 second violins, 5 bassoons, 5 oboes, 2 flutes, 2 horns, 2 pairs of kettle-drums, and when required, generally more than 2 trumpets. Besides the drums and trumpets (probably used more for fanfares than for ordinary symphonic works) being double the number of those used in the modern orchestra, the great number of

bassoons and oboes must surprise us. Now we employ only two of each. Wagner uses three of each, but he is the only modern writer who employs this number. It will be observed that the weight of the orchestra lay with the strings, which were to the wind instruments in the proportion of twenty-five to fourteen. Our illustration shows us two harpsichords, one for the use of the chapel-master and the other for the accompanist. This use of two keyed instruments in the orchestra came from Italy, and was adopted in most of the royal chapels in Germany. In some instances, *e.g.*, Dresden, although reduced to one, and that a small one, for the conductor, the pianoforte has remained up to the present day. Spinets were used to accompany *recitativo secco* with chords, a practice which in older works is preferable, we think, to the arpeggio accompaniment of the violoncello,

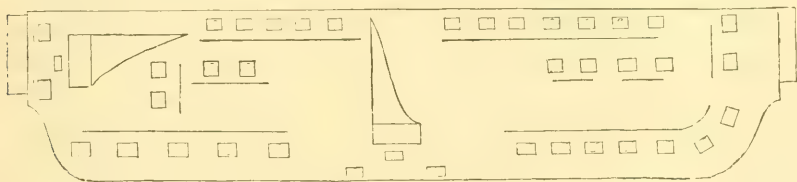


Fig. 237.—Plan of the Dresden Orchestra.*

on whose absolute purity of intonation it is difficult to rely, especially in cases of rapid changes of harmony. The spinet used by the chapel-master was employed chiefly at rehearsals to sustain singers and in pointing out mistakes made by orchestral performers, and after an interruption to indicate the passage for a recommencement.

The incidental reference to the piano in the last paragraph suggests the appropriateness of some slight account of the two great German piano and organ makers of the eighteenth century, of whom their country has reason to be proud. The elder, Gottfried Silbermann (1683—1753), a mechanist of superior endowments, contributed much to the improvement of both the piano and the organ. Among the best of the celebrated organs made by him, and still in use, are those in the Catholic Court Church, the "Frauenkirche," and the Church of St. Sophia, all in Dresden. They are built respectively with forty-five, forty-three, and thirty-one stops. The tone of these instruments is rich, bright, and like the name of the maker,

* Fürstenau's "History of Music of the Dresden Court Theatre," vol. ii., p. 291. Published by Rudolf Kuntze, Dresden, 1862.

“silvery,” and such as we have never met with in the work of any other organ-builder. Their exceedingly bright tone seems to reflect the spirit of the *Zopf* style, the tendency of which, in all branches of the fine arts, was to produce effect by sparkling brilliancy. Silbermann’s organs are further distinguished by highly-finished mechanism and durability, and are remarkable for their light and agreeable touch. Silbermann belongs to that group of clever mechanists, Cristofori, Marius, and Schröter, to whom the invention of the hammer construction of the modern piano has been severally ascribed. One of the first hammer pianos made by him was for the Prince of Rudolstadt. This excited so much interest that, shortly after, he was commissioned to make another for Frederick the Great. Prior to the execution of these two royal commands he had made a grand piano which had been submitted to the judgment of Sebastian Bach. Several suggestions were made and followed out by Silbermann to the perfect satisfaction and admiration of the revered father of classical pianists. Silbermann further invented the keyed instrument known as the *cembalo d’amore*. The almost sickly sweetness of its tone, so congenial to the mannerism and sentimentality of the *Zopf* period, rendered it extremely popular in its day ; but with the decline of the *Zopf* style it also decreased in favour, until it gradually became an instrument of the past. Another instrument that enjoyed an evanescent popularity in this period, and one that also reflected the spirit of the time, was the *glass harmonicon*. Its soft and agreeable sounds acted more upon the nerves than upon the feelings. Hasse and Naumann both played the harmonicon, but only in private or among a few friends. The performer set a wheel in motion which caused glass bells to rotate, and those from which the desired sound was to proceed were touched on the rim by the wetted finger. The mysterious unearthly tones then emitted were of such an excitatory character as to cause women to faint ; and even the virtuosi who had selected this instrument were forced to discontinue its practice owing to its deleterious nervous influence. Neither players nor listeners were correctly aware of the real effect it produced on them, believing the sensation experienced to be an excitement of the feelings instead of what it really was, an excitement of the nerves.*

* Another instrument having an ephemeral fashionable existence in the eighteenth century, like the glass harmonicon, was the “Pantaleon,” a stringed instrument, made to sound by being struck with sticks somewhat like drumsticks. The inventor was Pantaleon

The second important inventor and maker of keyed instruments in Germany in the eighteenth century was Christopher Gottlieb Schröter (1699—1782). Schröter was not only a mechanist, but also a thorough musical theorist. When still a pupil at the Dresden Kreuz School he published his first theoretical treatise, entitled "*Epistola gratulatoria de Musica Davidica et Salomonica*." Later in life he delivered a course of lectures at the University of Jena which excited considerable attention. He was fully persuaded that he himself was the original inventor of the hammer mechanism of the modern piano. We must confess that we are unable to satisfactorily clear up this disputed question.* In any case Silbermann and Schröter merit our warm praise for their skilful improvements and inventions in the mechanism of the pianoforte, which, by its greatly perfected technique and increased power of tone, permit an adequate interpretation of the works of the great composers Bach, Händel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Among the preparers of the great epoch in German music we count the theorists, F. W. Marpurg (1718—1795), J. Ph. Kirnberger (1721—1783), pupil of Bach, and J. G. Albrechtsberger (1736—1809), for a time the master of Beethoven and Hummel: men who did excellent work in the field of fague, counterpoint, and thorough bass, and whose influence is felt up to the present.

In closing the chapter, we would draw attention to the lavish expenditure incurred during the last century at most of the German courts in the production of Italian operas, especially on festival occasions, marriages, birthdays, and in honour of royal visitors. In 1753, when Hasse's opera *Solimano* was produced for the first time at Dresden, the *mise-en-scène* was of the most magnificent. There was the Turkish camp illuminated

Hebenstreit, a violin-player in the court orchestra of Dresden, engaged at the large salary of 1,200 dollars a year. In 1705 he exhibited his instrument at the French court with great success, the king baptising it "*Pantaleon*," after the Christian name of the inventor. The body of the pantaleon (also called pantalon) was longer and wider than that of the hackbrett (or dulcimer), and comprised four to five octaves. The lower notes were brilliant and full in tone, the higher of an enchanting sweetness. About the middle of the eighteenth century the term "*pantalon*" was also applied to certain pianos, because in these the hammer struck the strings from above, as in the pantaleon. The pantaleon enjoyed general, though an unenduring, popularity. In Schiller's drama *Cabal and Love*, the heroine, Louise Miller, opens one of these instruments.

* It has been asserted of late in some quarters that Silbermann's mechanism was based on Schröter's. If this be satisfactorily proved, it will go a long way to strengthen Schröter's claim as the inventor of the hammer mechanism.

by night, gorgeous views of Babylon, and of the Tigris with moving ships; live elephants, camels, and horses. An enormous number of persons followed in the train of Solimano—viziers, imams, pages, janizaries, mounted spahis, body-guards, archers, prisoners of both sexes, slaves, and Moors. The scenic magnificence and accessories of Hasse's opera *Ezio* were on a still grander scale. The capitol, Rome by moonlight, parks with natural fountains, and cascades illuminated with more than 8,000 lamps, were presented in the costliest manner. No less than 250 stage machinists were employed; nor would this seem to have been too many when it is known that a triumphal procession occupied half an hour in passing before the spectator. It consisted of nearly 500 sumptuously apparelled men and women, 102 horses, eight camels, eight mules, and ten triumphal chariots. This mass of standard-bearers, supernumeraries, citizens, &c. &c., beasts, and cars, were drawn up into marching order in the open space at the back of the royal theatre, where thousands of sight-seers congregated, happy at the gratuitous exhibition. The expense of such gigantic displays was considerable, sometimes reaching several hundreds of thousands of dollars. Naumann's opera *La Clemenza di Tito*, performed in 1769, at the marriage of the Elector Frederick August III., was also produced on the same lavish scale.

The salaries of the singers, male, female, and castrati, were in keeping with the immense sums squandered on the scenery, &c. The famous Faustina when at Vienna received yearly 15,090 florins; Teresa Albizzi Todeschini, as first contralto of the Dresden opera, 3,000 dollars; the Milanese castrato Monticelli, 4,000 dollars fixed income, and an annual bonus of 1,375 dollars; Giovanni Belli, castrato, from Florence, for church and operatic performances at Dresden, 2,200 dollars; and Patini, soprano castrato, 2,000 dollars a year. To bring these sums down to modern value we should about treble each, when they would be very nearly equal to the salaries received by German artists to-day. According to a tabulated statement, compiled by Fürstenau, showing the musical expenditure at the court of Dresden in 1756, the orchestra received 59,000 dollars, of which 6,000 went to Hasse and his wife; the ballet, 24,000; Italian singers, 8,000; machinists, scene-painters, mechanics, &c., 3,900, the pension list showing 7,500—giving a grand total of 102,400 dollars. It is characteristic that the ballet consisted, with one

exception, entirely of French people, male and female, whilst the vocalists, with very few exceptions, were Italians. The writer goes on to observe that the singers, male and female, were presented at each performance with two pairs of gloves and rouge, *prima donnas* receiving in addition one pair of silk stockings and shoes, and annually “la jupe et le corps de la baleine,” the necessary veils, and one fan, lace, feathers, flowers and other stage accessories being supplied as required.

To sum up, then, it was only Italian opera and Italian Church music that found welcome and support in Germany during the eighteenth century. Court opera and court sacred music constituted the axis round which revolved the nobility, the aristocratic class, and a section of the public who felt they had a claim to admittance to the performances on the ground of higher education and superior taste; and what this auditory considered worthy of patronage was only such music as came from across the Alps or bore an Italian label. German music was looked upon by them as stiff, dry, and pedagogic. And this was the judgment passed upon Sebastian Bach. To this society, though composed of Germans, but conversing only in the French tongue, the German opera seemed, like the German language, “common,” and was contemptuously looked upon as “bon pour la populace,” and “barbaric.” But it was not fated that this deplorable state of things should endure, for the very century that witnessed the absolute triumph of Italian over German tonal art was also that century during which those heroes of the great epoch of German musical genius worked, and who were temporarily kept in the background by the prevailing fashion of the period, but who were destined to overcome all opposition and take their place as the true leaders of German national feeling.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MUSIC IN ENGLAND (1600—1660).

AFTER the death of Queen Elizabeth music remained unchanged in England for a quarter of a century. It does not indeed appear that James I. cared much for the arts, and it is probable that the skirl of a Scotch bagpipe would have given him greater delight than the performance of the best music of the English schools by the best performers in the country. Still it

is plain that no decadence in the national love and practice of music could well take place so long as the great masters of the preceding reign survived. We have already given an account of most of these ; still there were others who, though born in the sixteenth century, chiefly flourished in the seventeenth, and of these it will be well to give some account ere we proceed further. Of these men undoubtedly the greatest was that real genius, Orlando Gibbons, a composer who was, in his own line, *nulli secundus*, and of whom England has good reason to be proud. He was a member of an exceptionally musical family. It is supposed that their father was one William Gibbons, of Cambridge, himself connected with music. The eldest son, Edward, was a clergyman, born about 1570, and a Bachelor of Music both at Cambridge and at Oxford, where he was incorporated in 1592. He was first at Bristol Cathedral as organist and minor canon ; but in 1611 he was appointed to similar posts at the Cathedral of Exeter, which offices he retained till organs were destroyed and choirs silenced and dispersed in 1643. During the civil war he advanced £1,000 to Charles I., in consequence of which loyal act he was turned out of house and home and his property confiscated when he was more than 80 years old. The exact date of his death is uncertain. His next brother, Ellis Gibbons, was organist of Salisbury Cathedral, and a contributor to the "Triumphs of Oriana." But it was the third brother, Orlando, who made the name of Gibbons famous. He was born at Cambridge in 1583, where he probably was educated as a chorister. He became organist of the Chapel Royal in 1604, at which period his activity as a composer may be said to have commenced. In 1610 his "Fantasies in Three Parts," for viols, were published, and deserve notice not only for their intrinsic merits, but because they were the first English attempt at engraving music on copper plates. In 1611 he contributed to a valuable work called "Parthenia; or, the Maidenhead of the First Musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls: Composed by three famous Masters, William Byrde, Dr. John Bull, and Orlando Gibbons, Gentlemen of His Ma^{ties}. most Illustrious Chappell. Ingraven by William Hole." Of this curious work subsequent editions came out in 1613, 1635, 1650, and 1659. It was also reprinted by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1847, under the careful editorship of Dr. Rimbault. In 1612 Gibbons published a volume of admirable madrigals and motets for five voices. He also contributed four tunes to George

Withers' "Hymns and Songs of the Church," published in 1623-4. Orlando Gibbons took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge in 1606. Whether he ever actually took the Doctor's degree is a disputed point. The probability is that he did so at Oxford in 1622, accumulating the two degrees, at the same time that they were conferred on William Heyther (or Heather), *honoris causâ*. The Oxford archives record the fact of his "*supplicating*" for the doctorate, but not of its being *conferred* on him. But in those days the entries were so carelessly made, and so many *lacunæ* have been detected in the old records, that no conclusion can be drawn from such an omission. Moreover, in the Oxford music-school has been preserved a portrait of Orlando Gibbons, represented in full doctor's robes, and tradition has always averred that his eight-part anthem, "O clap your hands," was composed as an exercise for his degree; or else, as some say, for his and Heyther's conjointly. We may then safely give him the benefit of the doubt, and style him Doctor of Music. In 1623 he was appointed organist of Westminster Abbey, which post he held till his death. It was in 1625 that this great composer died of small-pox, at Canterbury, whither he had been summoned in order to preside musically at the marriage ceremonies of Charles I. and Henrietta of France, for which occasion he had composed an ode, now supposed to be lost. He was buried in the north aisle of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral, where there still remains a monument to his memory with a Latin inscription. Gibbons was, as we have seen, great both as a madrigalian and a composer for instruments; but his reputation must ever rest principally on the noble services and anthems which he bequeathed to the Church. Many of these have been printed in the collections of Barnard (1641) and Boyce (1760); also in a volume of his sacred works, edited by Sir F. A. G. Ouseley in 1873. We find in these collections two sets of "Preces," a full "Service" in F, a verse "Service" in D minor, eleven full anthems, twelve verse anthems, two hymns (originally published in Sir William Leighton's "Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule," 1614), and four hymn-tunes (mentioned above). His grandeur of style and the excellence of his counterpoint have deservedly won for him the proud title of "The English Palestrina." Had Gibbons lived longer he would probably have achieved a European reputation, but his early death and insular position tended to narrow the field in which his genius could assert itself. Still such

magnificent compositions as his anthem, "Hosanna to the Son of David," or his well-known full service in F, must remain monuments to his memory wherever English Church music is cultivated. Gibbons may also be regarded as the last of the madrigalians—the last, and perhaps one of the very best. His beautiful little five-part madrigal, "The Silver Swan," is so *glee-like* in character that it almost seems like a special link uniting the ancient madrigal and the more modern English glee, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Of a very different order of merit, but still meritorious to a high degree, was Gibbons's contemporary, Dr. John Bull. This clever and learned musician was born in Somersetshire about the year 1563. In 1582 he became organist of Hereford Cathedral. Three years later he was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and on the death of his master, Wm. Blitheman, probably succeeded him as organist there. He took his degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1586, and four years afterwards he graduated as Mus. Doc. in both universities. In 1596 he was the first appointed Professor of Music in Gresham College, London; and by a special dispensation he was allowed to deliver his bi-weekly lectures in English instead of Latin. In 1601 Bull went abroad for his health, travelling incognito through France and Germany. An absurd story is related by Anthony à Wood of his astonishing the musical authorities at St. Omer's by adding in a few hours forty additional parts to a composition originally composed for that number of voices. Such a fable carries with it its own refutation.

Stowe informs us that when King James I. and Prince Henry dined at Merchant Tailors' Hall, on July 16, 1607, Dr. Bull entertained them during dinner by his admirable performance on "a small payre of organes, placed there for that purpose onley." In the same year he vacated his Gresham professorship by his marriage, as we are informed by Dr. Rimbault in his notice of Bull in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." In 1613 Dr. Bull finally left England, probably on account of inadequate remuneration for his services, and became attached to the chapel of the Archduke in the Netherlands. From Dr. Rimbault's notice, referred to above, we learn that Dr. Bull was appointed organist of Antwerp Cathedral in 1617, and that he remained there till his death, which occurred in March, 1628. Bull devoted himself more to instrumental

than to vocal music, and the few anthems and other compositions for voices which we have of his are inferior to those of Gibbons, Byrd, or Tallis. Indeed, he seems to have been devoid of any real inventive power, though he excelled most of his contemporaries in learning, ingenuity, and contrapuntal skill. He must have been an astonishing executant, if we may judge by the extreme difficulty of his compositions for keyed instruments. Anthems and hymns by this master are to be found in the collections of Barnard and Boyce, and also in Leighton's "Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule." He was also, as we have seen, a joint contributor with Byrd and Gibbons to the "Parthenia;" and a very large number of pieces by him for the virginals are extant in manuscript. The late Mr. Richard Clark published a volume in 1822, in which he tried to prove that Dr. Bull was the original author of the national anthem, "God Save the Queen." But subsequent research has pretty well disproved this assertion. At Oxford is preserved a curious portrait of Bull, in the robes of a Bachelor of Music. On the left side of the head are the words "An. ætatis svæ 26, 1589," and on the right there is an hour-glass with a human skull upon it holding a bone in its mouth. Round the frame is the following quaint inscription:—

" The bull by force in field doth raigne;
But Bull by skill goodwill doth gayne."

Neither of the above composers was an author of treatises; but we can name another who shone in that capacity as well as in composing. This was Elway Bevin, supposed to be a Welshman by birth, and a pupil of Tallis. The dates of his birth and death are alike unknown, but he was organist of Bristol Cathedral in 1589, and was admitted gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1605. In 1637, in consequence of his being a member of the Church of Rome, he was deprived of both his appointments. Bevin was unquestionably one of Tallis's very best pupils, and left behind him a good cathedral service, in the old Tallisian style, which was printed both by Barnard and Boyce, besides a few manuscript anthems. But it is on account of his theoretical work that we have mentioned him, for it is really a very excellent production, and a useful sequel to Morley's more celebrated book. Its title is as follows: "A Brief and Short Introduction to the Art of Musicke, to teach how to make Discant of all proportions that are in use," &c. &c.

London, 1631). This book has become excessively rare now, and appears never to have been reprinted. Of Dowland, the lutenist, we have already given an account. But, truly, music did not receive the same encouragement in high quarters in the early part of the seventeenth century that was accorded to it in the previous one. James I. was not very musical, nor were the court musicians over well paid. Still there was a sufficient love for the art remaining in the country, and especially among the nobility, to keep it from altogether declining. Several valuable collections of madrigals and part-songs were published, to which we have alluded in a former chapter, and also some collections of instrumental music, both for viols and virginals. One collection of sacred vocal music is of such importance that we must give a more detailed account of it than we have hitherto done. This is Sir William Leighton's curious work, "*The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule; Composed with musicall Ayres and Songs, both for Voyces and Divers Instruments*" (London, 1614). The author was one of the band of "Gentlemen Pensioners," and had already published some small pieces of poetry.* The work consists of fifty-four metrical psalms and hymns, seventeen of which are for four voices, with accompaniments, in tablature, for the lute, bandora, and cittern; besides thirteen for four voices, and twenty-four for five voices, without accompaniment. The first eight pieces are of Leighton's own composition, and the rest were contributed by the following composers:—Dr. John Bull, William Byrde, John Coperario, John Dowland, Alfonso Ferraboseo, Thomas Ford, Orlando Gibbons, Nathaniel Giles, Edmond Hooper, Robert Johnson, Robert Jones, Robert Kindersley, Thomas Lupo, John Milton, Martin Pearson, Francis Pilkington, Timolphus Thopul (a pseudonym), John Ward, Thomas Weelkes, and John Wilbye. In this volume, as also in Dowland's songs, and other publications of that date, the different parts are not placed under one another, as in a score, but are printed in various ways, some upside down, some sideways, some direct, on the same pages, so that the various performers could sit round the book, and each have his own separate part presented to him properly. Most of the compositions in this collection are very good. The list of composers includes pretty nearly all the best musicians of the period. Concerning these it may suffice to remark that the John Milton here

* Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," vol. i., p. 414.

named was the father of the great poet ; that Alfonso Ferrabosco was one of an Italian family of musicians living in England, and much thought of by their contemporaries ; and that the majority of these masters were also contributors to the "Triumphs of Oriana," of which we have already given an account.

There are, however, yet two names which do not occur in any of the preceding lists to which we have referred, and which yet cannot be omitted from such a work as the present. The first of these is Thomas Ravenscroft, who was born in 1582, and educated first in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, and afterwards at Cambridge, where he graduated as Bachelor of Music in 1607. In 1609 he published a work called "Pammelia," consisting of rounds, catches, and canons, of which it is the earliest collection printed in England. It was followed the same year by a second and similar work entitled "Deuteromelia." In 1611 he published yet a third collection of the same kind, with the title of "Melismata." In this same year Ravenscroft also published a queer musical treatise, which he called "A Briefe Discourse of the true (but neglected) use of charact'ring the Degrees by their Perfection, Imperfection, and Diminution, in mensurable musicke, against the Common Practise and Custome of these Times ; Examples whereof are exprest in the Harmony of 4 Voyces, Concerning the Pleasures of 5 usuall recreations:—1. Hunting. 2. Hawking. 3. Dancing. 4. Drinking. 5. Enamouring." These examples were composed by John Bennet, Edward Pearce, and the author himself. This attempt to revive a cumbrous and obsolete system naturally failed in its object. But Ravenscroft benefited his reputation much more by the publication in 1621 of his well-known collection of tunes for the metrical psalms, which was in many respects an improvement on the similar work by Thomas Este, of which an account was given in a former chapter.

The second name which demands our attention in this place is that of Adrian Batten, a voluminous composer of Church music. This clever musician was born somewhere about 1590, and was a pupil of John Holmes, organist of Winchester, at which cathedral Batten was probably a chorister. In 1614 he became a lay clerk of Westminster Abbey, and went from thence to St. Paul's Cathedral in a similar capacity ten years later, where he also acted as organist. He cannot be called a genius, or a man of original

ideas ; but still he did good work for the Church by composing many sound and correctly-written anthems, and at least one complete service, which are still more or less in use. One anthem of his, "Hear my prayer," is full of fine expression and effective harmony. The date of his death is uncertain, but occurred probably about the year 1640. No secular music by this composer is extant.

There can be no doubt, from what has been recorded above, that the English school of music, though at its highest point of brilliancy at the commencement of the seventeenth century, soon began to decline, as one after another of its great lights was removed, till it became very degenerate by the time of that final suppression of Church music and discouragement of all other kinds, which was one of the sad features of the Puritan ascendancy. The reign of Charles I. was too troublous to allow of much encouragement to the arts in high quarters, and the rapidly-increasing influence of fanaticism in religion soon put a stop to any further development of musical composition. Yet we do find a few scattered instances of musical successes even during this most unpropitious period. One of the only instances in which James I. showed any great care for music or musicians was when he incorporated the musicians of the City of London into a company, or corporation. But it is hard to see what very special advantage could accrue from this act. A more important event was the founding of the Professorship of Music at Oxford by William Heather (or Heyther), in 1622. There had, indeed, been a readership, or something of the sort, in existence at Oxford from its very first rise into a university. But it had apparently fallen into utter desuetude and neglect long before Heather's time. Heather had been sent to Oxford by Camden to convey to the university the endowment deed of a lecture on history, and probably felt stimulated by emulation to do something similar for the faculty of music. It seems that in his mission he was accompanied by Orlando Gibbons, and that the degree of Mus. Doc. was conferred on both of them by the university in gratitude for the favours received at their hands. The Professorship (or Prælectorship, as it was then called) of Music was only endowed with the small annuity of £5 5s. But this has been added to in more recent times, as its duties have become more onerous. Charles I. could play fairly well on the viola da gamba, having learnt it of Coperario, a well-known musician of the period. Masques (a kind of play with

music) came into vogue at his court, and were mostly set to music by the two brothers William and Henry Lawes. Ben Jonson was the usual author of the words. But the most notable of all these entertainments was the celebrated masque of "Comus," written by Milton in 1634, and afterwards set to music by Henry Lawes. This was acted, *en amateur*, before the king in Ludlow Castle with great success. Of the two brothers Lawes, William, the elder of them, was born late in the sixteenth century, and held a post in the choir of Chichester Cathedral. In 1602 he was sworn in as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, which place he resigned in 1611. Fuller says of him: "He was respected and beloved of all such persons as cast any looks towards virtue and honour." High praise this, but thoroughly well deserved. His staunch loyalty to King Charles throughout his troubles was very remarkable. He eventually lost his life at the siege of Chester, fighting for his royal master. He was chiefly a composer of fancies for viols, and incidental music in masques. One verse-anthem of his is to be found in the second volume of Dr. Boyce's collection. It is difficult to understand the undoubted contemporaneous popularity of his compositions, for when we come to examine them they appear totally devoid of interest or genius. His younger brother Henry was also a pupil of Coperario,* and became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1625. The poets Milton and Waller seem never to have been tired of praising Henry Lawes, and yet his music seems to be quite unworthy of such praise. He may be said, indeed, to have polished, if he did not first introduce, the *Recitative* style, in conjunction with his brother William; but his recitatives are seldom well arranged, often faulty in accent and expression, and utterly inferior to those of foreign composers of the period. Nor are his songs any better in these respects. They were chiefly published under the title of "Ayres and Dialogues," and were very numerous. He and his brother composed many psalm-tunes in conjunction, which had a considerable vogue in their day, although they never were adopted by the people at the time when the bellowing of psalms to metrical tunes became a national frenzy. Henry Lawes survived the interregnum, and composed the music for the coronation of Charles II. In 1662 he died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.


* His name really was Cooper, which he chose to Italianise.


Besides these brothers, there were a few other composers at this time who deserve mention. John Wilson, the great lutenist of his day, stands first in order of merit. Born at Faversham, in Kent, he became a gentleman of Charles I.'s Chapel, and also a chamber-musician to the king. He does not appear to have been by any means a great composer, but in those degenerate days musical taste was at a low ebb, and a very little merit went a long way. In 1644 he took the degree of Mus. Doc. at Oxford; Oliver Cromwell made him Professor of Music there in 1656, and he remained in that city till 1662, when Charles II. once more received him into the Chapel Royal. He lived in London after that till his death in 1673. It is certainly not on account of his compositions that he deserves a place in this history, but because of the great influence which he exerted for the good of the art of music, especially during his residence at Oxford.

Church music, after the death of Orlando Gibbons, gradually declined, as all other music did, and no man of genius arose to supply new musical ideas. Yet there were several able and learned composers for the Church in those days, who wrote many services and anthems full of ingenious counterpoint and in a very correct style. Sooth to say, their music was for the most part dry and uninteresting, still it was never offensive, and some of it is still in use in various cathedrals. Among these musicians we may notice the names of Christopher Gibbons, son of Orlando, who graduated as Doctor at Oxford in 1664, and Wm. Child, a pupil of Bevin, who was born at Bristol in 1606. Child took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1631. Next year he was appointed organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and soon after he got a similar post at the Chapel Royal. It is not known how he supported himself during the interregnum, but in 1660 Charles II. made him one of his private musicians. In 1663 he took his degree of Mus. Doc. at Oxford, and died at Windsor in 1697, aged ninety. He munificently paved the chapel at Windsor at his own expense, in return for the payment of the arrears of his salary, and in many other ways spent his money on good and charitable objects. His compositions are still in use in our cathedrals, and are remarkably free from the harsh progressions and combinations which unfortunately disfigure too much of the music of those days.

Thomas Tomkins was another voluminous composer for the Church about this period. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it is known that

he was a pupil of Byrd, and that he contributed to the "Triumphs of Oriana," which was, as we have seen, published in 1601. As he survived the great rebellion, and lived to publish his great work, "Musica Deo Sacra et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," in 1668, it is evident that he must have died at a very great age. His compositions are very clever, very correct, and, alas! for the most part, very dry. But he must have been a consummate contrapuntist, seeing that some of his anthems are in eight, ten, and twelve real parts, and wonderfully pure in their structure. His collection of his own Church music mentioned above was published in four separate vocal parts, with an extra volume for the organ. On the fly-leaf of errata, which was added to this organ volume, appear two very curious and interesting directions, which are valuable as throwing considerable light on the pace at which Church music was performed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and also on the pitch to which organs were tuned. These directions are as follows:—

"No. 1.  Sit mensura duorum humani corporis pulsum: vel globuli penduli, longitudine duorum pedum à centro motus.

"2.  Sit tonus fistulæ apertæ, longitudine duorum pedum et semissis: sive 30 digitorum geometricorum."

Tomkins's work was entirely made up of his own compositions; but another work was published in 1641 of far greater importance, inasmuch as it was a large collection of all the best cathedral music then in use. The author of this valuable publication was the Rev. John Barnard, a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, concerning whose career we have no information. The title of the work is "The First Book of Selected Church Musick, consisting of Services and Anthems, such as are now used in the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches of this Kingdome. Never before printed," &c. &c. The book is in ten volumes of separate voice-parts—*i.e.*, medius (or treble), first contratenor, second contratenor, tenor, and bassus, *Decani* (which refers to the singers on the south side of the choir); and similar five voice-parts, *Cantoris* (referring to the singers on the north side); in all, ten volumes, printed in a bold music-type, without bars. The selection of music in this publication is most excellent and judicious, and it is highly to be deplored that in consequence of the total dispersion of choirs, and destruction not

only of organs but also of Church music of every sort, both manuscript and printed, in 1643, pretty nearly every set of Barnard's collection was destroyed or rendered imperfect. Hereford Cathedral alone retained as many as eight volumes out of the ten, and those much mutilated. Fortunately in 1862 the late Sacred Harmonic Society purchased another set, also of eight volumes, but luckily *not the same eight*, and thus between the two a complete set was made up, now in the Library of Hereford Cathedral. Even this, however, was imperfect, for it lacked an organ volume. This, perhaps, had never been published. Mr. John Bishop, of Cheltenham, however, with the aid of old manuscript organ books, has recently succeeded in making a score of the whole work, of which the manuscript is now deposited in the British Museum.

The only other names which need be mentioned as having done good service to music towards the end of Charles I.'s reign are Martin Pierson, Mus. Bac., who published some "Motteets, or grave Chamber Musique," in 1630, and died in 1650. Richard Deering, Mus. Bac., who belonged to an old Kentish family, and was educated in Italy. He was a Roman Catholic, and retained the post of organist to Queen Henrietta till he was forced to fly from the country through the civil troubles which supervened. He published several sets of "Cantiones Sacræ," of which the harmony is pure, and the style severe and correct, but very dry. John Hilton, Mus. Bac. of Cambridge, must have begun to compose at a very early age, for he was one of the contributors to the "Triumphs of Oriana." He published some clever "Fa las," besides an admirable set of catches, rounds, and canons, which came out in 1652 under the queer title of "Catch that Catch can." He also composed some good cathedral music, some of which has of late years been published and sung. Hilton died in 1657.

As this is not a history of England, it would be out of place to go into any detailed account of the civil wars, and of the execution of King Charles I. But it is as impossible to pass over, as it is not to deplore, the grievous blow which was inflicted on music in general, and especially on Church music, first of all by the growing fanaticism of the Puritans during the first half of the seventeenth century, and afterwards more completely by the total suppression of the cathedral service by Act of Parliament in 1643. All Church music-books were then destroyed, all

organs taken down, all choir-men and boys dispersed and turned adrift, and no music allowed to be sung in church save plain metrical psalms; and these must be performed without harmony by the whole congregation, as best they could, unaccompanied by any instrument, and with the words of every line read out by the minister before they were sung. Nor was secular music much better off, for all theatres and places of musical entertainment were forcibly closed, and no public performance of any sort of music permitted. It is obvious that such measures as these must have utterly destroyed what little national appreciation of good music yet survived. Yet we find that in many parts of the country music was assiduously practised (by amateurs chiefly) in private, and as it were *sub rosa*, and that thus a very faint spark was preserved of the old fire, in spite of this universal artistic cataclysm. But in no place did music hold out so long or so successfully against its adversaries as in Oxford. During the few years that Charles I. made it his residence, it was a haven of refuge for musicians who were hunted out of their ordinary retreats; and afterwards many of them remained there, finding an asylum in the houses of secret friends, and eking out a precarious subsistence by following various avocations or trades. In the amusing pages of Anthony à Wood we have a graphic account of the state of music in Oxford in these gloomy times, and of the efforts which he himself persistently made to encourage an art of which he was enthusiastically fond. He describes at great length the weekly meetings which he frequented at the house of Wm. Ellis, Mus. Bac., where concerts (or, as then spelt, “consorts”) for viols, with virginals, harpsichord, and organ, were privately got up by a combination of the best musicians, both professional and amateur, then to be found. It is interesting to notice among these dilettanti several men who afterwards rose to eminence in Church and State, *e.g.*, Nathanael Crewe, subsequently Bishop of Durham; Narcissus Marsh, who eventually became Archbishop of Tuam; and Thomas Ken, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. Nor were the times so anti-musical but what they fostered one or two celebrated musicians—celebrated, that is, in their own day, though forgotten since. One of these, at any rate, whom we have not hitherto named, deserves special mention, and that is John Jenkins. He was born in 1592, and early cultivated music. For many years he lived with the family of Hamon Lestrange in Norfolk. He was a great performer on the lute,

the "lyra-viol," and other stringed instruments. He wrote a number of fancies both for viols and for the organ, as well as little pieces called "Rants." Burney prints his "Five-Bells Consort" as an example of his style, and J. Stafford Smith has preserved others of his compositions in his "Musica Antiqua." He also composed some secular vocal music, *inter alia* the two little rounds, "A boat, a boat, haste to the ferry," and "Come, pretty maidens." Jenkins was a great favourite personally, and appears to have thus escaped much of the persecution which befell so many of his brother musicians during the civil wars. He died at Kimberley, in Norfolk, in 1678.

Before concluding this account of the state of music during the interregnum, it is only fair to remark that Oliver Cromwell does not appear to be justly chargeable with this violent raid upon the art of sweet sounds. It was before he became Protector that music was proscribed. He was himself fond of music, and had a professional musician named Hingeston among the members of his household. Moreover, when the organ was removed by authority of Parliament from the chapel of Magdalen College, at Oxford, Cromwell had it erected at Hampton Court, where he resided, and used frequently to get the poet Milton to play upon it. It is remarkable what vicissitudes befell this particular instrument, for after the Restoration it was restored to its original position in Magdalen Chapel, and after some years it was disposed of by that college, and re-erected in Tewkesbury Abbey, where some portions of it still remain. It is therefore one of the very few organs in England still in existence which were originally built before the great rebellion.

With these remarks we close this chapter, as the art of music in England was on the threshold of a regular revolution and transformation, quite as complete as that which befell it a century before.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF MUSIC IN ENGLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

IT has been seen, in a former chapter, how the art of music, after attaining to an unexampled pitch of perfection during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I., gradually declined, until at length it was nearly extinguished

during the period of the civil wars. But as it is often the case that when things come to their worst they are sure to mend, so in the present instance music would appear to have been gathering itself together, as it were, for a new and brilliant departure when circumstances should render a fresh start possible. It was destined to what the French would call "*reculer pour mieux sauter*." No sooner was the monarchy restored, and with it, amongst other good things, the choral services of the Church of England in her cathedrals, collegiate churches, and chapels, than composers as well as executants sprang up on all sides ready to repair the breaches in the tuneful citadel, and to do good work in restoring to England that musical character which had once been her boast, but which she had well-nigh lost. We have indeed come now to a very important epoch in English art—to a time when a strong reaction set in to second the endeavours of those who loved sweet sounds and longed for a regeneration of musical art in their midst.

It will be borne in mind that while every style of music except metrical psalmody had been brought under the ban of fanaticism, two kinds especially were obnoxious to the Puritans—viz., cathedral music and that of the secular stage. Naturally enough, when the strong repressing force was at length removed, these were the first to spring into new life and vigour. But in the case of cathedral music there were gigantic difficulties to be overcome. Organs had been ruthlessly destroyed, only a very few were saved by being sold to private individuals. Organ-builders had either taken to other trades, or had migrated to other countries. Only four, as far as we know, remained in the country—namely, Dallans, Preston, Loosemore, and Thamar. To refurnish all the cathedrals and churches of England with organs was far too great a task for them to achieve. Accordingly two foreign builders were invited to come to their aid—Bernhardt Schmidt, a German, and Harris, a Frenchman of English descent. The former had two nephews associated with him in his work, to distinguish him from whom he was usually called Father Smith. The latter brought over with him his son, Renatus Harris, who soon became a very formidable rival to the Smiths. It is probable that all our cathedrals were supplied with organs by one or other of these builders except Exeter Cathedral, whose noble instrument was erected by Loosemore. But not only had the old organs been swept away, a general destruction of the music-books in use in the cathedrals had also taken place, and doubtless a very large quantity of

excellent Church music was thus irretrievably lost. It is supposed that, with the exception of a few more or less imperfect sets of Barnard's "Collection of Cathedral Music," and a few manuscript scores and parts which had fallen into private hands, there was literally no stock of "services" and anthems left in any of the cathedral libraries, so fatally had the order for their destruction been carried into effect. Nor was this all, for there were no choir-men, no choir-boys, hardly any organists to be found, except the few who had betaken themselves to Oxford or to the country houses of the nobility, as we showed in a former chapter. When we duly reflect on these accumulated difficulties, we cannot but wonder at the very short time it took to repair all this terrible havoc, and rehabilitate our choirs with something of their pristine excellence. A great deal had to be restored by tradition, such as the choral responses and litanies, and the system of chanting the psalms; and so great were the discrepancies which thus arose in the "uses" of different cathedral and collegiate churches that it was found necessary to have some manual or text-book to refer to in order to promote accuracy and uniformity. Accordingly, in 1661, Edward Low, organist of Christ Church, Oxford, and also one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, published a little book, of which the title was "A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service," and of which he brought out a revised edition in 1664. At the same time another very useful little volume was compiled by the Rev. James Clifford, Minor Canon of St. Paul's, "The Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs of the Church of England" (London, 1663). This book contained the words only of the anthems, and an introduction consisting of "Briefe Directions for the understanding of that part of the Divine Service performed with the Organ in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sundayes and Holidayes." The work was re-issued, with additions, in 1664.

It would appear that only five or six of the composers and organists of Charles I.'s reign survived the interregnum—namely, Dr. William Child, Dr. Christopher Gibbons (son of the celebrated Orlando Gibbons), Dr. Benjamin Rogers, Dr. John Wilson, Henry Lawes, and Edward Low. In addition to these there were also a few good amateurs scattered about the country, who did something, but very little indeed, to supply the deficiency. There being no trained choir-boys in the whole kingdom, it was found necessary

to supply the lack either by the falsetto voices of men, or by means of cornets to play the treble parts. This most discouraging state of things, however, did not last for much more than two years, thanks to the untiring energy which was displayed in remedying it. The Royal Chapel led the way in this good work. Henry Cooke was appointed "Master of the Children." Although a musician by profession, he had taken military service in the cause of Charles I., and in 1642 had obtained a captain's commission. Hence he was always known as Captain Cooke. He does not appear to have shone as a composer, but he must have been a capital choir-trainer, if we may judge by the excellence of his pupils. We subjoin the following list of Charles II.'s chapel-establishment, as recorded in a document called the "Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal." This book has been reprinted by the Camden Society, in 1872, under the able editorship of the late Dr. Rimbault, and is a valuable repertory of musical biography, supplying many dates which would otherwise be irrecoverable.

"The names of the Subdeane, Gentlemen, and others of his Majesties Chappell Royale. at the time of the Coronation of King Charles the Second, Aprill 23, being St. George's Day, 1661.

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Doctor WALTER JONES, <i>Subdeane.</i> | | | |
| ROGER NIGHTINGALE. | JOHN SAYER. | HENRY SMITH. | } <i>Ministers.</i> |
| RALPHE AMNER. | DURANT HUNT. | WILLIAM TINKER. | |
| PHILLIP TINKER. | GEORGE LOW. | | |
| HENRY COOKE, <i>Master of the Children.</i> | | | |
| HENRY LAWES, <i>Clarke of the Checke.</i> | | | |
| THOMAS PEERS, THOMAS HAZZARD, JOHN HARDING, <i>Gentlemen.</i> | | | |
| EDWARD LOW, WILLIAM CHYLDE, CHRISTOPHER GIBBONS, <i>Organists.</i> | | | |
| WILLIAM HOWES. | JAMES COB. | EDWARD COLEMAN. | } <i>Gentlemen.</i> |
| THOMAS BLAGRAVE. | NATHANIELL WATKINS. | THOMAS PURCILL. | |
| GREGORY THORNDALL. | JOHN CAVE. | HENRY FROST. | |
| EDWARD BRADOCK. | ALPHONSO MARSH. | JOHN GOODGROOME. | |
| HENRY PURCILL. | RAPHAELL COURTEVILLE. | GEORGE BETENHAM. | |
| | | MATTHEW PENNELL. | |
| THOMAS HAYNES, <i>Sergeant of the Vestry.</i> | | | |
| WILLIAM WILLIAMS, <i>Yeoman.</i> GEORG WHITCHER, <i>Yeoman.</i> | | | |
| AUGUSTINE CLEVELAND, <i>Groome.</i> | | | |

At which time every Gentleman of the Chappell (in orders) had allowed to him for a gowne, five yards of fine scarlet, and the rest of the Gentlemen, being laymen, had allowed unto each of them four yards of the like scarlet."

Charles II. did not relish the solid old Church music of such composers as Tallis, Byrd, and Orlando Gibbons. He had been so long

in France that he could tolerate only lighter kinds of composition, more suitable for the play-house or ball-room than for the sanctuary. He therefore greatly encouraged the boys in his choir to try their hands in the new French style, and sent Pelham Humphrey, one of the cleverest of them, to study in Paris under Lully. Indeed, Anthony à Wood informs us that so well did Humphrey succeed, while yet a mere lad, that Captain Cooke, his choirmaster, died of jealousy. Pelham Humphrey (or rather Humfrey) was born in 1647, and was one of the first set of children in the Chapel Royal after the Restoration. In 1664 he appears to have prosecuted his musical studies not only in France but in Italy. In 1667 he was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and succeeded Captain Cooke as master of the children there in 1672. Two years later he died, at the early age of twenty-seven. His Church music is fine, combining the new elements of light ritornellos, and sprightly measures, with a real solemnity suited to Divine Service. He also composed some good secular songs, some of which are to be found in Sir John Hawkins's "History of Music," and in Stafford Smith's "Musica Antiqua." A fellow-chorister of Humphrey's was John Blow, of whom we shall speak further on; and there was yet another, whose compositions claim for him a place in this history, Michael Wise, a very pathetic and effective writer of anthems and services. Wise was appointed organist of Salisbury Cathedral in 1668, and also a gentleman of the Royal Chapel in 1675. He was killed in a street brawl in 1687. The second set of boys in King Charles's chapel produced even more astonishing results than their immediate predecessors. For in the first place we find among them Thomas Tudway, afterwards Doctor and Professor of Music at Cambridge, who was born probably in 1656, and died in 1726. He transcribed a large and valuable collection of cathedral music, now safely housed in the British Museum, with biographical and critical remarks by Tudway, not always very trustworthy, indeed, but still of great value to all subsequent investigators. Then in the next place we find among Tudway's schoolfellows William Turner, who was born in 1652, and died in 1740. He became famous as a counter-tenor singer, and belonged to the choirs of the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey. In 1696 he was made a Doctor of Music at Cambridge.

His compositions are chiefly for the Church, though he also wrote some good secular music. Perhaps the most curious effort to which he contributed was the composition of an anthem, "I will always give thanks"—usually called the "Club Anthem"—of which we will transcribe Dr. Tudway's account. He tells us that "this anthem was composed by order of Charles II. at very short notice, on account of a victory at sea over the Dutch, the news of which arrived on Saturday; and the king, wishing to have the anthem performed the next day, and none of the masters choosing to undertake it, three of the children of the chapel, Humphrey, Blow, and Turner, performed the task." But all the preceding names pale into insignificance before the shining light of the really wonderful genius whose career next comes before us. HENRY PURCELL, the greatest and most original genius which the English school ever produced, was born in 1658. Both his father (Henry) and his uncle (Thomas) were gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and young Purcell was entered there as a chorister in 1664, first under Captain Cooke, and then under Pelham Humphrey, and possibly also under Dr. Blow. It is pretty certain, at any rate, that he took lessons from Dr. Blow in composition after he had left the choir. Purcell first made a name for himself when he was but seventeen years of age, by the composition of his opera *Dido and Æneas*. It is a truly beautiful work, and contains some masterly writing. This was followed by a large number of successful compositions for the theatre, of which perhaps the best known in these days is *King Arthur*. He also produced many odes, songs, and other secular vocal works, most of which, together with a good selection of songs from his dramatic works, were collected together and published after his death under the title of "Orpheus Britannicus." Purcell also composed some sonatas for two violins and bass, which were excellent for the time when they appeared, and were written professedly in the Italian style of the period. But Purcell's reputation rests mainly on his admirable compositions for the Church, in which he fairly distanced all competitors. Whether we take his anthems, or his "services," or his Latin motets, we cannot fail to be struck with the force of his genius as evinced by the originality of his style, the boldness of his harmonies, the marvellous learning displayed in his counterpoint, and above all by the rare power

he possessed of expressing the meaning and sentiment of the words. Purcell's style, though doubtless founded partly on those of Blow, of Lully, and of Carissimi, all of which he had studied, was yet different from them all, and possessed a peculiar character unlike anything which was produced before or after him. It will be seen, by what has been related above, that Purcell tried his hand at every kind of musical composition, and excelled in all. He was also a good performer on the organ and harpsichord, and could sing well. Had his life been prolonged, there is every reason to believe that he would have founded a great English school of music, and vindicated the claims of his countrymen to be regarded as a musical nation. But, like many other great men of genius, he had but a short career, and died November 21, 1695, at the early age of thirty-seven. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a tablet is erected to his memory with the following inscription: "Here lyes Henry Purcell, Esqre.; who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded. Obiit 21mo die Novembris, Anno ætatis suæ 37mo, Annoque Domini 1695." There is also a Latin inscription on a flat stone over his grave, which was quite recently restored and rendered once more legible. Purcell held the post of organist both at Westminster Abbey and at the Chapel Royal. Great attempts have been made at various times to gather together and publish his complete works, but hitherto without success. His sacred compositions were collected and edited in four large volumes for the late Musical Antiquarian Society by Vincent Novello; but his voluminous works for the theatre and for the chamber still remain for the most part in manuscript, and alas! very imperfect. But we must not devote more space to this great composer, as there are several lesser lights who must not be passed over, although their lustre has been dimmed by the greater refulgence of their celebrated contemporary.

Dr. Blow has the first claim to notice among these. He was born at North Collingham, in Nottinghamshire, in 1648, and was one of the first set of boys in the Chapel Royal of Charles II., as we have already seen. Here he was a pupil of Captain Cooke, and even as a lad showed powers of composition. It has been mentioned above how he combined with Humphrey and Turner in composing the "Club Anthem." On leaving

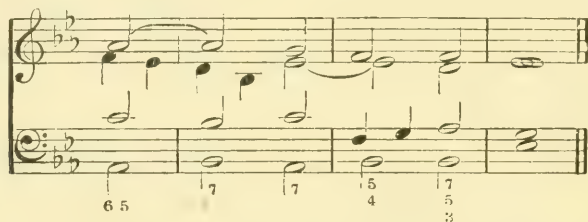
the choir he became the pupil of John Hingeston and Dr. Christopher Gibbons. In 1669 he became organist of Westminster Abbey, where he was succeeded in 1680 by Henry Purcell. But after Purcell's death in 1695, Blow was once more appointed to that important post, and remained in it till his death. In 1674 he became master of the children at the Chapel Royal, on the death of Humphreys. He was made composer to the king in 1685, and two years afterwards almoner and choirmaster at St. Paul's Cathedral, which latter post he resigned in 1693. Blow never took a degree at either of the universities, but received that of Doctor of Music* from Archbishop Sancroft in 1677. He died in the year 1708, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His compositions, which are very voluminous, are chiefly for the Church, and contain some very masterly movements. But he always appears to have been trying experiments in harmony, and contriving new combinations and discords; and in the majority of cases his attempts were not successful. In his case, as in many subsequent ones, the pursuit of "originality at any price" has interfered sadly with what otherwise might have proved a very brilliant career. Amongst other secular compositions of his we have a collection of songs published under the title of "*Amphion Anglicus*" in 1700, evidently in emulation of Purcell's "*Orpheus Britannicus*;" also an ode on the death of Purcell, whom he always claimed as his pupil, and whom he long survived.

Two clerical musicians of this period deserve mention here. The first of these is Henry Aldrich. He was born in 1647, and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He took his Master of Arts' degree in 1669, when he was ordained, and in 1681 he was appointed a Canon of Christ Church, and took the degree of D.D. In 1689 he was made Dean of Christ Church, and after a most vigorous and successful career in that important capacity, he died in December, 1710. Dean Aldrich distinguished himself as a theologian, a logician, a scholar, and an architect; but what is more to our present purpose, he was also an admirable amateur, and composed a good deal of sound and useful music, principally for the Church. But perhaps the greatest

* This is the first instance of the conferring of a musical degree by the Archbishops of Canterbury, nor was the right of so doing resumed till 1843, when Archbishop Howley conferred the Doctorate on Mr. Gauntlett.

benefit he conferred on our art was the collection of rare and valuable manuscript compositions, both of the English and Italian schools, which he bequeathed to the library of Christ Church, and which has proved of great assistance to subsequent musicians and writers on music.

The other clerical composer who claims a place in our pages is Robert Creyghton, D.D. He was born in 1639. His father was then Professor of Greek at Cambridge, but afterwards became Dean of Wells, and in 1670 was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. The son followed closely in the father's footsteps, for in 1662 he also held the Professorship of Greek at Cambridge, and in 1674 obtained the dignity of Precentor and Canon Residentiary at Wells. He wrote many services and anthems, two or three of which have been published, and are still commonly performed. He is remarkable for his peculiar treatment of the seventh in his closes; so much so that by some writers this kind of cadence is styled "A Creyghtonian seventh." As he



almost always employed it, it degenerated into a mere mannerism. Dr. Creyghton died at Wells in 1736, aged ninety-seven.

It has been mentioned in a former chapter how lovers of music were driven to solace themselves in private, during the interregnum, by the practice of compositions for viols, and how the violin gradually superseded the older "chests of viols" during this gloomy period. The chamber music of that time consisted chiefly of "Fancies," as they were called, and the composers of them were such men as Orlando Gibbons, Ferabosco, Coperario, Lupo, Este, and other musicians of the former half of the century. But towards the end of the interregnum two or three composers arose whose works deserve notice. John Jenkins was perhaps the most voluminous and also the most popular of all the composers of "Fancies." He was also a great

performer on an obsolete instrument called the "Lyra-viol." Dr. Burney gives, as an example of his style, a piece which was very popular in its day, called the "Five Bell Consorte." Another authority, both as a composer and performer, but more still as a writer on the subject, was Christopher Sympson. In 1659 he published a work, of which the title was "The Division Violist; or, an Introduction to the Art of Playing upon a Ground." Sympson was himself celebrated for his skill on the viole de gamba, which was in those days a popular instrument. The above work was chiefly intended as an instruction book for the viole de gamba, and was translated and reprinted in Latin in 1665 for the use of foreigners under the title of "Chelys Minuritionum." Sympson also brought out in 1667 a more elaborate work, called "A Compendium of Practical Musick," which professed to embrace every branch of harmony, counterpoint, and composition. Sir John Hawkins makes large quotations from Sympson's works in the fourth volume of his "History of Music." Another composer of chamber music was Matthew Lock, who was also a voluminous writer of cathedral music, and was in 1661 appointed composer in ordinary to the king. He was twice involved in acrimonious controversy, first about a setting of the "Kyrie Eleison" of his, which was severely censured by members of the Chapel Royal choir, and afterwards about a proposition to do away with various clefs, which originated with the Rev. Thomas Salmon, and was violently attacked and criticised by Lock. The incidental music to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* has usually been assigned to Matthew Lock; but there is some ground for attributing it rather to Henry Purcell. Lock died in 1677, and Purcell composed an elegy on his death, which appeared in the second book of "Choice Ayres," printed in 1689.

The lute was a very favourite instrument in England during the seventeenth century, and most of the composers of that time wrote for it, from Dowland to J. Sebastian Bach himself. One of the best English authorities on all matters connected with the lute was Thomas Mace, one of the clerks of Trinity College, Cambridge. This worthy man was born somewhere about 1611, and probably died during the last decade of the seventeenth century. In 1676 he published a very curious book called "Musick's Monument; or, a

Remembrancer of the best Practical Musick, both Divine and Civil, that has ever been known to have been in the world." This is divided into three books, of which the first treats of sacred vocal music, the second of the lute, and the third principally of the viol. The second portion is that to which the author has devoted most labour, but the whole is most interesting and amusing, in consequence of the quaint style of English in which it is written. Every collector of musical literature would do well to possess himself of a copy of this remarkable work, should he be so fortunate as to meet with one.

But it is time now to return to the Chapel Royal, from which the majority of our best composers emanated at the time we are describing. Among the many pupils of Dr. Blow, the first who claims mention is Jeremiah Clark. The exact date of his birth has not been ascertained, but he became organist of Winchester College about the year 1685. In 1693 he was appointed almoner and master of the children at St. Paul's Cathedral, in succession to Dr. Blow, who resigned in his favour. Two years later he became organist of St. Paul's. In 1700 Clark and William Croft were appointed "gentlemen extraordinary" of the Chapel Royal, and they succeeded to the joint offices of organists there in 1704. Jeremiah Clark's end was a sad one, for, in consequence of an unfortunate attachment, he committed suicide in a fit of despair somewhere about the year 1707. Clark's Church music is mostly written in a tender and pathetic style, wanting in vigour, but pure and sweet in its harmony. The number of his anthems is considerable. He also composed music to Dryden's ode "Alexander's Feast" (afterwards set in a far superior way by Händel), and likewise a few dramatic pieces, and some harpsichord lessons, and songs—all now forgotten and superseded. His Church music, however, still lives, and deserves to live. It is on that that his reputation mainly rests. Another famous pupil of Dr. Blow was William Croft. This clever composer was born in 1677, and died in 1727. On leaving the Chapel Royal choir, and losing his treble voice, he became the first organist of St. Ann's Church, Soho, Westminster. As we have already observed, he and Jeremiah Clark were appointed gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in 1700, and joint organists there in 1704. On Clark's death, in 1707, Croft occupied the whole post. The next year he succeeded Dr. Blow as organist of Westminster Abbey, and master of the children and composer

to the Chapel Royal. In 1711 he resigned his post at St. Ann's, Soho. In 1713 the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Music. But what we are most indebted to him for is the publication, in 1724, of his "Musica Sacra," consisting of thirty anthems and a burial service of his composition. Not only are most of these anthems still in use in our cathedrals and churches, but they have an historical interest as being the first work of the kind engraved on copper plates in score. Croft's sacred music is only second to Purcell's among the compositions of the period, and has a solemnity and grandeur peculiarly its own. His few secular compositions are now only to be met with in the libraries of collectors, and are mostly in manuscript. He has given us, however, two admirable hymn tunes, "St. Ann's" and "St. Matthew's," and also a well-known single chant in B minor, which will preserve his memory as long as English Church music exists.

Another contributor to our stock of Church music who flourished about the same time was John Weldon, originally a pupil of John Porter, organist of Eton College, and then of Henry Purcell. He was organist of New College, Oxford, for some years. In 1701, however, he became attached to the Chapel Royal, where, in 1708, he succeeded Dr. Blow as one of H.M.'s organists, and in 1715 he obtained the appointment of composer. His anthems, "In Thee, O Lord" and "Hear my crying," are still often sung and deservedly admired. Weldon died in 1736.

It is doubtful whether we ought to claim as an English musician a man of German birth and education such as was John Christopher Pepusch. But as he lived most of his life in this country, where he also ended his days, we cannot well omit his name. Pepusch was born at Berlin in 1667, and died in 1752. It was in 1700, or thereabouts, that he came to England, and became attached to the orchestra of Drury Lane Theatre. He wrote many songs and pieces for the stage, and also composed some odes and cantatas for voices and orchestra, both secular and sacred, the latter kind being for the chapel of the Duke of Chandos, at Cannons. In 1713 he took the degree of Mus. Doc. at Oxford. Perhaps the most influential step he ever took in advancing English love of music was that of adapting old national and popular airs to the words of Gay's *Beggars' Opera*, and its sequel *Polly*, for both of which he also composed the overtures, interludes, and other incidental music. But this kind of success

was not by any means the principal object of his ambition; he was a profound student of the ancient Greek modes and systems, and was anxious to achieve the impossible task of reviving them and adapting them to modern use. In this attempt he failed, as might be expected, as did his pupil Keeble, who published a learned treatise on the same subject. Pepusch married a famous singer, Marguerite de l'Épine, and this probably prevented him from altogether abandoning the practice of the art in favour of fruitless and pedantic researches. He was undoubtedly an admirable and well-trained musician in spite of his pedantry, and that he was also a good master is proved by his producing such pupils as Travers, Boyce, and Cooke.

We have now traced the progress of musical art in England down to a point where a great foreign influence came into play, which was powerful enough to well-nigh overwhelm indigenous talent, and crush out such indications of the rise of a true English school as had arisen through the genius of Purcell and his fellow-workmen. I allude, of course, to the advent of giant Händel amongst us—an event of such importance as to induce us to let it be the commencement of a new chapter. The only branches of English art which did not collapse under this overpowering invasion of foreign talent were cathedral services and anthems, popular songs and dances, and glees, concerning which we shall have more to say later on.

F. A. G. O.



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